



International Perspectives on Cultural Parks

Proceedings of the First World Conference Mesa Verde National Park, Colorado, 1984

U.S. National Park Service in association with the Colorado Historical Society

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As the nation's principal conservation agency, the Department of the Interior has basic responsibilities to protect and conserve our land and water, energy and minerals, fish and wildlife, parks and recreation areas, and to ensure the wise use of all these resources. The department also has major responsibility for the American Indian reservation communities and for people who live in island territories under United States administration, and for directing and coordinating United States participation in the World Heritage Convention.

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Como la agencia principal de conservación de la nación, el Departamento del Interior tiene responsabilidades básicas de proteger y conservar nuestra tierra y agua, la energía y los minerales, los peces y la caza, los parques y áreas de recreo, y para asegurar el uso sagaz de todos estos recursos. El Departamento también tiene responsabilidad mayor para las comunidades de las reservas de los Americanos Nativos y para la gente que vive en las islas territoriales bajo la administración de los Estados Unidos, y para la dirección y coordinación de la participación de los Estados Unidos en el Convenio del Patrimonio Mundial.

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En tant qu'agence de conservation principale de la nation, le Département de l'Intérieur a pour responsabilités fondamentales la protection et la conservation de notre terre, de l'eau, de l'énergie et des minéraux, de la faune aquatique et de la faune terrestre, des parcs et des aires de récréation ainsi que d'assurer le bon usage de ces ressources. Le département a aussi une responsabilité majeure vis-à-vis des communautés des réserves des Indiens d'Amérique, et vis-à-vis des personnes vivant dans des îles sous la tutelle des Etats-Unis. Il est également chargé de diriger et de coordonner la participation des Etats-Unis à la Convention du Patrimoine Mondial.

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The National Park Service was created on August 25, 1916, to "promote and regulate the use of the Federal area known as national parks, monuments, and reservations hereinafter specified by such means and measures as conform to the fundamental purpose of the said parks, monuments and reservations, which purpose is to conserve the scenery, the natural and historic objects and the wildlife therein and to provide for the enjoyment of the same in such manner and by such means as will leave them unimpaired for the enjoyment of future generations."

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El Servicio Nacional de Parques fue creado el día 25 de agosto 1916, para "fomentar y regular el uso de las áreas federales conocidas como parques nacionales, monumentos, y reservas de aquí en adelante especificados por tales medios y medidas que conforman al propósito fundamental de tales parques, monumentos y reservaciones, lo cual es conservar el escenario, los objetos naturales e históricos y la caza que allí se encuentre, y para proveer para el gozo de los mismos de tales maneras y por tales medios que los dejarán incólumes para el gozo de las generaciones del porvenir."

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Le 25 août 1916, le National Park Service fut créé, afin de "procéder à la promotion et à la règlementation de l'usage des zones fédérales connues sous le nom de parcs, réserves et monuments nationaux, spécifiés ci-après, par tel moyens et mesures qui se conformeront au but fondamental des parcs, réserves et monuments qui est de préserver les sites, les objets naturels et historiques ainsi que la faune qui y sont situés, et d'assurer la jouissance de ces derniers, de telle manière et par tels moyens qui les laisseront intacts pour la jouissance des générations futures."

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Dedication

This Conference is dedicated to the late Gustaf Erik von Nordenskiöld, a young Swedish geologist from a family prominent in the scientific, political, and academic life of Sweden and Finland. The young von Nordenskiöld made the first conscious attempt to systematically excavate and record the archeology of the Mesa Verde plateau. His monumental work, The Cliff Dwellers of Mesa Verde, was published in 1893. The scientific merit of this work is acknowledged by leading southwestern archeologists who respect the methodology that this man of science brought to archeology.

The work of von Nordenskiöld created an interest in the preservation of the Mesa Verde, which led to public support for the creation of the park by an Act of Congress on June 29, 1906. It is most fitting, though a coincidence, that the act creating Mesa Verde National Park was on von Nordenskiöld's birthday, but regrettable that he did not live to see the result of his pioneering work in southwestern archeology. He passed away at the young age of 27 in 1895.

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Esta Conferencia se dedica al fallecido Gustaf Erik von Nordenskiöld, un joven geólogo sueco de una familia prominente en la vida científica, política, y académica de Suecia y de Finlandia. El joven von Nordenskiöld hizo el primer intento consciente de excavar y registrar la arqueología de la meseta de Mesa Verde. Su obra monumental, Los Moradores de Barrancos de Mesa Verde, se publicó en 1893. El mérito científico de esta obra se reconoce por todos los arqueólogos del suroeste sobresalientes que respetan la metodología que este hombre de ciencia trajo a la arqueología. La obra de von

Nordenskiöld creó un interés en la conservación de Mesa Verde, lo que llevó al apoyo del público para la creación del parque por Acto del Congreso el día 29 de junio 1906. Es muy digno, aunque coincidencia, que el Acto que creó el Parque Nacional de Mesa Verde se hizo precisamente en el cumpleaños de von Nordenskiöld, pero lamentable que él no vivió a ver los resultados de su obra de iniciador en la arqueología del suroeste. Falleció a la joven edad de 27 años en 1895.

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Cette Conférence est dédiée à Gustaf Erik von Nordenskiöld, jeune géologue Suédois provenant d'une famille prééminente dans le monde scientifique, politique et académique de la Suède et de la Finlande. Le jeune von Nordenskiöld fut le premier à tenter, de façon consciente, d'excaver et d'enregistrer systématiquement l'archéologie du plateau de Mesa Verde. Son travail monumental, Les Habitants des Falaises dans la Mesa Verde, fut publié en 1893. Le mérite scientifique de ces travaux est reconnu par d'éminents archéologues du Sud-Ouest, qui respectent la méthodologie que cet homme de science a apportée à l'archéologie.

Les travaux de von Nordenskiöld ont suscité un intérêt pour la préservation de Mesa Verde, ce qui a conduit au soutien du public pour la création du Parc par un acte du Congrès, le 29 juin 1906. Il est tout à fait à propos, bien que fortuit, que l'acte créant le Parc National de Mesa Verde ait été passé le jour de l'anniversaire de la naissance de Nordenskiöld, mais il est regrettable que ce dernier n'ait pas vécu pour voir les résultats de ses travaux de pionnier dans l'archéologie du Sud-Ouest. Il est décédé en 1895, au jeune âge de 27 ans.

Acknowledgments

I am pleased to present this volume of seventy-one papers written by participants of the First World Conference on Cultural Parks. It will serve as the permanent record of the formal presentations, workshops, and discussions with preservation and use as the overall theme. The conferees meeting at Mesa Verde National Park, Colorado, between September 16 and 21, 1984, were a notable group, not only for the knowledge and experience represented, but also for the quality and variety of that knowledge and experience. Archeologists and anthropologists, historians, architects, curators, lawyers, politicians, economists, government officials, planners, representatives of the tourist industry, political scientists, representatives of private foundations, ethnically diverse people including representatives of native populations in the United States, Panama, and Australia, and members of academia were in attendance.

Many people made the idea for the conference a reality. My predecessor, Russell E. Dickenson, provided not only official support for the conference, but also gave no small measure of his personal enthusiasm and backing for this major undertaking. L. Lorraine Mintzmyer, Regional Director, Rocky Mountain Regional Office, not only served as an official of the conference, but also supported its planning through the allocation of regional personnel and resources. Robert C. Heyder, Superintendent, Mesa Verde National Park, hosted the international gathering and through his excellent facilities and personal participation helped to make the conference an inspiring experience for all attendees.

Others in the National Park Service who should be recognized include individuals at the Washington

headquarters, regional, and field levels. They include Jerry L. Rogers, Associate Director, Cultural Resources, Washington, who not only participated in the conference, but also served as its advocate in Washington during some of its more critical planning phases.

The fulcrum of conference activities in the Washington office was Douglas H. Scovill, Chief Anthropologist of the Service. He coordinated the work of several divisions, expedited the participation of key attendees, and provided encouragement and guidance throughout the many months of preparation. He also dedicated his division staff to the conference program, recordkeeping, and correspondence. Dr. Muriel Crespi, cultural anthropologist in Doug Scovill's office, designed and developed the program, orchestrated efforts to identify and select potential participants, and oversaw the massive correspondence and recordkeeping associated with development of the program. Murlene Lash and Darlene Miller, in the same office, put in many hours at the word processor preparing correspondence. David A. Browne and Richard J. Cook of the Service's International Park Affairs Division worked closely with U.S. embassies to facilitate communication with foreign participants, and with international agencies to expedite support for some attendees. They also personally assisted foreign participants with travel arrangements. Louis A. Penna, General Services Division, Washington, prepared some of the Spanish-language versions of correspondence.

Deputy Director of the National Park Service Dennis P. Galvin, then-Manager of the Denver Service Center, deserves a special thanks for allowing members of his staff to participate

in the planning phases of the conference and for underwriting some of their travel expenses. Three of the Division Chiefs at the Denver Service Center warrant recognition for their cooperation in allowing employees to participate in conference planning. They are: Kenneth Raithel, Alaska/Pacific Northwest/Western Team; Gerald D. Patten, Northeast Team; and John W. Bright, Southeast/Southwest Team.

Several people have served in more than one capacity. The following individuals served on the committee that solicited and selected the formal presentations for the conference. Those identified with an asterisk also were rapporteurs, and as such, assisted the theme chairs in preparing summations of the three theme sessions, as well as reviewing and doing the technical editing of the papers presented in this volume. They are: John Albright*, Denver Service Center; David Browne, Washington Office; Anthony Crosby*, Denver Service Center; Muriel Crespi*, Washington Office; Andrew Kardos*, Rocky Mountain Regional Office; Jack Smith*, Mesa Verde National Park; and Alan Robinson, Denver Service Center. Alan Robinson, assisted by Nan Ketter of the Rocky Mountain Office, also headed the Denver Hospitality Committee, a group of Park Service employees who remained on stand-by to assist, when needed, international participants traveling through Denver both to and from Mesa Verde National Park.

Many organizations and individuals outside government financially supported the First World Conference on Cultural Parks. Attention is called to page 408 for a listing of these generous contributors.

Getting the formal papers and other proceedings ready for publication was no easy task. Barbara Sudler, Colorado State Historic Preservation Officer and President of the Colorado Historical Society, is commended for allowing Society resources to the preparation of this publication at no cost to the conference. Judith L. Gamble, an editor at the Colorado Historical Society, has edited and designed this volume. It is due to her diligence and persistence that this publication has become a reality.

Special recognition is warranted to the Directors and employees of the Mesa Verde Museum Association. They gave full support and cooperation from the earliest phases of planning and greatly aided park personnel in preparing for the conference. In addition, ARA Leisure Services, Inc., the park concessioner, provided the utmost cooperation in meeting the lodging, transportation, and meal requirements for the participants. ARA also donated the welcoming buffet held in the Archeological Museum. Also, the Cortez Chamber of Commerce and the merchants of that comunity are commended for arranging and hosting a program at the Montezuma County Fairgrounds to introduce conference participants to the varied ethnic groups that inhabit southwestern Colorado.

Finally, the organizers of the conference wish to extend a hearty thanks to the staff at Mesa Verde National Park, with special recognition to Cynthia Orlando and Douglas Caldwell, for the hard work, patience, and cooperation shown during preparations for the conference and during the week the proceedings took place. Work schedules were often interrupted or changed, and the willingness of all those involved to remain flexible and responsive to the needs of the conference is a tribute to their professionalism in carrying out their duties.

William Penn Mott Director National Park Service

Keynote Address

Russell E. Dickenson

Director United States National Park Service

It is a singular honor to address this distinguished body, and on behalf of Secretary of the Interior William Clark and the National Park Service, I am most pleased to extend to each of you a warm welcome to Mesa Verde National Park. We are deeply appreciative of your presence and by your participation in this conference.

Surely, Mesa Verde National Park is a most appropriate place, at least in the United States, for us to meet and share experiences and concerns for the management, conservation, and public use of cultural resources. In the history of the United States National Park System, Mesa Verde is one of the earliest areas set aside by the American people in 1906—only thirty-four years after Yellowstone. Mesa Verde National Park has the distinction of being this nation's first World Heritage Site, designated in 1978.

Here in these canyons and on these mesa tops there dwelled an ancient society whose contributions to our culture remain a provocative subject for study and speculation. Here lived a people who established and maintained a settled community under what we would consider difficult and challenging environmental conditions, and who in their lifetimes perhaps traveled no farther than the nearest horizon. Yet they speak to us across the canyons of time, and touch us as their kin through their remarkable art work, their crafts, and in a score of other ways.

And today on these verdant mesas, we witness peoples from the far corners of the earth, from hundreds of cultural backgrounds, coming to visit and to study. We count them by the tens of thousands. We house them, feed them, and send them on their way in mechanical contrivances that are miracles of modern engineering. We breathe the air and gaze to the farthest point on the horizon and know that, however sophisticated and cosmopolitan we might fancy ourselves, it is hardly the same air and hardly the same vista as those ancient Anasazi breathed and viewed.

And so we begin to ponder the recurring questions, the new challenges and apprehensions, that have come to mark this generation of humankind and that bring us together at this World Conference. We hope and intend that this meeting will provide an uncommon opportunity to share common interests on the condition and future of our cultural heritage, the heritage that we share as members of the global family.

We recognize of course the considerable differences of geography and cultural traditions represented by the thirty-seven nations whose delegates are in attendance here this morning. But we recognize, too, the greater absolute that binds us together as one of honor, to dedicate and maintain the countless elements, material and nonmaterial, that comprise the global culture.

The concept of World Heritage protection and international cooperation has been nurtured in a variety of conferences and conventions over the span of the past quarter century. There have been, for example, three World Conferences on National Parks—the first of them held in Seattle, Washington, in 1962. A second was held in Yellowstone and Grand Teton National Parks in Wyoming ten years later. And a third was held two years ago in Bali, Indonesia. I had the good fortune to attend that meeting and to have participated in a small way in the earlier two events as well.

In the mid-1960s, there emerged the concept of a trust for

the World Heritage whose purpose was to be "the stimulation of International cooperative efforts to identify, establish, develop and manage the world's superb natural and scenic areas and historic sites." In this country, the Congress in 1966 enacted a national historic preservation act which declares that "the historical and cultural foundations of the nation should be preserved as a living part of our community life and development."

And there was the World Heritage Convention, a treaty sponsored by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and today supported by seventy participating countries. It is an expression of cooperation among the world community to safeguard the cultural and natural heritage of the human community, as represented by specific cultural and natural treasures around the world. To date 165 sites have been designated throughout the world, 12 in the United States, and among those 12 is Mesa Verde.

In Stockholm in 1972, there was a United Nations conference on the human environment. In two weeks of sessions there, delegates from 113 nations considered the need for common principles to inspire and guide nations in the preservation and enhancement of the human environment.

So, the need and the concern have been expressed.

This business of attempting to preserve the heritage of the human presence on earth, let us ask what it means—

Archeologists recognize that human ancestry spans perhaps 3 million years or more. From the cradle of their origin in South and East Africa, our ancestors were by 2 million years ago rudimentary thinkers and tool-makers. Throughout the following ages, their populations increased and they developed increasingly sophisticated technologies and cultural systems, eventually moving to new continents in pursuit of subsistence. When the Neanderthal inhabited the Old World, we find the first solid evidences of a belief in the afterlife or religion, indicated in the Flower Burials at Shanidar Cave in the Middle East.

Around 10,000 years ago, domestication of plants and animals and their cultivation began. Such cultural developments enabled humans to evolve urban centers and create a culture characterized by political hierarchies, occupational specialization, and systems of international commerce.

These cultural revolutions led to further migration and cultural development and diversification. This process continues to the present day, and we are still attempting to understand it while preserving, protecting, and appreciating the significant cultural contributions made by all its participants.

It is difficult to say which phenomenon occurred first—the effort of recovery and preservation, or the fascination of people everywhere with the whole theme of our cultural heritage, as well as our natural heritage. Consider what has been accomplished in our own lifetime:

There are no fewer than 120 nations around the world with

National Park Systems—organized, comprehensive efforts to preserve for all time those areas and resources that embody the essence of their countries and their peoples. Our own Park System, not yet 100 years old, encompasses 335 areas and represents what we believe are the cultural, natural, and historic treasures of this nation.

Consider the multinational effort that enabled the Government of Egypt to save the priceless temples of Ramses II and Nefertari during the construction of the high dam at Aswan during the 1960s. And the unearthing in Shensi Province, Peoples Republic of China, of its remarkable terra cotta army. Consider the technology that has enabled us to locate these treasures, to stabilize and restore them, and even to reverse the ravages of nature and man.

The unparalleled interest of people everywhere has spawned the explosive growth of international travel and the development of new museums. Incredibly, since the year 1960, a new museum is opened in the United States every three and one half days, and half of the more than 4,600 museums in this country have been established in the last twenty-four years. And just as incredibly, they attract visitors numbering more than 350 million each year—with the figures still climbing.

Consider the unprecedented investments by public and private interests alike in the recovery, preservation, and restoration of our cultural and historic treasures.

All of these activities clearly demonstrate a gratifying awareness and interest and support among peoples of every nationality and background.

And notwithstanding ethnic and geographic and political differences—and they are considerable—they have in common the manifestation of a deep human need to reach beyond abstraction and myth to reality. And not only the reality of nationalistic origins but a compelling need to fix themselves to their family, their past, and to assure their identity and their worth.

Brooke Hindle of the Smithsonian Institution has observed that the scientific revolution, the age of enlightenment, and the revolution of our own time have not eliminated the human need to touch the reality of our past. "Indeed," he said, "modern man is separated more firmly from the realities of his own world than was man in earlier periods of history. Man's need to touch the past has increased rather than decreased."

I wish to emphasize that if there does not already exist a sense of urgency about our quest, then we should hasten to generate one. For it is apparent that time is growing short if we are to recover even a portion of what remains in terms of the material and nonmaterial remnants of our cultural heritage.

It is perhaps fortunate that there does not exist a catalog of all that has been lost—historic structures, legends, lifestyles, languages, precious artifacts with a life all their own—for such an accounting would surely be as damning as it would be tragic. And to what losses are we silent and unknowing

witnesses, even at this moment?

What traditions and treasures were sacrificed this very day in conflicts in a dozen places around the world?

What was it that vanished under the demands of consumptive societies for ever more wealth and progress and production of material goods?

What precious objects were scarred and eroded ever so slightly more this day in acid rain?

And what have we allowed to be stolen from us, one and all, by lack of knowledge and complacency?

The cynic might ask:

What is the harm if a tradition should vanish, or an artifact be destroyed, or a rock drawing be defaced?

Who should care that there is no one left to tell the ancestral stories? Of what consequence is it that the songs and dances are gone?

Who cares? And why should one care?

The fact is that each of us has a stake in the incredible living diversity of the earth we live in. The heritage we share as inhabitants of this planet is a heritage that transcends both time and national boundaries.

To ask of what consequence might be the loss of any of those treasures is to suggest again the wisdom of that old observation about he who knows the price of everything and the value of nothing.

Because our lives would be much the poorer with their passing.

Because we thrive and prosper by living amidst diversity. And because we are more and more learning that the cultures of the world must be nurtured, protected, and encouraged if we are to maintain a sense of respect for our own, and if we are to learn from each other.

What course, then, are we to pursue if we are to fulfill our responsibility to our past and future cultural heritage? Allow me to suggest some items both practical and philosophical for your consideration.

First, the very concept of the park and its role in preserving significant cultural resources of a region or a nation.

We consider the National Park System in the United States to be a richly endowed showcase that celebrates the history and ethnic plurality of America's people. We seek instruction on the past from the ancient settlements of Native Americans at sites such as this, at Mesa Verde, from Cape Krustentern and the Bering Land Bridge to the Southeastern Ancients of Ocmulgee National Monument and their Hawaiian peers at Pu'uhonua o Honaunau National Historical Park. The great sites associated with the American Revolution, the birthplaces of presidents, the communities of early settlers such as Jamestown, the centers of local trade such as Hubbell Trading Post—all places that keep alive the traditions and crafts of our forebears. And let us not forget the belief in religious freedom commemorated by Touro Synagogue and the continuing quest for social justice marked by the Martin Luther King, Jr., Na-

tional Historic Site.

But on a broader scale, let us cherish the worldwide evidence of human creativity—on every continent—whether it is Europe's great historic district or Australia's rich sites of Aboriginal life and art, or the Serengeti of the African Savannah, the Taj Mahal, or any of hundreds that could be mentioned.

There are no other places on earth quite like some of these remarkable sites—because there are unlikely to be many additional places of like character. The first moral imperative I would commend to you is the *identification*, *protection*, and *perpetuation* of these special places, the sanctuaries for so much of our culture and our heritage.

They must survive.

Second, it occurs that we are at a remarkable point in time, a time when it behooves responsible parties to recognize and to act on what I might call a historic juncture of interests.

Modernization often finds the resources of small native communities being absorbed by government agencies and private interest groups. In the process, native peoples relinquish exclusive control over resources that support their lifeways and also contain ancestral sites invested with deep religious meaning. As we know, a peoples' lifeways or cultures depend for survival on intimate relationships with these resources. Often, too, the scientific, preservation, and conservation communities prize those same resources for their historic and environmental values.

To further national conservation and preservation goals that affect native resources, then, it seems to me that we must seek innovative forms of rapprochement among native communities, government land-managing agencies, and groups who share that concern. This clearly would require:

—First, recognizing and respecting the unique qualities of native cultures and the directions that native peoples wish their cultures would take.

—Developing permanent working partnerships with native communities to effectively incorporate them as allies and partners in planning a future that will significantly affect the lives of their children and their children's children.

Thirdly, it is time for those of us concerned with cultural resources to recognize the value of cultural differences and different cultures in ensuring the growth and development of the world's heritage.

The natural sciences have long recognized the role of biological diversity in ensuring the survival of living forms, and we know that diversity leads to a rich genetic pool from which new life forms develop. It follows, then, that differences in lifeways offer the raw materials to fashion tomorrow's communities with their religious practices, their family arrangements, and their artists and artisans.

As cultural resource professionals, we must seek ways to preserve for today's people and for future generations the lifeways by which ethnic and national groups wish to be distinguished.

Fourth, we must recognize that the concept of culture means much more than simply objects or structures. Material things are the result of a people's lifeways or cultures; that is, historic structures come from a people's way of organizing themselves into family groups. The temples we carefully preserve represent the labor of hundreds of people and the power of a small number of elite who could command that work force and a belief system that could integrate them all. So our appreciation of objects must necessarily include appreciation for the cultural context that gave them meaning.

Finally, land managers and professionals must acknowledge their roles in a world system that includes native and other localized groups, each of whom depends upon the others to create and protect the resources that all value, each in their own way.

Surely we recognize that there are other considerations, other concerns, other interests.

The same factors that beset the National Parks afflict those

where cultural resources are of primary consideration: air and water pollution, noise, urban growth, exotic plants and animals, the problems of increasing visitation; indeed, the problems of adequate funding for protection and interpretation.

I trust that some, perhaps all, of these issues will be addressed at this world conference, and certainly at future conferences. And as they are addressed, I trust, too, that we would be reminded once again of the sense of sharing, and of uncommon commitment to great issues of common interest.

For if we have a single home in the planet earth, then we continue to share a single heritage as part of the brotherhood of humankind. And we can share no higher calling than to join together in seeking to preserve and to protect that which embodies our cultural heritage.

Ladies and Gentlemen, again, we are honored by your presence and your participation in this First World Conference on Cultural Parks. Thank you for coming, and Godspeed and good luck in your deliberations.

The historic photographs of the ruins at Mesa Verde accompanying these proceedings are from the photograph collections of the Colorado Historical Society. They were chosen to help recapture the scene for those who attended the conference and to illustrate some of the rich cultural heritage still in evidence at this World Heritage Site.



The spectacular ruins of Cliff Palace at Mesa Verde National Park.

Theme 1

The impacts of technological changes on cultural resources within large, publicly owned land areas and how these changes can be accommodated; the treatment of fabric (stone, brick, wood, etc.); the alternative approaches to planning that are offered by new technology; and the effects of extractive and other industries on cultural resources.

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Los impactos de los cambios tecnológicos en los recursos culturales dentro de grandes áreas de bienes públicos, y cómo se pueden acomodar; el tratamiento de la fábrica (piedra, ladrillo, madera, etc.); las aproximaciones alternativas a la

planificación que las nuevas tecnologías ofrecen; y los efectos de las industrias extractivas y otras industrias en los recursos culturales.

Les impacts des changements technologiques sur les ressources culturelles à l'intérieur de vastes zones de terrains publics et comment ces changements peuvent être adaptés; le traitement des matériaux (pierre, brique, bois, etc.); les diverses approches à la planification, offertes par la nouvelle technologie et les effets des industries extractives et des autres industries sur les ressources culturelles.

Technology and Preservation Theme Summary

The theme was Technology and Preservation, but the greater emphasis in all of the sessions was on preservation, and the problems discussed were more ethical than technological. Formal presentations and the discussions which followed centered on concerns about what to preserve, how to preserve, and even whether or not to preserve. The presentations addressed philosophical issues of cultural resource preservation and provided specific examples. The result was a series of stimulating and informative sessions which reached far beyond the technological emphasis suggested by the title.

Preservation was viewed not just as a body of techniques, but equally as a philosophy of protection and perpetuation of important elements of the past. These elements were seen to consist not only of ancient monuments but also of museum collections, cultural and environmental contexts, and living people carrying out their cultural patterns.

Discussions of preservation problems drew from the specific experiences of the participants, and included examples from such diverse areas as tropical Guatemala, highland Peru, subtropical China, the arid western United States, and the urban Bosphorus. A recurrent theme was the need to involve local

people in the preservation process in order to generate support, to resolve conflicts between national policies for protection of cultural resources and the question of private property, and to deal with the problems of theft and vandalism.

Discussions of underwater shipwrecks, ancient buildings, prehistoric and historic ruins, rock art, and living cultures demonstrated the broad range of subjects dealt with in the preservation process. All are cultural resources requiring protection, and all present unique problems requiring distinctive solutions. Likewise, all share the universal problems of preserving important parts of the past in the face of budgetary limitations, the needs of people living in and about ancient monuments, the impact of urban and other modern developments, and the continuing threat posed by the international trade in antiquities.

Other important points were the need to recognize the total cultural environment, not just the more spectacular parts, and also the natural environment, which interacts with the cultural to create the total context; and the need for education of local people to the values of their cultural past as well as their involvement in its preservation.

Precis

A universal cause of humankind is to understand ourselves as individuals, as members of social groups, cultures, nations, and as citizens of the world. The papers to be presented by the distinguished participants in Theme 1 will show that we pursue this cause by preserving districts, sites, building, structures, objects, traditions, knowledge, and information about our cultural heritage. The universal questions are: what to preserve and how to preserve it.

The United States has evolved a broad-based program in pursuit of the cause, and is applying basic managerial principles in coordinating the program and in answering the questions.

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Una causa universal de la humanidad es comprendernos como individuos, como miembros de grupos sociales, de culturales, de naciones y como ciudadanos del mundo. Las ponencias que van a presentar los participantes distinguidos de la sesión primera mostrarán que nos dedicamos a esta causa por la conservación de los distritos, los sitios, los edificios, las estructuras, los objetos, las tradiciones, el conocimiento y la

información de nuestra patrimonio cultural. Las preguntas universales son: ¿qué debemos conservar y cómo debemos conservarlo?

Los Estados Unidos han desarrollado un programa amplio al dedicarse a la causa y, al coordinar y al responder a las preguntas, aplican los principios básicos de la administración.

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Une cause universele de l'humanité est de nous comprendre nous-mêmes en tant qu'individus, en tant que membres de groupes sociaux, de cultures, de nations et comme citoyens du monde. Les exposés qui seront présentés par les participants distingués du thème 1, montreront que nous poursuivons cette cause en préservant les quartiers, les sites, les monuments, les structures, les objets, les traditions, les connaissances et les informations de notre patrimoine culturel. Les questions universelles sont: Que faut-il préserver et comment le préserver?

Les Etats-Unis ont développé un programme ayant une large base, dans la poursuite de cette cause, et applique les principes de base de la gestion pour coordonner le programme et répondre aux questions.

The Universal Cause and Its Questions: A Managerial Approach

Jerry L. Rogers

Associate Director for Cultural Resources National Park Service Washington, D.C.

In this brief week at the end of summer, in this World Heritage park where an ancient civilization speaks to us through the things it has left behind, in a region where aboriginal cultures stand face to face with late-twentieth-century cosmopolitan culture, you and I have an opportunity without precedent to advance the cause to which we have devoted our lives. Let us share through the papers we will read our separate experiences. Let us develop through the discussion we will hold an experience in common. Let us build, through the recommendations we will make, a platform that will help humankind progress in its universal cause of self-understanding, as individuals, as members of social groups, cultures, nations, and as citizens of the world. We here will find it easy to understand that the cultural resources of any one nation are in fact part of the common heritage of humankind. We will find that vastly different nations practice cultural conservation for strikingly similar reasons, that we face similar technical problems, that we can reinforce one another, teach one another, and help one another. In this conference we are all colleagues in a worldwide cause. Let us treat the differences among nations as opportunities for learning. Let us hope that those who handle other affairs among nations may learn from us to pursue universal causes in a constructive spirit. The United States National Park Service is honored by your presence and participation.

The excellent papers to be presented in theme 1, and the variety of subjects, leave me a difficult task. How can I present information that might have value, and not duplicate the distinguished speakers who will follow? Like each of you, I have chosen my subject from among the most important

cultural conservation experiences in my country during recent years. We have had many important experiences, but the most profound has been rapid program growth in a very short period. During the last decade, new laws have more than doubled the jobs we must do, but there have not been comparable increases in money or staff with which to conduct the work. Hence, we have had to concentrate upon management technology to make our programs more efficient and more effective.

In simplified form, the cultural preservation mission of the National Park Service may be described in three components. First, we must manage the cultural properties within the custody of the Service such as those at Mesa Verde (see Figure 1). In the two years from 1978 to 1980, the National Park System tripled in size. It now includes 79 million acres of land, over 10,000 historic structures, perhaps a million museum objects, and an unknown number of archeological sites beneath the surface of the earth. We receive over 236 million visits each year, more than one for every man, woman, and child in the country.

Second, we must administer a complex set of programs, primarily through the fifty states of the union and seven similar jurisdictions, to preserve properties that we do not own or control (see Figure 2). These programs identify, register, document, preserve, and improve districts, sites, buildings, structures, and objects that are significant in American history, architecture, archeology, engineering, and culture. The properties may be significant on a national, state, or local scale. I will give just two examples of the growth that has occurred throughout these programs. First, the National Register, which

Within the Custody of the National Park Service



Figure 1

used to increase by 2,500 listings per year, now grows at the rate of 4,000 to 5,000 per year. Second, a \$50 million program of federal grants for preservation of registered properties has been replaced by a program of federal income tax incentives that now rehabilitates over 2,400 properties a year with work valued at more than \$2.2 billion per annum.

Third, all federal agencies have legal obligations to minimize harm and, where possible, to produce positive effects upon cultural properties. Lacking authority to command other federal agencies, the National Park Service is expected to monitor them and to provide leadership and technical guidance. After years of persuasion, most agencies now take these responsibilities seriously, and the National Park Service has a new duty to assure that the public interest is well served. We must now take care that agencies do not waste money on marginally important properties, or on inappropriate work, at the same time neglecting worthy projects. Much, though not all, of other federal agency work deals with subsurface archeological resources affected by federal agency projects.

This review represents many other rapid changes. Ten years ago, we often persuaded others by moralistic appeals, or by threatening to delay their projects. Our concept of assuring quality was largely limited to direct review of project plans and specifications by experts on our staffs. Now we show others that preservation activities are sensible, practical, and usually economically beneficial. Our approaches to quality control rely more upon management systems than upon project review. I will discuss our managerial approaches in three broad categories: 1) planning and setting priorities; 2) guidance and technical information; and 3) direction of programs and motivation of people.

Planning and Setting Priorities

Rapid growth of the National Register (now over 34,000 listings, including perhaps 250,000 individual buildings, sites, structures, and objects) has made it necessary to clarify the relative importance of individual properties. We have long distinguished nationally significant properties from others, but

Programs Administered Through States



Figure 2

refused to allow the fate of cultural properties to be decided through a simple-minded determination that they are of "state" or "local" significance. After all, a property that is important only to a locality can be extremely important to that locality. Yet it is certain that not all historic properties are equally worthy of protection when other urgent public needs threaten them. The theory has always been that cultural values in registered properties must be taken into account when other valid needs threaten them, but never that all registered properties must be preserved at all costs. We needed a more sophisticated method than designation of national, state, or local significance. We found it by applying the basic principles of planning to cultural property inventories.

We use the term "Resource Protection Planning Process" to describe the new system. It rests upon the fact that all cultural properties can be judged within three basic contexts of time, place, and theme.

One begins by reviewing the history, prehistory, and geography of the area for which a plan is to be made, for example, the state of Colorado. The planner would correlate the major themes of Colorado history with specific chronological periods and specific geographical areas. A theme on cattle ranching, for example, might focus upon the grassy plains that make up the eastern half of the state. The temporal limits might be approximately 1870-1900, because prior to 1870, the plains were occupied by large herds of wild bison and nomadic Indians who hunted them; and after 1900 the plains were occupied in large part by farmers who tilled the soil. A theme on mining might focus upon the mountainous regions after 1858, when gold was discovered, and so on.

Each correlation of time, place, and theme we call a "study unit." The study unit provides a context within which to determine which properties qualify for the National Register. Later, if some important new project threatens registered properties, the study unit can be used to determine which ones are relatively abundant and might reasonably be recorded and sacrificed; which ones are worthy of substantial cost and effort to preserve; and which ones are so important that they

must be preserved regardless of cost or competing needs. Half the states now employ this process and the others will implement it soon. The United States Army Corps of Engineers—our nation's largest public works construction agency—is beginning to apply the method to areas over which it has jurisdiction. The Regional Director of the Southeast Region of the National Park Service has just successfully employed a similar methodology to help him decide which of his thousands of cultural properties should receive favor as he allocates scarce dollars for preservation projects. This year we have successfully tested the methodology in cultural resource management plans for four National Park System units.

Besides producing a rational basis for decisions, the Resource Protection Planning Process has several other virtues. It places first priority upon using existing information rather than new surveys every time development projects are announced. When surveys are conducted, it assures that all appropriate temporal and thematic factors are considered, rather than just having surveyors vaguely apply their knowledge as they look at sections of the country. Few worthy properties will be overlooked. Registered properties can be rationally justified, and the costs of duplicative surveys can be used for better purposes.

Guidance and Technical Information

Under our program of tax incentives, individuals who rehabilitate cultural properties may deduct 25 percent of the cost of rehabilitation from income taxes that they otherwise would pay to the federal government. The National Park Service must certify that each project meets proper standards, and although we have the valuable assistance of state historic preservation offices, this program relies heavily upon citizen initiative. A great many citizens who wish to use the program are not familiar with professional practices and techniques. In addition, the program grew in only five years to more than twenty times the size of the matching grant program that preceded it. It has required our best managerial efforts to keep up with the growth in workload and also to deliver training and information to uninitiated people so they will not cause unintended harm. One step we have taken is to develop a coherent and carefully structured hierarchy of policy, ranging from the federal statute at the top to technical information at the bottom (see Figure 3).

Federal law states that rehabilitation is to be "consistent with the historic character of the property, or of the district in which it is located." To help people understand what this means, we developed the "Secretary of the Interior's Standards for Rehabilitation." There are nine standards, each of which is really a broad statement of policy. In the same publication, we provide "guidelines," which explain the standards. The guidelines are arranged in two columns, with acceptable practices arrayed on one side and unacceptable practices on the other. As we make decisions on whether to certify or to deny

specific projects, we have occasion to explain in greater detail the meaning of the standards and guidelines—often because of mistakes people have made. This is done by printing very short statements called "Interpreting the Standards." These are normally only two pages long, abundantly illustrated, and specific to some question that has been decided. In addition, as we consider thousands of projects, we are able to identify certain subjects about which there is a need for positive information, and to arrange for production and distribution of such information. This information takes two basic forms. "Preservation Briefs" are generally the result of a research effort. The newer "Preservation Tech Notes" are designed to treat projects as though they were laboratories—in other words, to identify, extract, and share the lessons that are learned as people confront and solve actual problems on the job. Since we have little money for independent research, but hundreds of projects wherein problems are being confronted and solved, I expect "Preservation Tech Notes" to become the predominant medium by which we will share this level of information.

We will find authors for "Preservation Tech Notes" in many places. Some will be National Park Service employees, many will be state preservation office employees, and others will be skilled practitioners employed by clients seeking project certification. The technical information is designed to be acceptable in content to the most discriminating professionals, such as yourselves, but understandable to and usable by carpenters, masons, and others who do not yet possess the specialized skills of preservation.

Hierarchical Integration of Law, Policy, and Technical Information

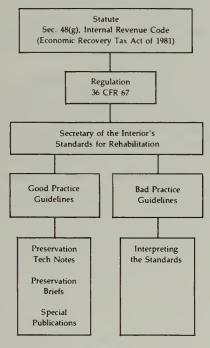


Figure 3

Direction of Programs and Motivation of People

Our final managerial approach is the most important—direction of programs and motivation of people. If we are to deal with enormous workload growth, within highly decentralized relationships, we must motivate a great many people to action. We must provide coherent direction to National Park Service regional offices and parks, to states, local governments, private organizations, and citizens, without stifling individual initiative and creativity. I will describe a few examples.

To set a general course for the next few years, the Director of the National Park Service has developed and distributed "National Park Service Goals for Cultural Resources." Nine goals deal with cultural resources within the National Park System, and eight with programs administered through the states and other entities.

Fifteen years ago when state programs were just beginning, the National Park Service supervised each item of their work in great detail. As state professional capability has grown, we have gradually removed ourselves from the details of state activities, and now rely heavily upon a broad state program review every two years. The review includes a visit to the state office, and evaluation of the state program against a specific set of criteria that are applied to all states. The criteria include standards for professional staff credentials. Also, a sample of state projects and activities is examined for quality and consistency. If all standards are met, the state program is approved for two years. If a state fails to meet one or two standards, but promises to correct the weakness within a specific time, it may be given a conditional approval. If major shortcomings are discovered with poor prospects for correction, the state program may be suspended from participating in the federalstate partnership. States want to avoid such embarrassment, and do not want to lose their roles in nominating properties to the National Register and in assisting historic property rehabilitations for tax incentives.

Within the federal government, additional managerial devices are used. Every federal employee, from the uniformed rangers in this park to the Director himself, is accountable for accomplishment of certain specific achievements described in written performance standards. The standards constitute an agreement, made at the beginning of the year, between the supervisor and the subordinate. If the subordinate exceeds the standards, he or she may be specially rewarded. If he or she fails, on the other hand, corrective action may be taken. This system has existed since 1980, and we are only now learning to use it in a manner that inspires people to excellence rather than intimidating them with fear of punishment.

At the highest level, the Secretary of the Interior uses a system of management by objectives, in which broad goals and specific objectives and target performance dates are assigned to the Director and his highest-ranking subordinates. This system is used only for the few major accomplishments the Secretary wishes to carry out. For example, the Secretary

has set up a goal to implement a new statutory authority to lease historic properties that are not needed for park purposes. The Service was assigned target dates to develop guidance for Regional Offices, prepare a model work plan, and compile a list of properties to be leased. The only remaining objective is to lease 100 properties by October 1, 1985.

These devices, and others, by which programs are directed are also devices that motivate human beings to do what we need them to do. Of greater importance is the need to motivate people to a high standard of quality. Although this may be done to a limited degree by rewarding a few outstanding performers, it is necessary to motivate the entire work force, and also the broader citizen population that does much of our work. Motivation to excellence can only come from meeting fundamental human needs—the best motivator of all is the need of human beings to feel that their lives count for something, that the world is better because they are here than it would have been without them. Conservation of cultural resources is such a noble and timeless cause that you and I have a great opportunity to make use of this motivator.

The National Park Service begins with a great advantage. From the time the Service was established in 1916 until today, its leaders have consistently espoused high ideals for the Service and for individual employees. The parks and historic sites themselves, with their scenic grandeur and inspiring historical significance, contribute to a strong sense of self-worth among employees. To make my point, I invite you to observe the employees of Mesa Verde National Park. I think you will be able to imagine how their positive attitude works for the benefit of cultural resources.

The rapid growth that threatens us is also a positive motivator. Many people who might have been limited to dull academic jobs have found activist careers. Once the province of a few historians, architects, and archeologists, our field now includes lawyers, engineers, planners, anthropologists, geographers, materials conservators, physical scientists, public relations specialists, real estate developers, manufacturers, financiers, and many others. The need for expertise is so great, and the field so diverse, that any bright and energetic person can achieve prominence. We consciously try to discover and assist such people in fulfilling their ambitions. Earlier I mentioned a program in which we will share with others technical advances made as people solve their problems on the job. We will benefit not only from the information but especially from the motivational value in bringing peer group recognition to people whose discoveries are published.

In the diverse and dynamic situation I have described, we must acknowledge that all wisdom and knowledge does not reside with those who make decisions that govern the actions of others. Yet, we cannot evade the responsibility to make such decisions. National Park Service officials must decide what to do and what not to do with cultural resources under our stewardship. And, even with the involvement of a broad

citizen movement, many local governments, and all the state historic preservation officers, the National Park Service must decide which tax incentive projects are certified and which are denied. Our decisions must be rationally consistent, but they cannot be reduced to a science—all require judgment.

We must do more than share decisions through technical leaflets. We must draw as many professionals as possible into the decision-making process—and make them feel that they are part of the process. We have begun the use of "quality circles," which are well known to managers in private industry. Participants in an annual workshop for National Park Service archeologists are encouraged to question official policies and practices, and to suggest improvements. Not all ideas are accepted, but not even the most outrageous ideas are ridiculed or punished. Similar workshops are held for historical architects, and for museum curators. We will begin the practice this year among Service historians. In addition, quality-circle workshops are held among the principal administrators of the tax incentive program. Participants bring examples of difficult project issues that have been resolved during the year, and invite the critical commentary of peers. In October, we will begin similar workshops for state historic preservation offices. Approaches such as this give access to a maximum number of creative minds, and help shape the nationwide professional consensus about good cultural resource practice. A great number of professionals feel that

they "own" a part of the national program and are motivated to accept the burden of growing workloads and also to pursue improvements in quality of work.

Summary

People who head national cultural park systems or cultural resource programs should employ the technology of management as well as the technology of traditional cultural resource professional disciplines. In the United States, rapid expansion of the National Park System and the geometric growth of the programs the Service administers—without a commensurate increase in staff and budget—made increased attention to managerial approaches essential. The activities described in this paper are only a few examples, intended to represent a far greater number of managerial approaches to cultural resource problems.

Conclusion

We here assembled in the First World Conference on Cultural Parks are not a gathering of nations, but a conference of dedicated professional men and women, unfettered by the limitations of national interest, politics, or even diplomacy. Let us offer our suggestions and examine one another's ideas in collegial pursuit of our universal cause. I thank you for your attention to my offering, and I invite all of you to attend and participate in the sessions of theme 1.

Precis

This paper takes the position that national parks—particularly the cultural parks—are vital components of modern social systems in that they offer us standards against which to measure change. It is necessary to measure change in some manner; otherwise the benefit we derive from change cannot be evaluated. The paper takes the further position that our lives are enriched by the ability to attain first-hand knowledge of past human behavior, which is achieved most vividly through preservation of things past. Today we have the capability of preserving segments of the past in the form of cultural parks. These serve as portraits of abandoned lifeways, or windows to past human experience, and must be conserved for the future.

Thus the strongest case must be made for conservation to become the dominant theme governing the management of cultural parks. Development must not be authorized solely in the name of providing conveniences for visitors, since such development might result in irrevocable damage to either the resource or its environment. However, this policy must be mirrored by a conservation ethic of equal rigor in the conduct of archeological investigation, since site conservation in the absence of thorough, scientific research is not only ineffectual, but in the long run inefficient. Thus it is held here that conservation oriented archeological research in cultural parks is absolutely essential to their long-term mission, a fact that simply is not fully acknowledged and supported by governments today.

Este informe adopta la posición que los parques nacionales—en particular los parques culturales—son elementos esenciales de sistemas sociales modernos porque nos ofrecen las normas para medir los cambios que intervienen. Medir el cambio de una manera es necesario, de otra forma el beneficio no se puede evaluar. Este informe adopta además la posición que nuestras vidas son enriquecidas por la capacidad de obtener un conocimiento de primera mano del comportamiento humano pasado, que se obtiene de una manera muy notable gracias a la preservación de las cosas del pasado. Hoy día tenemos la capacidad de preservar los momentos del pasado en la forma de parques culturales. Estos sirven de retratos de modos de vida abandonados o de ventanas a la experiencia humana pasada, y se deben conservar para el futuro.

A consecuencia, es imperativo insistir en que la conservación venga a ser tema dominante que gobierna la gestión de los parques culturales. El desarrollo no debe de ser únicamente la autorización en nombre de comodidades para los visitantes, puesto que tal desarrollo puede dar por resultado daños irreparables o a los recursos o para el ambiente. Sin embargo, esta política debe reflejarse por una ética de conservación de igual rigor en la conducta de investigaciones arqueológicas, puesto que la conservación de sitio, en la ausencia de investigaciones científicas profundas, no solamente son insuficientes sino, a largo plazo, también ineficaces. A consecuencia, mantenemos que la investigación arqueológica, orientada a la conservación, en los parques culturales es absolutamente esencial para su misión a largo plazo. Un hecho que hoy día no se reconoce totalmente por los gobiernos.

Cet exposé adopte la position que les parcs nationaux—en particulier les parcs culturels—sont des éléments essentiels des systèmes sociaux modernes, parce qu'ils nous offrent des normes pour mesurer les changements qui interviennent. Mesurer d'une façon quelconque le changement est nécessaire afin de pouvoir évaluer le bénéfice que nous en retirons. L'exposé adopte de plus la position que nos vies sont enrichies par la capacité d'obtenir une connaissance de première main du comportement humain passé, et qu'une telle connaissance est obtenue, d'une manière plus marquante, grâce à la préservation des choses du passé. Aujourd'hui nous avons la capacité de préserver des moments du passé sous la forme de parcs culturels. Ces derniers jouent le rôle de portraits de modes de vie abandonnés ou de fenêtres sur l'expérience humaine passée, et doivent être conservés pour le futur.

En conséquence, il est impératif d'insister pour que la conservation devienne le thème dominant qui gouverne la gestion des parcs culturels. Le développement ne doit pas être autorisé uniquement au nom de commodités pour les visiteurs puisqu'un tel développement peut avoir pour résultats des dégâts irréparables soit pour la ressource, soit pour son environnement. Néanmoins, cette politique doit être reflétée par une éthique de conservation d'égale rigueur dans la conduite de recherches archéologiques, puisque la conservation du site, en l'absence de recherche scientifique approfondie, est non seulement insuffisante mais, à plus long terme, est aussi inefficace. En conséquence, nous maintenons que la recherche archéologique, orientée vers la conservation, dans les parcs culturels est absolument essentielle à leur mission à long terme. Un fait qui n'est pas encore, aujourd'hui, totalement reconnu et soutenu par les gouvernements.

Cultural Parks: Portraits of the Human Experience

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This paper has two basic purposes which I feel are integral to making decisions as to "how and what to preserve," the theme of this conference session. The first is to point out that in my view our cultural parks are being exploited today at the expense of the resources they seek to preserve. That exploitation, undertaken in the name of development, must be curtailed. The second purpose is to point out that our cultural parks should be exploited to the full potential they offer as educational tools to give us the proper perspective to better comprehend and appreciate our world, past and present. That exploitation must be intensified.

I speak to you today as a North American archeologist and much of what I have to say will be presented from an archeological perspective. Thus, in this paper, the term "cultural parks" refers primarily to archeological parks in the United States. There is no question in my mind that we have established good cultural parks here and that we are doing well with them—but we are not doing our best. I think all here would agree that we have the technological capability to treat our parks better—yet somehow we seem to lack the wisdom or initiative to do so. I am not sure we have the time to wait for our wisdom to catch up with our technology. I think that the value of our cultural parks is such that we should be doing our very best right now—that anything less is simply not good enough.

First I will examine a very basic question: Why should we bother to preserve anything at all? After all, knowing why we preserve things may help us decide what to keep and what to throw away. Allow me a personal perspective. Let me try to explain why I am interested in the past and why I think

we should preserve it. One reason is because I am fascinated with technology, with tools, with things, with implements, as well as with the social structures with which they are associated. I want to know how things work and how they function in our world today. I find it even more fascinating to learn how things used to work, and what their function was in societies of the past.

Not too long ago, I was invited to participate in a conference on prehistoric technology. This particular technology involved the modification of animal bone to produce tools and implements. Also participating in the conference was a scientist from South Africa who brought with him a bone tool made by a creature called *Homo habilis*, our earliest human ancestor. The tool was 1.2 million years old. I was able to handle it, to feel it, to reconstruct in my own mind how it used to function, well over a million years ago. To me that was a truly moving experience, and I am still awestruck by the realization of how privileged a person I am to have had the opportunity to examine that artifact with my own hands. A million years is a long, long time.

I think there are a lot of people in this country and elsewhere in the world who, even though they may not share my same intensive fascination with prehistoric technology, nonetheless would have considered it an equal privilege to examine that bone tool. I bring this to your attention because I feel very strongly that we as humans living in the present can benefit immensely from this kind of participation in the past.

How do we benefit? Well, I for one do not find the need to rationalize this in quite the same way others have. The quest for a better understanding of almost anything is for me adequate justification; surely a better understanding of mankind is a natural desire. I do not believe that we necessarily have to "understand the past in order to understand the present," nor do I believe that "when we are able to understand the past, we are able to predict the future." I just believe very simply and sincerely that our daily lives are enriched immensely when we have the ability to attain first-hand knowledge of past human behavior, and through the preservation of the past that knowledge can be achieved most vividly. To me, the enlightenment a person thus gains is, in and of itself, sufficient rationale for the preservation of things past, and the search for things to preserve for the future.

I would admit to you that the adequacy of this rationale may be quite personal with me, perhaps a function of my own idiosyncracies. However, I know of others who share this view. Those who do not may need to justify their interests differently, but I doubt if they need more reason. There seems to be a common, even natural, interest in preserving and observing the past, and I think the reasons are quite simple and straightforward.

I suppose that is all one need say, but let's pursue it a bit more anyway at a somewhat different level. Let's not talk about why some people are interested in the past; let's talk about why more people should be. As an archeologist, let me suggest that there is a value to viewing our past from the perspective of archeological time, that is, lengths of time shorter than those which geologists are accustomed to, yet much longer than the time frame of our historical colleagues. A length of time, perhaps, between 100 and 100,000 years ago, where the archeological record permits us to begin to comprehend the human experience in its fullest dimensions, dimensions which include the full complement of spatial and temporal diversity. Such a time period permits us to evaluate further the reaction of human systems to major changes in the physical and social environments and offers, therefore, a perspective all-too-often neglected.

The actual preservation of segments of the human experience permits each of us to participate in archeological time. It permits us to visualize change on a macro-temporal scale, and thus begin to comprehend our own history. It permits us to compare our own lives with past lifeways. One may ask why is such comparison necessary? I think knowledge of past cultural processes allows us to speak more intelligently of the present—to understand the present much more objectively. It enhances, if you will, our collective wisdom. It is, after all, comparison with other things, with other people, that permits us to evaluate ourselves more objectively than we would otherwise. This, in my view, is why we should preserve things past. Let's look now at what should be preserved.

A colleague recently remarked to me that "National Parks are a good idea. They are neat things." Indeed they are, and there is a lot embodied in that brief statement; thus I feel it worthwhile to explore more fully the "idea" of cultural parks.

Albert Einstein, who had a way with words which matched his way with mathematics, once said, "the man who has discovered an idea which allows us to penetrate, to whatever slight degree, a little more deeply the eternal mystery of nature, has been allotted a great share of grace." Now I realize that he was referring to ideas in a different realm, but I do not feel that the quote here is entirely out of context. I feel that the idea of cultural parks permits each of us to penetrate ever so slightly the mystery of our presence, and thus we are each allotted a share of that grace which Einstein referred to. I feel also that he, of all people, would truly appreciate the idea of cultural parks, as he would the wisdom gained by preserving the past.

In my view, cultural parks capture what we might call glimpses or portraits of past lifeways, of the past human experience, and if managed properly, cultural parks preserve those portraits for us. I suggest that these captured segments of past experience are necessary, perhaps even vital, components of modern social systems, of our current human experience. In terms of archeological time, we have no other source of such information. Those slices of the past are the only things we can refer to in order to gain the proper perspective on our present situation. They permit us to contemplate not how far we have come, but how different the various segments of the human experience really have been, and how each seemed to fit in its own way.

Joseph Sax (1976), certainly one of the most articulate students of the park concept, has suggested that national parks provide us with standards against which to measure change. If so, then cultural parks specifically provide us the opportunity to measure change in the human, as well as natural, dimension and thus to be more objective about our own lives. On a more intimate level perhaps, cultural parks permit the individual the sheer joy of participating in a past lifestyle, whether vicariously or through some interpretive process. They permit the individual to stand where others once stood ages ago-and to imagine how others once lived-ages ago. There is a pleasure to that process which is almost unmeasurable, yet very valuable to our present society. Most valuable, perhaps, because with such experience comes a gradual comprehension of the magnitude of the dimensions of the human experience. One may be humbled by an awareness of the hardships, and of the achievements, of those who have gone before. But then, a good dose of humility never hurt anyone.

Yet all of you here today are aware of these things. All of you here already understand these things. All of you here believe in these things. Otherwise, you would not be at this conference on cultural parks. Once this awareness and understanding is accepted, then the challenge is to contemplate how we, as custodians of the past, can transfer this experience to those who visit our parks. How can we enhance the experience of the person who has not yet achieved the

awareness, who has not yet awakened to the value of knowing the past? How can we reach that person who has not yet fully appreciated the significance of contemplating and understanding cultural change?

It is in this realm that I feel we have been most negligent. I feel we are not exploiting the educational potential of our cultural parks fully. To give you an example, it is my belief that to really appreciate the message from the past, the visitor should be allowed, even forced, to participate in the environment of the past as much as possible. Thus the original environmental context of the cultural parks should be approximated and maintained as closely as possible, and the visitor should be fully immersed in that environment. I think it much more effective to walk a trail for some distance to a cultural site to assimilate and fully experience the conditions of the past than it is to drive up to the site on a paved road, hop out of the air-conditioned car, and peer into prehistory from the comfort of modern technology. A lot may be lost in the translation.

Perhaps we could take a lesson from one Mr. Walt Disney, who was careful to warm one up to the environment of the haunted house before he actually scared you. I think we can agree that Disney knew how to issue memorable experiences. After all, he wanted you to come back. We should want people to come back to cultural parks. Yet, somehow we seem to feel that if we do not make them comfortable, people will not return. I object to this concept. The fact is that in our society today we have grown to expect everything packaged for us in clean and convenient see-through plastic wrappers. The challenge we face today is no longer how to get our goods, but how to get the wrapper off. Everything is packagednothing seems immune from the plastic cover. We have become culturally conditioned to such packaging and have come to expect our parks to be packaged and wrapped like everything else.

Given this conditioning, it is interesting that our parks are as popular as they are. Perhaps people seek an escape from the plastic world. There may be some hope in that observation. Let us not underestimate the durability of the visitor who is, after all, a member of that same species that first created the sites which we visit in the parks. Thus the visitor may not really need the conveniences we seem to feel it necessary to provide. Perhaps we are instead making cultural parks comfortable for ourselves, the custodians. I suggest we ponder that possibility for a moment before we authorize further development in our parks to make them more convenient. Such development takes place at the expense of the resources which are, in this case, nonrenewable resources.

With the trend toward modern packaging we are, in my opinion, abusing the legacy willed to us by those who in the early part of the century had the vision and foresight to set aside the cultural parks we have today. It may be that living much closer to the environment in the early 1900s made them

more fully appreciative of prehistoric accomplishments and thus gave them the foresight that we seem to have lost. They are the ones who discovered the idea, and they are the ones who have been allotted a share of grace, in Einstein's terms. We owe it to them not only to try to keep the concept alive, but to develop it further. Again, I urge that we consider the educational and interpretive importance of maintaining an approximation of the original environment in our cultural parks, an environment which did not include concrete and asphalt, and that we conserve that environment as sacred and inviolable to further development. I believe that the more closely aboriginal conditions can be approximated, the more educational the site, the more enlightened the visitor, and the more memorable the experience.

I have one more critical comment on the status of cultural parks today, and that is that they tend to preserve only the spectacular segments of cultural systems. These are biased segments. There seems to be too little attempt to preserve less visible yet more numerous archeological sites which are not spectacular and thus do not receive the recognition afforded their importance. Let's not forget that the human experience includes a healthy dose of everyday life. The park visitor represents a cross-section of the modern public. I think these visitors would enjoy seeing a cross-section of the past public seeing how people got along each day, where they got their groceries and their water, what kinds of everyday problems they had. These things make sense to the average visitor. Yet such mere common aspects of past lifeways are not consciously preserved in many cultural parks. In some they are present, but not interpreted. In others, we need to acquire and preserve the "everyday sites," not just the spectacular. We forget that the visual pleasure we get today from spectacular sites is a pleasure relative to our own cultural mores, not necessarily those of the original occupants.

Although it is important to recognize and preserve such segments as national parks, even they do not represent the full spectrum of a past social system. Trade and interaction with other groups may have extended far beyond the reaches of the remains preserved. Here the importance of research must be noted, since only through research can we discover the less-spectacular components of the system, as well as the other interactive segments, and thus be able to comprehend the entire community network which was operative at any given time. It is this entire system that I refer to as the "human experience" in the title of this paper, and it is that system which it is vital to recognize and preserve in order to provide the educational stimulation possible in the park.

This, incidentally, is true with the cultural park in which we are holding this conference. The spectacular cliff dwellings you see here at Mesa Verde represent only a minor portion of an extensive cultural system which covered much of the low-lying areas to the north and west of this beautiful place. It is sad that this larger system is only beginning to be

recognized since it is now too late to preserve major portions of it.

Thus we must not only try to understand specific sites as portraits of the past, but we must try to understand major lifeways and cultural patterns as well. Cultural parks are important, even focal, elements of such systems, but do not themselves mirror the entire system. The latter must be discovered through research, and as you might expect, I am a strong supporter of archeological research, the lifeblood of my profession.

To those who object to scientific research on the grounds that it is too costly, I would say that there is a difference between good science and bad science. Good science need not be too expensive. Bad science is always too expensive. We must find adequate funding to do good scientific archeological research. I remind those who control purse strings that in the absence of the compilation of information and the assimilation of knowledge, resources in cultural parks are rendered useless, and the entire preservation process is effectively wasted. Can research lead to the beneficial exploitation of the cultural park? I think so and I would like to give an example from my own experience as an archeologist.

About 160 kilometers south of here is a cultural park called Chaco Canyon, a park which I have had the privilege of beginning to know and understand as a research archeologist. It is an area where today few people could survive for more than a few days, and we know that the past climate was no better than that of today. At best, it can be described as a desolate, barren area with few resources—certainly a very difficult place from which to extract a living.

In carrying out my work there for the past ten years, I have been to Chaco many times. I have walked most of the 83 square kilometers of the park. I am, nevertheless, awestruck every time I go there, simply by virtue of being able to stand in that environment and ponder the magnitude of the achievements which took place there. In that very harsh place, the Chacoans managed to construct a socio-religious system which served to integrate populations from an area encompassing over 67,000 square kilometers. This system involved as many as seventy dispersed satellite communities, connected to Chaco by a network of engineered roads and a complex communications system. All this was accomplished with a technology that by any modern measure would be called primitive. When today we are quick to find fault with minor inconveniences in our own lives, inconveniences which, incidentally, to the Chacoans would have been luxuries, one can only marvel at the dimension of achievement which took place there in the twelfth century A.D. I urge you to visit that desolate place and experience the same feelings. I suggest you visit it now before it, too, is made to conform to the modern conveniences some feel all parks must have, before the past environmental context is modified beyond recognition in the name of progress.

Yet ten years ago, though archeologists certainly appreciated

the accomplishments of the Chacoans and their monumental architecture, we had no idea of the magnitude and significance of their achievements. This understanding could not have been obtained in the absence of either foresight or research. Chaco's secrets were preserved by a few individuals back in the early part of this century who had the vision to set it aside as a cultural park. A portion of those secrets has yielded to our scientific expertise over the past ten years. Without this research, the secrets of Chaco would not have been discovered and thus shared, and Chaco as a resource would not be living up to its potential. Today's visitor would have been cheated without realizing it.

Thus, I must strongly support research—good research—in our cultural parks today. Yet to be entirely candid, I must bring to your attention a serious problem we have with such research. The problem is that in doing archeological research, we destroy our own data base—we destroy the same resource we wish to conserve. Let me explain by noting that modern archeology as a discipline attempts to understand past human behavior. Though many modern social scientists study human behavior, few have access to the temporal perspective available to archeologists. We have become interested in the study of cultural change and the adaptive processes which condition the nature of culture at any given time and place. We are particularly interested in attempting to understand those components of behavior which were responsible for the formation of the archeological record. This requires skilled research efforts, since not all human behavior leaves its mark on the earth.

Yet to do archeological research is to literally pull our information from its context in the ground and thus destroy that context. And unlike the hard sciences or, for that matter, other social sciences, we archeologists cannot repeat the experiment once we have done our research. It is true that we carefully keep records, notes, drawings, and photographs as we remove our data, but record keeping is quite subjective, regardless of how well-intentioned. As one archeologist has put it, doing archeology is analogous to removing President Lincoln's letters from the National Archives, reading them, taking careful notes, and then burning those letters.

This, then, is the problem: how can we do archeological research and yet at the same time conserve the resource, a resource which is nonrenewable? Archeologists must deal with this paradox daily—a situation not fully appreciated by others. Thus, the concept of conservation acquires an added dimension when considered in the context of archeological time.

It is for this reason that parks with archeological remains become increasingly valuable through time. Cultural resources are found everywhere, yet are finite and nonrenewable. Not all can, or should, be preserved. This fact puts a premium on those resources found in cultural parks since they will undergo increasing competition for use by both researchers and the public through time. Thus resources in cultural parks, as well

as the parks themselves, must be curated with the utmost care. They must be treated as the delicate, fragile heirlooms which they are. No one, including archeologists, can be allowed to unnecessarily damage these resources. Yet they must be examined in order to exploit fully the potential of such parks. The question is, can we both use and conserve the resource? The answer is yes, if we archeologists are willing to make a concerted effort to do so.

The kind of archeological research which allows a solution to the problem is called conservation archeology. It consists of both a philosophy and an explicit methodology. In philosophy, it requires first that we demonstrate beyond reasonable doubt that the research we plan cannot be undertaken outside the park area on sites that are not destined for long-term conservation, and that once this is determined we will develop our research designs to ensure that the impact on the resource is minimal. Further, it requires that we target our research goals to coincide specifically with the interpretive and educational needs of the cultural park in question.

In methodology, it requires that we emphasize survey over excavation, and that we develop methods of on-site analysis of cultural materials which will allow us to leave them undisturbed on the surface during our surveys. It requires that we rely on remote sensing and other nondestructive techniques of data acquisition as much as possible. It requires that during excavation, we sample extensively and collect only those data necessary to achieve the interpretive goal established by the research design. And finally, it demands that we not sacrifice cultural park resources to experiments for developing new methods of data recovery.

Modern archeologists can do much within the paradigm of conservation archeology today, yet it can be said that our technology is in its infant state. We must condition our research attitudes to ensure that advances in archeology are focused toward furthering conservation methods and goals. Through such efforts, the archeological paradox of destroying a dwindling resource base will be dealt with. With careful and enlightened planning, cultural parks can be preserved, research can be allowed, and the public will benefit from both.

By way of summary, permit me to voice a series of requests to conservationists and scientists interested in cultural parks. I voice these as an archeologist committed to the research goals of my profession, and as a conservationist committed to the preservation of cultural resources.

I ask you first to actively seek and support archeological research in cultural parks, and second, to carefully control that same research to ensure that it gets the most interpretive benefit with the least damage to the resources we are attempting to protect. I ask that you insist that the conservation ethic permeate all research undertaken.

I ask my archeological colleagues not to treat data in cultural parks lightly—treat them with the respect they deserve. I ask you not to address narrowly defined research questions of relevance to only a few. Please try to understand the nature of cultural park resources and their value to all generations. Do not be irritated when you are asked why you must work in the park area rather than elsewhere. In the long run, others will be glad you possessed this vision.

I ask my conservation colleagues to think twice, or even three times, before authorizing development in cultural parks to make them more convenient for the visitor—development which not only might damage the resource, but which might destroy that environment the public must have to fully assimilate the message transmitted by those who went before us. In the long run, others will be glad you possessed this vision.

I ask that we all work together to train highly ethical, conservation-minded professionals to care for our parks—professionals who have a deep commitment to the integrity of the resource. We must select them for their commitment to the mission of conservation. They must be trained in the skills of management and resource preservation. Once trained, we must keep them by ensuring that the mission for which they have been prepared is never compromised.

Finally, I ask that we work together to seek reliable methods to increase the effectiveness of our work without reducing the quality of the results. And I ask that we make a continual effort to ensure that the results of our work are transmitted to the public in an intelligent and comprehensible, yet not condescending, fashion. After all, as archeologists and conservationists, we must never forget who we really work for.

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Precis

America's prehistoric ruins are severely threatened by looters, urban development, and modern agriculture. Unlike most nations, the United States has no laws to preserve prehistoric ruins if they are located on privately owned lands, and these sites are rapidly disappearing.

In 1980 the National Park Service incorporated 33 outlying villages over an area of 25,000 square miles into the management of Chaco Cultural National Historical Park in New Mexico. This legislation set the stage for a new concept of managing prehistoric national parks—around an entire culture, not just individual sites. The proper method of developing prehistoric parks is to include all of the sites of an individual culture in the park unit no matter where they are found. Some of these sites would be used for interpretation and others would be restricted for research only over a very long period of time so that knowledge of the culture would always be kept up to date. This improved data would be continually used to update and improve visitor services. The Archeological Conservancy is in the process of acquiring and preserving these key sites throughout the United States. It will hold them until this policy can be implemented.

Las ruinas prehistóricas de los Estados Unidos están amenazadas severamente por los ladrones, el desarrollo urbano y la agricultura moderna. A la inversa de la mayoría de las naciones, los Estados Unidos no preserva, por medio de las leyes, las ruinas prehistóricas situadas en sus terrenos privados, y estos sitios desaparecen rápidamente.

En 1980, el Servicio de Parques Nacionales incorporó 33 pueblos dispersos sobre una superficie de 25.000 millas cuadradas a la gestión del Parque Nacional Histórico de la Cultura del Chaco (Chaco Cultural National Historical Park) en Nuevo México. Esta legislación ha creado las condiciones necesarias para un concepto nuevo de gestión de los parques nacionales prehistóricos—alrededor de una cultura completa y no solamente alrededor de sitios individuales. El método apropiado de desarrollar los parques prehistóricos consiste en

incluir todos los sitios de una cultura individual en el parque, independiente del sitio donde se encuentren. Algunos de esos sitios serán utilizados para la interpretación y otros sitios se guardarán para la investigación sobre un período de tiempo muy largo, de manera que el conocimiento de la cultura sería constantemente utilizada para actualizar y mejorar los servicios rendidos a los visitantes. La Conservación de la Arqueología (Archeological Conservancy) adquiere y preserva esos sitios claves por todo los Estados Unidos. Los guardará hasta que se puede instalar esta política.

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Les ruines préhistoriques des Etats-Unis sont grandement menacées par les pillards, le développement urbain et l'agriculture moderne. A l'inverse de la plupart des nations, les Etats-Unis ne préservent pas, au moyen de lois, les ruines préhistoriques situées sur des terrains privés, et ces sites disparaissent rapidement.

En 1980, le Service des Parcs Nationaux a incorporé 33 villages dispersés sur une superficie de 25 000 milles carrés dans la gestion du Parc National Historique de la Culture du Chaco (Chaco Culture National Historical Park) au Nouveau-Mexique. Cette législation a créé les conditions nécessaires pour un nouveau concept de gestion des parcs nationaux préhistoriques-autour d'une culture entière et non pas uniquement autour de sites individuels. La méthode adaptée pour développer les parcs préhistoriques consiste à inclure tous les sites d'une culture individuelle dans le parc, indépendamment de l'endroit où ils sont trouvés. Quelques-uns de ces sites seraient utilisés pour l'interprétation et d'autres sites resteraient réservés pour la recherche sur une très longue période de temps, de façon à ce que la connaissance de la culture soit constamment maintenue à jour. Ces informations, sans cesse améliorées, seront continuellement utilisées pour actualiser et améliorer les services rendus aux visiteurs. L'Archeological Conservancy acquiert et préserve ces sites clés sur l'ensemble des Etats-Unis. Elle les gardera jusqu'à ce qu'une politique puisse être mise en oeuvre.

A Single Culture Approach to Prehistoric Parks

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The remains of America's great prehistoric civilizations are perhaps this nation's most endangered resource. Each day they are being lost to professional looters, urban sprawl, and modern agricultural practices. So rapid is the destruction in recent years that many believe only those few preserved by the end of the decade will survive.

Unlike many other resources, the destruction of prehistoric information is irreversible. Recovery as in the case of endangered animals is not possible, because what is contained in the sites is all that remains of these past cultures. When the Smithsonian Institution surveyed the great mound-builder sites of the Ohio and Mississippi valleys in the 1840s, they found 20,000. Today no more than 200 remain.

A handful of prehistoric ruins are preserved in the National Park System. More are legally protected by virtue of being on public lands, mainly in the West. But the vast majority are privately owned, and subject to the whims of the owners. These are threatened daily by development or by the large new machinery of modern intensive agriculture. Others are lost to professional looters, who use backhoes and front-end loaders to recover valuable artifacts for the international antiquities market. Looters were once largely confined to the Southwest, but today they are active across the nation. Clearly, the federal government and the National Park Service need a much more aggressive policy to acquire and preserve what little is left.

A tough new federal law (the Archaeological Resources Protection Act of 1979) is slowing the looters on public lands in the West, but much of the damage has already been done. There is hardly a prehistoric site in the state of Arizona that has not been ravaged by looters, and there is no legal protec-

tion for those found on privately owned lands.

In 1889 Congress reserved the ancient ruins of Casa Grande in Arizona, later to become the first unit of the National Park Service dedicated primarily to the preservation of a prehistoric site. Today there are more than thirty national park units dedicated to preserving America's prehistoric heritage. Many important sites are preserved in other parks as well.

Until recently prehistoric parks were selected primarily on the basis of their scenic and architectural features, and because they happened to be located on publicly owned federal lands. Too often the cultural and scientific values were ignored. Management and interpretation has been spotty at best. Unnecessary excavations that have destroyed irreplaceable information were carried out to improve interpretive services with little regard to the well-being of the resource. Almost always the emphasis was on buildings, not the culture or the people.

At many of the most popular prehistoric national parks there is little left in the ground to provide new data on the culture that existed long ago. In parks like Mesa Verde, Chaco Canyon, Montezuma Castle, Tuzigoot, Mound City, and Casa Grande, relatively little information was gained from a great deal of excavation that was done before many of the modern techniques were developed. So much of the resource base was destroyed in the process that it is doubtful that enough remains in these parks to greatly enhance the information base for the future. Scientists will have to look elsewhere for new information about these and many other prehistoric cultures represented in our national parks.

By today's standards, the techniques used by the National Park Service to excavate and interpret these parks were destructive and not very productive. Until fairly recently, Park Service and related archeologists dug up entire sites. They collected a great deal of information for their time, but missed much more because their techniques were rather primitive. Many new advances in science have since been made; for example, tree ring dating was not developed until the 1920s and Carbon 14 dating not until the 1950s.

Thus, much of the basic information contained in these ruins was destroyed, and while some of the information can be recovered, most cannot. A realization that advances in science and different perspectives of the scientists would allow future archeologists to gain much more information brought about a new concept known as "conservation archeology." This doctrine called for the least possible excavation in order to preserve ruins awaiting better techniques of the future. Sites are never totally excavated, only sampled, and in situ material is reserved for the future.

The National Park Service, which by then was oriented toward preservation, quickly adopted "conservation archeology" as its doctrine. Scientists were encouraged to utilize new, nondestructive techniques like remote sensing, ground radar, and magnetometer measurements, and the National Park Service was in the forefront of using many of these new techniques. Unfortunately, much of the damage had already been done in the rush to excavate large impressive sites like Chaco Canyon and Mesa Verde.

By far the biggest advance in prehistoric park management in the United States has been at the great pre-Columbian complex of Chaco Canyon in northwestern New Mexico. One of the first prehistoric complexes protected by the Antiquities Act of 1906, Chaco Canyon is this nation's most spectacular ruin. Yet the canyon itself, with its thirteen major pueblos, tells only a small part of the story of a once-great civilization.

We now know that the great complexes in Chaco Canyon were linked by great roads to more than eighty satellite communities covering an area of 25,000 square miles. How this system worked and to what extent the communities traded is still unclear. But one thing is clear. Archeologists' understanding of the Chaco culture before 1970 was vastly different than it is today. We can be virtually certain that this understanding will be vastly different ten years from now as well.

In 1971 the National Park Service established the Chaco Center at the University of New Mexico to study the entire Chacoan system and try and put it into some kind of modern perspective. It was clear that the National Park Service could not adequately interpret the great ruins in the park without knowledge of the entire system.

One result of the research of the Chaco Center was a recommendation to include a sampling of the outlying villages in the monument. This was quite a controversial idea, since some of these satellite communities are a hundred miles away from the park, but in 1980 Congress passed legislation to create the Chaco Culture National Historical Park seeking to integrate

thirty-three of these outlying towns with the center at Chaco Canyon. For the first time, the National Park Service and Congress recognized that the culture was the crucial element to sound management—not just the most impressive structures.

The legislation did not envision that all of the thirty-three outliers would be interpreted for the public. In fact, the resulting management plan recommended that only one additional outlier be opened to the public. The others are to be preserved and studied so that the main interpretive center in Chaco Canyon can more accurately describe what happened 900 years ago. The new information about the Chaco culture coming out of the Chaco Center has already resulted in updating the museum in the park. Undoubtedly as new information is accumulated, the visitor center will need to be brought up to date on a regular basis, thus enhancing the visitor's experience.

Unfortunately, this new direction in cultural park management has not been a total success. Since the legislation was passed in 1980, little has been done to protect the designated outliers or to carry out the congressional mandate, and one has already been destroyed by looters. Nonetheless, a precedent was established for a much more effective way of managing cultural parks in the United States.

One of the first places the National Park Service and Congress should look to implement this vastly improved policy is right here at Mesa Verde. Visitors from all over the world come to see the spectacular ruins around us, but recent and not-so-recent information suggests that the ruins in this park are only a small fraction of the extent of the Mesa Verde culture. In fact, archeologists now believe that ten times as many people (4,000 on the mesa and 40,000 in the valley) were living in the Montezuma Valley near Cortez at the base of Mesa Verde as were living in the park at the peak of the culture around A.D. 1250.

A number of these people were apparently living in great Mesa Verde towns in the valley, many of which appear to have more ruins and more kivas than all of the ruins in the park combined. But they were not included in the park because many of the most spectacular of these ruins are located on private lands and because the valley ruins lack the spectacular setting of the great cliff dwellings. (By chance, two of the valley ruins were preserved by the National Park Service as other units and several more have legal protection because they are on federal land.)

No significant research has yet taken place on the great Mesa Verde towns of the valley, and many have been severely damaged by looters and development. But it is impossible to understand what is going on here in the park without an understanding of the great Mesa Verde towns of the valley. Furthermore, there is clear evidence in some of the valley towns of a Chacoan presence 150 years before the height of the Mesa Verde culture. The relationship between these two great cultures is a subject that is little understood today, largely

because the sites where the two cultures overlap the most are not a part of either park.

Clearly our understanding of the ruins in the park is severely limited by the lack of knowledge of the ruins in the valley. The visitor is being short-changed because he or she is seeing only a very small part of a much bigger, more complex picture. A true "Mesa Verde National Park" would encompass the ruins in the valley as well as the spectacular cliff dwellings. This has many practical advantages as well. Research sites are virtually nonexistent on the mesa since most were fully excavated years ago. A new interpretive site would tend to alleviate overcrowding in the park and extend the length of the visitor season.

The need for culture-wide interpretation of prehistoric cultural parks is not limited to the Southwest. Near Chillicothe, Ohio, the National Park Service manages a small prehistoric Hopewellian ceremonial center known as Mound City Group National Monument. Like many national park cultural resources, it came about almost by accident as surplus government property from a World War I army training center (Camp Sherman). The Hopewell culture was the greatest prehistoric civilization in the eastern United States, flourishing from about 300 B.C. to A.D. 500. The Hopewellians had a trade network even greater than Chaco Canyon, collecting exotic materials from across the continent to fashion into elaborate works of art. Hopewell villages reached as far west as Kansas City, east to New York state, and south to the Gulf of Mexico.

But the national monument hardly recognizes this great culture. It is located in a once-great concentration of Hopewellian sites, but when the National Park Service proposed to expand the monument in 1980, they proposed to add an important nearby site mainly on the old criteria of geographical proximity, not cultural significance. A line bisecting Mound City also bisects the main Hopewell culture site, but it is five miles away.

Fortunately Congressman John Sieberling intervened and Congress, with the backing of the National Park Service, ordered a study of all the remaining Hopewellian sites in the area for possible inclusion in a Hopewell culture national park. This study is now in progress.

The Archaeological Conservancy, a national nonprofit organization formed in 1979 by concerned archeologists and conservationists, has been acquiring many of these key sites around the United States. It has acquired the two largest Mesa Verde culture ruins in Colorado. The Hopewell Mounds Group in Ohio—the central site of the Hopewell culture—was acquired just before it was sold for a subdivision. The Con-

servancy has also acquired Pueblo San Marcos in New Mexico, perhaps the single largest pueblo ruin in the United States. It also acquired one of the Chaco culture outliers and is seeking to acquire several others.

The Conservancy is in the process of acquiring the two best remaining Sinagua culture ruins in Arizona. These ruins are associated with Tuzigoot and Montezuma Castle National Monuments, both of which were completely excavated in the 1930s. All of these sites will be held until some government agency can incorporate them into their plans.

Improvements in management of national park units has also led to improvements in interpretation for the visitor. Until recently, visitors to parks like Mesa Verde and Chaco Canyon could learn little of the people and culture represented by the ruins in the park. Modern research is today being incorporated into improved visitor centers and museums. New exhibits at Chaco Canyon and Pecos National Monument are setting the model for improved interpretation throughout the system.

But there is still much to do. At Bandelier National Monument, near Los Alamos, New Mexico, the visitor center has an impressive display of modern pueblo life, but hardly a mention of the people who lived in the park centuries ago. Artifacts from the impressive ruins are not to be found in the monument and the visitor has a hard time gaining any information about the ruins and the role they played in the prehistoric development of the Southwest. Hopefully this will be soon corrected since the Chaco Center next turns its research to Bandelier.

If the concept of culture-wide parks is widely adopted, there will be ample resources for new research for centuries to come. And this continuing research is crucial to enlightened interpretation.

A culture- rather than site-approach to cultural parks could and should be applied to all of the major prehistoric cultures in the United States. Some that come immediately to mind include the Chumash of California, the Hohokam of Arizona, the Mimbres of New Mexico, the Caddo of Texas, Oklahoma, and Arkansas, the Mississippian of the Mississippi River Valley, and the Adena of the Ohio River Valley.

Unfortunately, time is running out. Unlike most of the nations of the world, prehistoric sites in the United States are not protected by law if located on private lands. Many if not most of these irreplaceable sites have already been destroyed, and the process continues. The example established in the Chaco Culture National Historical Park legislation should be applied to the entire country as quickly as possible.

Precis

Bujang Valley contains Malaysia's most important protohistoric archeological sites. The whole area of the valley is about 100 square miles and contains about fifty known sites of the Hindu/Buddhist period of Malaysian history. The Museums Department of Malaysia is responsible for the survey, excavation, and maintenance of all the archeological sites. At present twelve sites have been excavated and eight sites restored. A specialized museum was built and opened in 1980 to house the artifacts found. Under a long-term plan, this valley will become a historical park.

El Valle de Bujang contiene los sitios protohistóricos arqueológicos más importantes de Malasia. La zona entera del valle consta de 100 millas cuadradas y contiene como 50 sitios conocidos de la época Hindú/Budista de la historia Malasia. El Departamento de Museos de Malasia tiene la responsabilidad de medir, excavar, y mantener todos los sitios

arqueológicos. En la actualidad se han excavado doce sitios y se han restaurado ocho sitios. Un museo especializado se construyó y se inició en 1980 para guardar los artefactos que se han encontrado. Bajo planificación de largo plazo, este valle se hará un parque histórico.

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La Vallée Bujang renferme les sites protohistoriques et archéologiques les plus importants de Malaisie. L'aire totale de la vallée recouvre environ 100 milles carrés et contient à peu près 50 sites connus de la période Hindoue/Bouddhiste de l'histoire malaise. Le Service des Musées de Malaisie est responsable de l'étude, de l'excavation et de l'entretien de tous les sites archéologiques. Actuellement douze sites ont été mis à jour et huit autres ont été restaurés. Un musée spécialisé, qui ouvrit ses portes en 1980, fut construit pour abriter les objets trouvés. Sous un plan à long terme, cette vallée deviendra un parc historique.

Bujang Valley: Malaysia's Historical Park

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Introduction

Bujang Valley is situated in the northwestern portion of the Malay Peninsula. The valley has an area of 100 square miles, bounded by the Strait of Malacca on the west, the Northsouth Highway on the east, Gunong Jerai on the north, and Sungai Bujang on the south. Within this valley lie the remains of former Hindu Buddhist civilizations. To date about fifty known Hindu Buddhist temple sites have been discovered. Based on the data recovered from various excavations at these temple sites, archeologists have theorized that this valley flourished as an entrepôt and regional centre from the first century A.D. until the eleventh century A.D. Actually, civilization in this valley flourished in four stages:

- 1. The first stage was between the first and third centuries A.D., based on the artifacts which have been found, i.e., a Roman bead.
- 2. The second stage dated from about 300 A.D. to 550 A.D., based on a stone inscription found and also from artifacts discovered at sites 1 and 3.
- 3. The third stage dated from 550 A.D. until 750 A.D., when this area of Malaysia was subjected to the Pallava Dynasty from India. The data was based on artifacts found at sites 5 and 9.
- 4. The fourth stage was between 750 A.D. and 900 A.D., which shows the people from this area embracing the Buddhist faith from South India, which is the Mahayana sect.

Archeological Survey

The first archeological survey of this valley was undertaken by a British colonial official by the name of Evan in the 1900s and the 1930s. His thesis was that the monuments and artifacts found in this valley belonged to settlers from India. He emphasized that the Srivijayan Empire with its capital at Sumatera had a close connection with this civilization.

Then between 1937 and 1938, H.G. Quaritch-Wales with his wife engaged in a very intensive archeological study of this valley. He uncovered about thirty temple sites, which are all ruins. In 1947, he again came to do research in the valley under the patronage of the "Greater India Research Committee" (Quaritch Wales 1947).

After that, until 1956 archeological research in this area came to a stop. That year the Archaeological Society of the University of Malaya, under the direction of K. H. Tregonning and M. Sullivan, engaged in a survey and excavation in this area (Sullivan 1958). But the most systematic research that has been undertaken in this valley was done by Lamb and a few helpers from overseas. Between 1959 and 1960 he managed to excavate and rebuild one temple site which was named Chandi Bukit Batu Pahat (Lamb 1960). Lamb later excavated another site called Pengkalan Bujang, where he found a pile of ceramic (Lamb 1961).

Since the early 1970s all work—survey, excavation, restoration, and maintenance of the temple sites—has been undertaken by the Archaeological Division of Museum Department Malaysia, first under Al Rashid, followed by Adi Taha, and at present Kamaruddin Zakaria, all who hold the title of curator of archeology.

Preservation Practice

Nearly all the temple sites discovered were in ruins, with only the base of the temples left. It is hypothesized this is because

the upper part of the structures was made of wood. After surveying and excavating each site, we had to decide on the method of preservation. After long deliberation, we decided not to rebuild the upper structure, for many reasons. The main one is that, although we had gathered substantial data from primary sources such as excavations along with other secondary sources, we still cannot determine the exact plan for the upper structure of the temple. Therefore, in order not to deceive the people and the archeological community, we decided to preserve the temples as they were discovered, only the base. At present twelve such temples have been surveyed, excavated, and preserved in the valley.

Another important point I would like to stress concerning the preservation of temples in this valley is that, unlike national and cultural parks in other countries, part of the area of the park valley is settled by a permanent community who engages mainly in agriculture. Here the sociological dimension of the historic preservation problem we faced is that the local residents at first were not responsive to the idea of preserving Hindu Buddhist temple remains since the majority of them are Muslims. In order to overcome this obstacle of a conflict of value system, the staff of the archeological and enforcement division of the department held a series of formal and informal gatherings with village committees and the elders to inform them of the benefit both for the nation and their community in preserving this heritage. After a series of discussions, the community at last agreed to the idea of preserving this unique heritage.

The Use

At present further archeological work is still going on in the valley, especially in surveying, excavating, and restoring other sites, in addition to maintaining the temple sites which have been restored. A site museum was built and officially opened in 1980 to house all the artifacts found in this valley. Since the opening, the rate of visitors to this valley who visit the sites and museum is very encouraging, especially during

school holidays, since the episode of the Bujang Valley is included in the nation's primary school curriculum.

Conclusion

As a developing nation, Malaysia has other urgent priorities in nation-building. But this does not mean that she neglects her duty toward preserving the nation's heritage, which is also the heritage of mankind.

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Mesa Verde, a land of canyons carved into a high plateau in southwestern Colorado, was once the home of the Anasazi, or Ancient Ones, a people who abandoned their mesa-top houses and cliff dwellings some seven centuries ago.

Precis

Silla was established by Park Hyok-Ko-Se in 57 B.C. and lasted 992 years through the reign of 56 kings. Kyongju was the capital city of Silla and Kyongju National Park was designated on December 31, 1968, to preserve the Silla culture and historical remains.

Silla was the strongest state in the seventh century and unified three countries—Koguryo, Silla, and Paekche. Silla was strong because of the Hwarang, a voluntary organization in the sixth century which served as a sort of military academy producing capable military leaders and soldiers. Hwarang, Silla's Flower Knight, was evidently a survival of the youth bands of tribal time, and kept the five commandments which became the basic rule of life for the Silla elite group: 1) to serve the king with loyalty, 2) to serve one's parents with filial piety, 3) to be faithful to one's friends, 4) to not retreat in battle, and 5) to not kill indiscriminately. Hwarang Education Center was established by the Provincial Board of Education, Kyongsang Pukto, in 1973. The purpose of the center is for young people to understand the patriotism of the Hwarang.

The wisest queen, Son-Dok, who introduced Chinese Tang culture to Silla and established Chomsong-Dae—platform to look at stars; Kim Yu-Shin, the most popular of the Silla generals; King Mun-Mu, under whom the unification of Silla was achieved; and Buddhist temples, including temple buildings, pagodas, stone grotto, and bells in the temples, are described.

El Silla fundado por Park Hyok-Ko-Se en el 57 a.c. duró 992 años y conoció los reinos de 56 reyes. Kyongju era la ciudad capital del Silla y el Parque Nacional de Kyongju fue creado el 31 de diciembre de 1968 para preservar la cultura y los vestigios históricos de Silla.

En el siglo VII Silla era el estado más poderoso y unió tres "Estados"—Koguryo, Silla, y Paek-dje. Silla era poderoso gracias a la Hoarang, una organización voluntaria que, en el sexto siglo, servía de academia militar que formaba de militares, dirigentes y soldados competentes. El Hoarang, bella flor de la caballería del Silla, era de toda evidencia una sobreviviente de bandas de jóvenes de los tiempos tribales. Conservó los cinco mandamientos que se convertieron en la regla primordial de vida para el grupo élite del Silla: 1) servir al rey lealmente, 2) servir a sus padres con piedad filial, 3) ser fiel a sus amigos, 4) no retroceder en una batalla, y 5) no matar

ciegamente. El Centro de Educación de la Hoarang fue fundado por El Consejo Provincial de Educación (*Provincial Board of Education*), Kyongsang Pukto, en el 1973. El objetivo del centro es de hacer comprender a los jóvenes el patriotismo de Hoarang.

La reina más sabia, Son-Dok, que introdujo la cultura China Tang al Silla y creó la Chomsong-Dae, plataforma de observación de las estrellas, Kim Yu-Shin, el general más popular de Silla, el rey Mun-Mu, bajo el reino del cual fue realizada la unificación de Silla, los templos buda, incluyendo los templos propiamente dichos, las pagodas, las grutas de piedra, y los campanarios en los templos, se presentan en esta ponencia.

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Le Silla fondé par Park Hyok-Ko-Se en 57 av. J.C., dura 992 ans et connu les règnes de 56 rois. Kyongju était la ville capitale du Silla et le Parc National de Kyongju fut créé le 31 décembre 1968 afin de préserver la culture et les vestiges historiques du Silla.

Au 7ème siècle, Silla était l'etat le plus puissant et il unifia trois "Etats"-Koguryo, Silla, et Päek-dje. Le Silla était puissant grâce à la Hoarang, une organisation volontaire qui, au 6ème siècle, servait d'académie militaire formant des militaires, des dirigeants et des soldats compétents. La Hoarang, fine fleur de la chevalerie du Silla, était de toute évidence une survivance des bandes de jeunes gens des temps tribaux. Elle conserva les cinq commandements qui devinrent la règle primordiale de vie pour le groupe d'élite du Silla: 1) servir le roi avec loyauté, 2) servir ses parents avec piété filiale, 3) être fidèle à ses amis, 4) ne pas reculer au cours d'une bataille, et 5) ne pas tuer aveuglément. Le Centre d'Education de la Hoarang fut fondé par le Conseil Provincial d'Education (Provincial Board of Education), Kyongsang Pukto, en 1973. Le but du centre est de faire comprendre aux jeunes gens le patriotisme de la Hoarang.

La reine la plus sage, Son-Dok, qui introduisit la culture chinoise Tang au Silla et créa la Chomsong-Dae, plate-forme d'observation des étoiles, Kim Yu-Shin, le général le plus populaire du Silla, le roi Mun-Mu, sous le règne duquel l'unification du Silla fut réalisée, les temples bouddhiques, y compris les temples proprement dits, les pagodes, les grottes de pierre, et les cloches dans les temples, sont présentés dans cet exposé.

Silla Culture Preserved in Kyongju National Park

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Unification of Silla

Those who believe the mythological history of Korea insist that Korea was established by Tankun 2,333 years before Christ and claim that we must use the chronology of Tankun which means that this year would be 4317 instead of 1984. In fact, President Rhee Syngman used that chronology during his reign (1948-60). Today the Christian calendar is used.

There is no written literature on Tankun at all. Therefore, Korean history begins with three kingdoms: Koguryo, Silla, and Paekche. Silla was the strongest country at that time and unified the kingdoms in 660 A.D. Silla was strong because of Hwarang which served as a sort of military academy producing capable military leaders and good soldiers. General Kim Yu-shin was prominent among them and was chiefly responsible for the victories which led to the unification of the peninsula under Silla.

Queen Son-dok (632-647) Ancestry: Kim Family

Son-dok was to become the first woman ruler of any kingdom in Korea. The name Son-dok means "sweet virtue." She was by far the wisest of the three women rulers of Silla. Though failing in her military objectives, she achieved merit in substantially introducing Chinese Tang culture to Silla. Buddhism continued to flourish with the construction of Chomsong-dae and gigantic pagodas.

Queen Son-dok was extremely precocious. One story tells that when the emperor of China sent her a handful of tree peony seeds and a painting of three peony blooms to congratulate her inauguration, she remarked that these flowers would have no scent. When asked the reason for this, she

replied, "Because I see no butterflies in the picture and the Emperor must be joking with me for I have no husband." This proved to be true when the seeds sprouted. Also the prophecy of the Chinese emperor was noted as the three flowers without scent represented the three queens of Silla. None of these queens produced an heir to the dynastic throne. In 647 after a fifteen-year rule, good Queen Son-dok died and was buried on Namsan. Her tomb is designated as a historic site.

Chomsong-dae (Platform to look at stars)

This stone astronomical observatory, constructed during the reign of Queen Son-dok, is considered the oldest existing observatory in the Far East. During the early seventh century this superwoman and wisest queen ordered the building of Chomsong-dae. It is now the oldest secular structure in Korea. It is certainly appropriate that this stone observatory has become a national symbol of Korea since from Korea's early history there has been a preoccupation with the stars. Views of the universe and life itself have been largely dictated by the stars and their movements.

For well over 2,000 years the movements of the stars and known planets were carefully studied and charted. Sun and moon eclipses were predicted, as well as the course of comets that came within view of the Silla astronomers. When the court astronomers reported and interpreted their findings, the king would then proceed to act according to their predictions. Waging war, restrictions, agricultural developments, celebrations, and just about every known aspect of royal policymaking was governed according to the study and interpretation of the stars.

The exact time of birth for every Korean is closely governed by the heavens. A particular year, month, day, hour, and even minute will link the new baby to certain unchangeable influences and life patterns which are historically developed astronomic combinations. A small child's life pattern is already set. These thousands upon thousands of patterns have been recorded in Korean astrology manuals which today are extensively used by the fortune-tellers in a rather lucrative business in modern Korea.

Viewing this unique observatory structure prominently situated within the City of Kyongju, a once-proud capital of one million people, one is reminded of structure symbolism which might have been deliberately included by the builders who consulted the geomancer. The total number of stones used was 365, the exact number of days in a calendar year. There are twelve rectangular base stones positioned in a square, three on each side, representing the twelve months of the year and the four seasons. There are twelve tiers of stones to the sill stones of the window entrance and twelve tiers above the window opening.

The window space is within three stone tiers which makes a total height of twenty-seven tiers in the observatory. Queen Son-dok was the twenty-seventh ruler of Silla and this observatory was built during the third year of her reign in 634 A.D. The use of the twelve tiers above and below the window opening might symbolize the zodiac or possibly the months of the year. The mystery of Chomsong-dae still baffles scholars.

Kim Yu-shin (Silla's Greatest General)

Kim Yu-shin was certainly the most popular of the Silla generals, if not the greatest of all Korean generals. Through his military genius, Silla was unified during the reign of Munmu (thirtieth king) in 668.

Kim Yu-shin was born into the family of Kim So-hyon, a direct descendant of King Kim Su-ro of Kaya, and had six sons and four daughters. Of the many sons, the one he loved the most was Won-sul, a second son who also became a great general.

During the crucial battle against the Chinese armies, Silla lost heavily, but somehow Won-sul managed to survive. The brave Won-sul was about to take his own life but his aide held his sword and told him that his time to die had not yet come. Kim Yu-shin fully expected that his son had died in battle with honor. When he saw him returning, he felt certain that he had fled the battlefield. Because of this suspected dishonor, he angrily drove him out of the house. Won-sul sadly left home and Kim Yu-shin never saw his son again. Later when Wonsul heard that his father was near death, he hurried home and begged to see him, but his father refused. Shortly after, Kim Yu-shin died in 673 at the age of seventy-eight.

The following year in 674 the last great war was fought with China near Pyongyang. There were over a million Chinese soldiers on the field. Silla won a great victory and General Won-sul was wounded in the right arm and had to have it amputated. He returned to Silla with fame and honor. Visiting his father's tomb, Won-sul desperately wished that he could have brought his family's glory home while his father was still alive.

Kim Yu-shin had voluntarily joined the Hwarang at the age of fifteen and was trained in military arts and spiritual improvement. Later he mowed down the Koguryo army with allies from Tang China. In 660 he attacked Paekche also, and contributed to the unification of Silla. He was posthumously awarded the title of King Hung-dok (forty-second king). Nonetheless, as a meritorious subject, his tomb could be elaborate. The tomb, listed as Historic Site No. 21, is located on Songhwa Mountain. Overlooking Kyongju City from the entrance to the tomb, it is a direct line down main street leading to the railroad station. Twelve zodiac figures surround the tomb: rat, cow, tiger, rabbit, horse, dragon, sheep, monkey, chicken, dog, pig, and snake.

King Mun-mu (661-681) Ancestry: Kim Family

King Mun-mu is considered to be the greatest of all Silla rulers. He was the eldest of seven sons of Mu-yol and Queen Hun-je. During the reign of Mun-mu, with the help of General Kim Yu-shin, the unification of Silla was achieved. Mun-mu requested that upon his death his body be cremated and buried in the Eastern Sea. His spirit woud become a dragon to protect Silla from Japanese pirates.

His request was carried out by his son who became King Shin-mun (681-692). This site, discovered in 1967, is called Taewang-am (underwater tomb of King Mun-mu). It is 200 meters off the coast of Wolsong County, Kyongsang Pukto. The tomb is designated as Historic Site No. 158.

Buddhist Temples

There are 7,253 temples, 7.5 million believers, and 2,100 monks in South Korea. Among them four temples are particularly famous. Tongdo-sa Temple has the sarira (Sokkamoni's bone) in the temple area and is located in Mount Youngchui-san. Haein-sa Temple is located in Kayasan National Park and is the repository for the Tripitaka (81,158 panels) and the entire Buddhist scripture carved onto wooden blocks for printing. It is kept in a specially built stack room. It took sixteen years to complete and is considered one of the most outstanding compilations in the history of the world.

The third main Buddhist cathedral, Songkwang-sa Temple located in Sungju County, Cholla Namdo, is the training institution for Buddhist doctrine. This temple produced sixteen distinguished national leaders. Even today many foreigners receive training at the temple.

Pulguk-sa Temple, the fourth of the famous temples, was built to pray for the peace and prosperity of the kingdom. It was built in 535 during the reign of Pob-hung (twenty-third king). This first temple was small in comparison with the struc-

ture designed by Kim Tae-song who lived 200 years later during the reign of Kyong-dok (thirty-fifth king). Pulguk-sa Temple is located in the foothills of Toham-san about ten miles east of Kyongju City.

Between 1970 and 1973 the temple was renovated and probably attracts more visitors than any other temple in Korea today. It is full of national treasures and historical sites. The stone stairway and gates are the traditional entrance to the temple grounds (National Treasures No. 22 and No. 23).

Pagodas

On the terraced courtyard before the grand hall called Taeungjon are the two great pagodas of Silla.

Sokka-tap (National Treasure No. 21). Sokka-tap is lacking in sculpture but its simplicity evokes an impression of dignity. Its sturdiness reminds us of man and represents the presence of Buddha preaching. The twenty-seven-foot Sokka three-storied pagoda with its stair-stepped eaves and low sloping roofs constitutes the basic formula for Korean pagodas. Ornaments and sculptured reliefs are not used. In the last reconstruction of this pagoda several items of value were discovered, including sutra, wood-blocks, a sari box, and silver sutra plates. These items are now in the National Museum.

Tabo-tap (National Treasure No. 20). Tabo-tap is symbolic of the truth of Buddha's words. Its symmetry and sculpture can be likened to the beauty of woman. Tabo-tap is named for Tabo Yorae. Tabo was one of the Sokkamoni's disciples. It is peculiar in having stairways at the east and west sides. At the top of the west-side stairway, a stone lion sits on its haunches. The lion in Korea is often asociated with the Bodhisativa Hunsu, an attendant to the Sokkamoni. Here at the Tabo-tap the lion serves as a guardian spirit.

A pagoda consists of three parts: basement, body, and head as a symbol of the human body—head, body, and legs. Keeping sarira of the high priest in the body of the pagoda suggests that mankind should have the mind of Buddha.

Sokkul-am (The World-Famous Stone Grotto)

The Sokkul-am (Stone Cave Hermitage) should be placed in a unique achievement category of its own. Only listing it as National Treasure No. 24 does not give due emphasis to its importance in oriental culture. The Sokkul-am is located high on the ridges of Toham-san, about an hour's climb behind Pulguk-sa Temple. It was constructed during the mid-eighth century by the famous minister Kim Tae-song, who is also credited with rebulding Pulguk-sa in 751.

What was the purpose of Sokkul-am? The newly discovered tomb of Mun-mu at Taewang-am is presented as one reason because of its importance and location near Sokkul-am. Was the Sokkul-am built to honor this great king of Silla's unification? Also, we can accept the fact that Toham-san served as a national eastern boundary barrier facing the Sea of Japan. The Samguk-saki (History of Three Kingdom) states that

Toham-san was the eastern mountain of the five sacred mountains protecting Silla. The Sokkul-am was constructed to protect the eastern coast from Japanese invasion.

Eternally the Sokkul-am Buddha watches the Eastern Sea in unity with the Dragon Spirit of the great King Mun-mu.

Posok-jong (Abalone Stone Pavilion)

Posok-jong, Historic Site No. 1, is the place where the tragedy closely linked to the fall of Silla took place, but this is also the site of a royal villa which was once the most beautiful of all. While King Kyong-ae (fifty-fifth king, 924-927) was reveling at the pleasure pavilion of Posok-jong, the capital was invaded by General Kyun Hwun, the tiger-spirited leader who called himself the King of Later Paekche. Kyun Hwun was the general of Queen Chinsong's personal guards. He revolted because of the queen's misrule and immorality. Sweeping down upon the capital on August 27, 927, he took the royalty by surprise at Posok-jong and forced King Kyong-ae to fall on his own sword. General Kyun Hwun appointed puppet king Kyong-sun to rule Silla. King Kyong-sun ruled nine years and the end of Silla had come after 992 years.

In 936 Kyong-sun abdicated to Wang-gon, the first king of Koryo and journeyed to Songdo (Kaesong), the new Koryo capital, in spite of the crown prince's opposition. The crown prince, Ma-ui, fled to the Diamond Mountain while a younger prince fled to Haein-sa Temple and became a Buddhist priest. Crown prince Ma-ui planted a gingko tree in Yongmun-san on the way to Diamond Mountain.

Bells in the Temple

Hundreds of temples were built in the land at one time or another throughout Korea's history. There were as many bells as there were temples, but only a few remain today.

The oldest bell in Korea dates from united Silla. The inscription states it was cast in the second year of King Song-dok, which corresponds with 725 A.D. This bell, like others, is made of bronze, 1.67 meters tall from lip to top, 91 centimeters in diameter at the lip.

The bell originally hung in an unknown temple during the Silla era. It was relocated in 1469 to Sangwon-sa Temple in Odae-san National Park, which is its present location. This bell is designated National Treasure No. 36.

Another famous bell is the Emillie Bell cast in 770, which once hung in Pongdok-sa Temple to honor King Song-dok. Kept in the front yard of the Kyongju Museum, it is the largest bell in the world, 3.33 meters high and 2.27 meters in diameter at the lip. It is designated National Treasure No. 29.

Every large temple has a bell which is rung twenty-eight times at 3:30 a.m. and thirty-three times at 6:45 p.m. Buddhists believe that one strike of a bell saves fifty people in hell. Morning and evening worship before the image of Buddha is an ordinary practice.

Precis

The National Park Service manages the wealth of this nation's natural and cultural resources and is directly accountable for its successes and failures. But the job has grown more complicated with the growth of modern society which is beginning to threaten each of the system's 335 units through erratic and uncontrolled encroachments. At the same time these physical threats to the resources are increasing, the Park Service is being subjected to political pressures that are diverting the agency's professional time and effort. Long-term preservation of certain cultural sites under these circumstances often seems questionable.

Public recognition of this situation has created an atmosphere in Washington where one solution being considered would put the Service back in a position where its expertise can best be utilized. Establishing the National Park Service as an independent agency, separate from the control of the Interior Department, may allow it the necessary independence to successfully accomplish the preservation responsibilities that have been entrusted to it.

We have come to realize in the United States that long-term preservation requires a commitment by the National Park Service, by the Congress, and by the public. Critically important to long-term preservation is the involvement of citizens, conservation and preservation organizations, and professional societies. Park Service managers need to recognize and utilize the tremendous assistance that these parties can provide.

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El Servicio de Parques Nacionales (*National Park Service*) administra las riquezas en recursos naturales y culturales de esta nación, y responde directamente por sus éxitos y fracasos. Mas esta responsabilidad ha resultado arduo por el crecimiento de la sociedad moderna que comienza a amenazar cada uno de las 335 unidades del sistema a causa de invasiones erráticas e incontrolables. Al mismo tiempo que aumentan estas amenazas físicas a los recursos, el Servicio de los Parques se somete a presiones políticas que desvían el tiempo y los esfuerzos profesionales de la agencia. Bajo estas circunstancias, la conservación a largo plazo de ciertos sitios culturales parece estar a menudo en cuestión.

La atención pública de esta situación ha creado un clima en Washington donde, si se está considerando una solución, ésta volvería a poner el servicio en una posición donde podría utilizar su pericia lo mejor posible. El establecer el Servicio de

Parques Nacionales como un organismo independiente, separado del control del Ministerio del Interior, podría permitirle la independencia necesaria para realizar las responsabilidades de conservación que se le han conferido.

Hemos llegado a comprender en los Estados Unidos que la conservación a largo plazo exige el compromiso del Servicio de Parques Nacionales, del Congreso, y del público. La participación de ciudadanos, de organizaciones de conservación y de preservación y de sociedades profesionales son de una importancia mayor para la conservación a largo plazo. Los directores del Servicio de Parques deben reconocer y utilizar la ayuda excepcional que estas entidades pueden aportarle.

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Le Service des Parcs Nationaux (National Park Service) gère les richesses en ressources naturelles et culturelles de cette nation, et est directement responsable de ses succès et de ses échecs. Mais cette responsabilité est rendue plus ardue par la croissance de la société moderne qui commence à menacer chacune des 335 unités du système en raison d'empiètements erratiques et incontrôlés. En même temps que s'accroissent ces menaces physiques pour les ressources, le Service des Parcs est soumis à des pressions politiques qui détournent de leur vraie finalité le temps et les efforts professionnels de cet organisme. Dans ces circonstances, la préservation à long terme de certains sites culturels semble souvent remise en question.

La conscience publique de cette situation à créé un climat à Washington où, si une solution était considérée, elle remettrait le service dans une position où il pourrait utiliser au mieux son expertise. L'établissement du Service des Parcs Nationaux en tant qu'organisme indépendant, séparé du contrôle du Ministère de l'Intérieur, peut lui permettre l'indépendance nécessaire pour remplir les responsabilités de préservation qui lui ont été confiées.

Nous venons de comprendre aux Etats-Unis que la préservation à long terme exige l'engagement du Service des Parcs Nationaux, du Congrès, et du public. La participation des citoyens, des organisations de conservation et de préservation et des sociétés professionnelles a une importance majeure pour la préservation à long terme. Les directeurs du Service des Parcs doivent reconnaître et utiliser l'aide exceptionnelle que ces entités peuvent lui apporter.

Politics: The Essential Element in Preserving Cultural Resources

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Successfully preserving cultural parks involves a comprehensive dose of political reality. No community, no state, and no nation in the world can accomplish its preservation goals without recognizing—and controlling—the various political elements at play. From local involvement to preserve a town's first public building to a multinational decision to designate a new World Heritage Site, keen awareness of political factors is critical.

But, as we have learned from experience, designation does not ensure the preservation of resources. Designation is the initial step—a government's recognition that it is in the best interest of the public to establish a site for commemoration. For the resources to be preserved in the long run, however, there must be long-term political commitment.

In the United States, Congress has acted at various times to intercede on the side of cultural resource preservation by enacting legislation to protect and preserve nationally significant resources. But these congressional actions were not taken in the absence of public opinion. Rather, Congress acted each time because citizens and organizations, dedicated to the long-term preservation of a particular cultural resource, made Congress aware of a pervasive problem needing its attention and action.

As an example of early congressional support, members of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, who were concerned about the rate at which prehistoric ruins in the southwestern United States were being exploited, informed Congress of this concern through an 1882 petition which said in part that "relic hunters have carried away, and scattered wide through America and Europe the remains of those extinct towns, thus making their historic study still more difficult."1

The society was seeking general legislation to protect the varied and numerous ruins in the Southwest. Its members' involvement was the beginning of an educational process for Congress as well as the public. Their persistence on this subject stimulated the formation of anthropological societies throughout the country. The resulting broader constituency added increased credibility to the need for protective legislation. These societies and other organizations worked closely with Congress which, in 1906, enacted the Antiquities Act, a statute that gave the U.S. president the authority to designate national monuments located on public lands in order to protect and preserve them. Today some thirty-six park units owe their existence to this act, and to its original sponsor, the New England Historic Genealogical Society.

Other major pieces of legislation affecting cultural resources were enacted by Congress in 1935, 1949, 1966, 1979, and 1980. The statutes include the Historic Sites Act, the establishment of the National Trust for Historic Preservation, the Historic Preservation Acts, and the Archeological Resources Protection Act. Each time Congress acted, it did so because of public pressure urging the federal government to assume a greater responsibility for preservation of America's historic heritage.

Today, in 1984, there are new threats to long-term preservation of America's historic heritage. Solutions are being considered through legislation entitled the National Park System Protection and Resources Management Act. The House of Representatives has acted favorably on this legislation in two consecutive Congresses, the 97th and the 98th, but the Senate

has failed to act in either.

In supporting the legislation, congressional sponsors have come to realize that many of the threats to the parks originate through the actions of other federal agencies. Proponents argue that it is inconsistent for the government to put public money into the preservation of nationally designated parks on the one hand, and then turn around and license or provide public funding for projects that will directly and adversely affect a park resource. The argument in support of a "federal consistency" provision was addressed by Paul Pritchard, president of the National Parks and Conservation Association, in testimony before the House Subcommittee on Public Lands and National Parks:

Examples of statutorily imposed federal consistency are found in a number of other laws already on the books including the Historic Preservation Act, the Coastal Zone Management Act, and the Endangered Species Act. If federal actions are required to be consistent with historic resources of state and local significance on the National Register as is required by the Historic Preservation Act; if federal agency actions are required to be consistent with state coastal zone management plans, as required by the Coastal Zone Management Act; and if other federal agencies' actions must be consistent with preserving the habitat of a single endangered species as is required by the Endangered Species Act; then clearly federal consistency is not only desirable but essential if we are to preserve the nationally significant treasures carefully selected and set aside in the National Park System. To oppose federal consistency for the national parks is to oppose the preservation of these unique resources for future generations.

While threats from other federal agencies represent a large portion of the threats reported against our parks, other entities must also claim responsibility, including industry, states, local jurisdictions, and individual landowners. Any action that tends to degrade the resource, or a visitor's experience, is one that must be addressed. It should be noted that the official position of the National Park Service (NPS) is that it does not support the park protection legislation, arguing that it already has sufficient authority to prevent threats from other federal agencies. But as long as the NPS is unable to prevent threats from other federal agencies or is unwilling to take on such fights, the public's interest in this legislation will continue.

While the Park Service remains opposed to this legislation, the former chief of the Division of Natural Resources Management of the National Park Service made the following statement at a 1981 conference in Colorado: "Without question, the significant resources—both natural and cultural—for which the National Park Service was established, are being degraded to an extent that if this trend continues, the parks will, in the not-too-distant future, be only shells of what they were

originally."

An important report was prepared in 1982 by the Park Service at the request of the same congressional committee that required the 1980 State of the Parks Report. The 1982 report, entitled Threats to Cultural Resources, had the following statement in the introduction: "[L]ack of park staff with professional competence in historic architecture, archeology, and curation meant that the questionnaire was often completed by individuals unable to recognize and assess the problem." Because of this, the statement continues, "[W]e feel that the survey results probably underestimate the magnitude of the problems."

The report's conclusions include a variety of recommendations that are designed to address deficiencies throughout the cultural resources program identified in the body of the report. The areas needing the most attention are curatorial responsibilities, the lack of baseline inventory data including Servicewide monitoring of environmental threats and threats from air pollutants, and the lack of trained professionals. Unfortunately, it is unlikely that an update on the status of the cultural resources of the System will be issued by the NPS unless it is requested by Congress.

So what we have thus far is an agency with almost exclusive responsibility for managing and preserving the bulk of this nation's cultural heritage although it 1) cannot publicly support legislation that is obviously needed and 2) is not free to inform Congress on the state of the resources without an explicit request by that body.

In defense of the Park Service, it is difficult for it to initiate or promote such things if the solutions entail additional staff or funding. For unless its activities are consistent with the budget policies of the president and his administration, then the Service is not at liberty to support needed legislation, initiate studies, conduct research, or even recommend new sites for designation.

The internal policy conflicts that are created when the NPS attempts to respond to congressional inquiries with professional advice have forced the NPS, over a period of years, to refrain from making any comments without administration clearance. The result of such required compliance with administration policy is a very serious one, affecting the long-term preservation of the System's resources.

Considerable attention has been given recently to discussing the pros and cons of making the National Park Service an independent federal agency. The National Parks and Conservation Association's president made the following statement as part of his editorial comment in the July/August 1983 issue of National Parks, the association's magazine:

The concept of a National Park Service in 1916 was a bold and innovative idea. Since the creation of the Service, the agency has received the blessing of creative ideas by such great leaders as Franklin Delano Roosevelt, Phil Burton, and Laurance Rockefeller. Now it is time that we again be bold, that our generation show the awareness that changes may be needed to resolve crises that seem to go from administration to administration and Congress to Congress. An independent National Park Service may be the solution to this problem. We believe it deserves careful study.

The desire to free the Service from the political prerogatives of the Interior Department is not a new idea, although a recent Secretary of the Interior has inspired a rethinking of the subject. Since the 1916 establishment of the National Park Service within the Department of the Interior, the NPS has felt the impact of each succeeding administration in both a positive and a negative fashion. In its formative years, new ideas helped to shape the agency, and many of those administrations served to strengthen the hand of the Service. The mature agency of 1984 is one whose reputation for high standards of performance are universally known, and whose personnel have had an esprit de corps unparalleled in the federal government.

But more and more, the negative aspects of politicizing the Service are beginning to hurt its effectiveness, the morale of the employees, and the resources themselves. This has come about through attempts by each recent administration to superimpose its own agenda on the National Park Service. Again, while some recommended changes have been beneficial, many more have been disruptive to the Service's everyday and long-term responsibilities, and more crucially, to that spirit which has been so important in carrying out the agency's mission.

The growing trend is for each new administration to make its mark on the Service with numerous program changes, special projects, administrative directors, realignments, and reorganizations. The result has been costly in terms of Service policy direction, priorities, morale, and continuity of resource programs and research. Because of the close relationship between Congress and the NPS, the Service will always be closely monitored by that body. Unfortunately, the NPS has become more aligned with each new administration's policies, requiring it to assume the goals of each administration's program rather than the long-term goals of preserving the resources in the System. This shifting of loyalty has created a distrust in Congress of the Service's goals. It is no less significant that crucial decisions on resource issues are not made by professionals in the Park Service, but by those in the department holding politically appointive positions.

Not too long ago NPS professionals appearing before Congress would routinely deviate from administration-approved testimony if asked specifically for a professional opinion on an issue. Now, however, the pressure to hold the "party line" has cut off all avenues previously used by professionals to offer expert opinions. As a result, Congress is not receiving any

professional guidance on the resource needs of the agency. Professionals' opinions are compromised before they testify. Only congressionally ordered reports, bootlegged data, and input from conservationists and concerned citizens have kept Congress informed about the state of the parks.

Many of the threats cited in the 1982 Threats to Cultural Resources report can only be addressed by long-term, uninterrupted programs supported by Congress through encouragement and funding. The possibilities of accomplishing this task, while the NPS remains within the department, are remote. Long-term preservation programs are questionable, with personality and policy changes every four to eight years. The most important responsibility of the Service is the continuity of resource preservation, but can it be achieved under those circumstances?

Over the past several years, many citizens and professional societies have become aware of the impacts of these increasing threats on the park resources they have long enjoyed. Disturbed by these ever-increasing threats, many have formed citizen organizations in support of a particular park unit or politically active committees within professional societies. Where these organizations exist, the park in question receives a great deal of local attention and support. These "friends of the parks" organizations have also become very familiar with the legislative process of the Congress of the United States. Members of these organizations have sought out and in many cases cultivated the support of their elected officials in park protection issues. Over a period of time, the "friends" have educated local citizens on the meaning of the parks, the benefits they offer the locality in terms of tourism, and the responsibility of local decision makers to consider the park when local development projects are being formulated.

These grass-roots organizations have furthered their influence by aligning themselves with national conservation or preservation organizations to help support national efforts to protect a broad range of natural or cultural resources. And, in many cases, national organizations have assisted in the formation of local grass-roots organizations for the purpose of developing additional support for parks among those citizens who, as neighbors of the parks, are most familiar with both their resources and local decision makers. Cooperation between grass-roots organizations and national organizations has proved to be mutually beneficial.

This relationship has proved especially fruitful when a maximum show of support is needed to secure passage of legislation, to bring an issue to the attention of Congress, or to cooperate with park personnel in developing long-term management strategies. Formation of the grass-roots organizations into networks makes this kind of effort possible. The creation of networks is providing the opportunity for these previously unrelated groups to share information and concerns about their individual parks. This educational process is the very basis for their effectiveness in helping to preserve the na-

tion's parks. The creation of these "friends" groups is off to a good start, but to be truly successful, every park should be represented by a group or individual who is willing to monitor the activities of the local government and to follow carefully the management of the park's resources and its interpretation to the public.

Because citizens, conservation and preservation organizations, and professional societies are not constrained by administration policy mandates, they are free to carry information about the parks to the various levels of government. This has become an important lifeline for the parks since an increasing number of activities external to park boundaries has an impact on resources inside the boundary.

If there is one thing we have learned in the United States about the long-term preservation of cultural resources, it is that the Park Service cannot do it alone. The role of government is limited by the awareness and commitment of those citizens it represents. Educating and involving the public may therefore be one of the most important single tasks that lies ahead of us.

While a minority of individuals active on behalf of the natural resources within the System has been critical of NPS involvement in historic preservation, we all need to be reminded that natural and cultural resources are interrelated and inseparable in terms of management. The preamble to the act of August 18, 1970—the General Authorities Act of the National Park Service—should serve as that reminder:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That Congress declares that the national park system, which began with establishment of Yellowstone National Park in 1872, has since grown to include superlative natural, historic, and recreation areas in every major region of the United States, its territories and island possessions; that these areas, though distinct in character, are united through their interrelated purposes and resources into one national park system as cumulative expressions of a single national heritage; that, individually and collectively, these areas derive increased national dignity and recognition of their superb environmental quality through their inclusion jointly with each other in one national park system preserved and managed for the benefit and inspiration of all the people of the United States; and that it is the purpose of this Act to include all such areas in the System and to clarify the authorities applicable to the system.

As one noted author stated, "Few if any conservationists took issue with the additions to the Park System of areas that recorded the complex pre-Columbian culture. The big leap that many conservationists had to make was between the 'primitive' and the 'civilized' historical areas." Some conservationists are still reluctant to accept the dual management

role of the NPS. But the integration of natural and cultural resources management is solidly in place and each unit needs our full attention. As stated by the former chairman of the National Park Service Advisory Board: "[N]ational park units, once established, become vital organs in the body of parks that make up the system. We must choose them with care and stand fast against efforts to change their status for the sake of political or economic convenience."

The National Parks and Conservation Association (NPCA) is a U.S. national conservation organization which is fully committed to the parallel and equal responsibilities of both the National Park Service and the National Park System for the preservation and wise management of our nationally significant natural and cultural resources. The park system concept, our political process, and our heritage are greatly strengthened by inclusion of both cultural and natural resources in one system, and NPCA is fully committed to ensuring that it remains that way.

It would be inappropriate to address the First World Conference on Cultural Parks and fail to mention that Mesa Verde is a World Heritage Site, or fail to indicate the importance of such a designation. Designation by the World Heritage Committee of World Heritage Sites is beginning to have its desired effects on the manner in which sites are managed. From the perspective of NPCA, park managers recognize the additional responsibilities for managing what are viewed as world-class resources. There are both advantages and disadvantages to such a designation.

On the plus side, new preservation techniques will be developed in an attempt to better maintain a World Heritage Site. These innovative techniques can be adapted to similar problems at other parks. The greater diversity of sites designated could result in a broader range of innovative techniques. It is difficult at this point, with only 165 sites designated, to fully comprehend the potential benefits these sites will offer similar sites throughout the world.

Further, awareness among individuals and nations of these internationally recognized sites should create an understanding of their significance to the world which is essential for their continued preservation. It is becoming more and more difficult for nations to pursue industrial development without affecting neighboring nations. The more the international community knows about its inadvertent impacts on World Heritage Sites, the more sensitive each member of that community is likely to become. As an example, the effects of acid rain on buildings and monuments around the world are forcing each nation to investigate the sources. International cooperation and sharing of data is essential if this problem, and many others, are to be reduced or eliminated.

There is one disadvantage to designated sites: visitor impacts. World Heritage Sites are likely to draw additional numbers of tourists over and above the normal annual visitation. Care must be taken to ensure that fragile resources are

not lost in this process. Visitor impact management studies should follow closely behind the designation of World Heritage Sites.

In conclusion, the designation of a cultural park may be the first step in its preservation, but it is not the most important. We have come to realize in the United States that long-term preservation requires a commitment by the National Park Service, the Congress, and the public. Critically important to long-term preservation is the involvement of citizens, conservation and preservation associations, and professional societies. NPS managers need to recognize and utilize the tremendous assistance that these parties can provide.

Notes

- 1. Ronald F. Lee, *The Antiquities Act of 1906* (Washington: National Park Service, 1970), 10.
- 2. Eugenia Horstman Connally, ed., *National Parks in Crisis* (Washington: National Parks and Conservation Association), 122
- 3. Robin W. Winks, "Visible Symbols of an Invisible Past," *National Parks Magazine* 57 (1983): 3-4.



Spruce Tree House was discovered in 1888 by cowboys Richard Wetherill and Charlie Mason and named by them for a large spruce tree that was growing against the cliff in front of the ruin. It contained 114 rooms, including 8 kivas.

Precis

When the first national park was established in the United States, the statute declared that ownership of the land in the federal government was necessary. This legislation was copied in Canada. One hundred years later, when national parks include diverse concepts including cultural parks, it seems appropriate to ask whether a mechanism adopted when population was scarce and land inexpensive is still appropriate to protect cultural values when population is dense and property is expensive.

This paper argues that private property rights and cultural values may be complementary and not competitive. It is suggested that property interests such as covenants, easements, and transfer of development rights can be utilized not only to protect boundaries of existing parks, but also to increase protection for areas worthy of preservation but not yet included within a cultural park.

Cuando el primer parque nacional fue establecido en los Estados Unidos, el estatuto declaró que era necesario que el gobierno federal tuviera propiedad de la tierra. Esta legislación fue copiada en el Canadá. Cien años más tarde, cuando los parques nacionales agrupan diversos conceptos, e incluyen los parques culturales, parece apropiado que se pregunte si un mecanismo adoptado cuando la población era escasa y la tierra a buen precio todavía es válido para proteger los valores culturales, cuando la población es densa y el precio de la tierra es cara.

Este trabajo mantiene que los derechos de propiedad privado y los valores culturales pueden ser complementarios y no hacer la competencia. Se sugiere que los intereses de propiedad, tales como las clásulas de servidumbre y de la transferencia de derechos de desarrollo, se pueden utilizar no solamente para proteger los límites de los parques existentes, sino para aumentar la protección de regiones dignos de ser preservados pero que no se incluyen todavía en un parque cultural.

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Lorsque le premier parc national fut établi aux Etats-Unis, le statut déclara qu'il était nécessaire que le gouvernement fédéral ait la propriété de la terre. Cette législation était copiée sur celle du Canada. Cent ans plus tard, alors que les parcs nationaux regroupent divers concepts, y compris celui de parcs culturels, il semble approprié de se demander si un mécanisme adopté lorsque la population était rare et la terre bon marché est toujours valable pour protéger les valeurs culturelles, lorsque la population est devenue dense et le prix de la terre élevé.

Cet exposé soutient que les droits de propriété privée et les valeurs culturelles peuvent être complémentaires et ne pas se concurrencer. Il est suggéré que les intérêts de propriété, tels que les clauses de servitudes et le transfert de droits de développement, peuvent être utilisés non seulement pour protéger les limites des parcs existants mais aussi, pour accroître la protection de régions dignes d'être préservées mais qui ne sont pas encore incluses dans un parc culturel.

Protecting Our Parks: Rethinking Some Legal Tools

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Today we are addressing the topic of technology and preservation and, in particular, the question of deciding what and how to preserve. Congressman Ray Kogovsek noted that in this region one in ten acres contains an archeological site. It is, he said, politically infeasible for the Secretary of the Interior to have veto power over developments or "progress" in areas adjacent to parks or to acquire everything worthy of preservation. His message is important and an eloquent insight into the political parameters within which we, who are trying to preserve, are working.

The Consul-General for Sweden noted that despite a National Park System like ours in less-settled areas of Sweden, there is tremendous reliance on protection outside the National Park System which gives "a right to trespass," i.e., access to private lands. If we accept that everything worth preserving cannot be declared a park, we need to look at landholdings outside the park system and ask whether cultural preservation is possible.

At this point, I should make two disclaimers. First, I am, as a lawyer, looking at legal tools for protecting known values. I do not profess expertise in determining the values. My role is to explain the tools once the values have been identified. Second, my examination is of Canadian parks policy. However, my theme is equally appropriate for other countries where acquisition of land by the government is the main tool for park preservation.

It is my thesis that the most effective means to preserve national parks is no longer necessarily public ownership of the land. Today, population pressures threaten our ability to preserve. Nowhere is population so slight that we can preserve

all areas suitable for cultural parks. Nor can we guarantee protection of existing areas. Ironically, often the greater the need for protection, the greater the cost and the more remote the possibility of acquiring the land. If we cannot practically acquire title, the question must be asked whether there are other mechanisms available which can be used to protect the values inherent in a park. It is not only existing parks but potential parks which are relevant to this inquiry. There are two real issues. First, can we effectively protect worthy areas without acquiring public ownership in the traditional park sense? Second, can we improve existing parks by taking pressure off the boundaries?

As land near cities and recreational areas becomes increasingly expensive, it will be more difficult for governments to acquire sufficient land to meet the objectives of the parks policy. It may be feasible to consider whether the public can still have access to areas, even if they are not under public ownership. For example, in England national parks are basically private. Indeed, the original national parks in England were private owner reserves. Today in England it is still common to protect parks by a series of mixed private and public property rights. For example, areas such as the Lake District and the Cornwall Coast have been protected by creating a system of national parks. However, these areas were largely in private ownership and large-scale land acquisition by the government, especially in a difficult economic period, appeared prohibitive. Instead of relying on outright purchase of title, the English parliament relied on land use controls to protect the surrounding private property. Interestingly enough, under English law there is a distinction between the right to use the land and

the right to develop it; only minor development is permitted as a right, and for any change of use, a planning permit must be obtained.

There are interesting lessons for us in the English experience with parks. However, zoning and land use planning is not the only tool which could be considered in a comprehensive parks policy. The law of zoning and planning is general in its application and imposed by the government on the governed.

An alternate response to parks policy planning is in the area of what is sometimes called private planning, i.e., by agreement between property owners in the form of restrictions on land use. Private planning is site specific and voluntary and thus differs from zoning. It is in the area of private planning that Canadian parks policy could be developed further. Over the last century, Parks Canada has relied on the familiar method of control by the acquisition of title to property. It has already been noted that it is costly to acquire and costly to compensate the people from whom the property is acquired. Reliance on acquisition of the title fails to recognize that ownership of property is in fact ownership of a whole bundle of rights which may be separated. In order to protect heritage and natural areas, it may not be essential to buy out that entire bundle of rights. It may be that the most effective means of protection is to buy out some part, but not the entire bundle.

In order to understand the potential for utilizing various property interests to effectively implement parks policy, our starting point must be the meaning of ownership in real property.

Land, unlike property such as books, chairs, and cars, is virtually indestructible. Land is also capable of division into various interests in order to make the same area of land serve diverse and sometimes conflicting needs of different persons. We tend to think of land as simply a linear area which we can measure, but like the concept of ownership, land itself is quite complex and three-dimensional.

The law of property concerns not only the relation between persons but also the relation between those persons and things. The law speaks of relations between persons (such as a contract whereby A agrees to buy a car from B for a certain sum) as a matter of personal property.

On the other hand, when A says he owns two acres, the law refers to this relationship between A and a thing (the land) as real property. Yet even real property deals with persons for it determines the relationship of persons with things. However, a personal relationship (such as the contract between A and B) binds only those persons who are party to it, whereas a real relationship (the fact that A owns two acres) binds anyone and everyone and allows A to protect his ownership against anyone who may interfere with it.

Ownership appears to be straightforward, especially when I say, "I own a book." I am saying that my title is indisputable and that my rights in relationship to the book are shared with no one. Yet with respect to land, it is not usual to think of

ownership as a whole; more commonly it is fragmented. Indeed, it is not ownership in the same sense at all. It merely describes the way in which we hold land. In other words, the closest thing to ownership in land comprises a whole bundle of rights which may be in many hands. Ownership really represents the sum total of all the things that can be done with a thing. When that thing is land, there are many possibilities.

It may be that a purchaser wants the entire bundle of rights but it is quite common in relation to land to detach some sticks from the bundle and vest them in different persons. Ownership of the entire bundle of rights virtually enables the owner to use the land as he pleases. By separating some sticks from the bundle of rights, a landowner may bind himself to another by giving up (in return for a sum) the right to unlimited use (e.g., agreeing not to build by the shore) or by allowing another to acquire a limited right in relation to the use of his property (e.g., a right of access).

Hiving off some of the ownership rights or fragmenting parts of the ownership can be done in two ways. There can be an agreement between two parties—a personal relationship—or there can be an agreement between an owner and another that he will attach the rights in that other or the duties burdening himself to the land. This latter creates a relationship between persons and things and is thus a real relationship, i.e., one dealing with real property. In this situation, the rights and duties continue to exist irrespective of the continued existence of the persons; they depend on or attach to the land.

In the law of real property, some of these sticks which comprise but part of the bundle of rights are called covenants and easements. They are simply written legal agreements whereby a property owner voluntarily accepts restrictions in relation to his exclusive enjoyment and use of his property in return for a sum; in other words, he agrees to sell a portion of his total bundle of rights in the land. The owner benefits from receipt of a purchase price for the rights and the land is protected from unnecessary development. At the same time the owner's retention of most of the bundle ensures his continued possession and enjoyment of the land.

An example may help to illustrate how parks policy could utilize the concept of fragmented ownership to effectively protect our cultural heritage.

Imagine a swamp in need of protection. It is used by the yellow-tailed swamp thrush for nesting purposes. This bird is important because of its rarity. In order to protect the bird and this nesting area, do you need to "own" the swamp (i.e., to hold the entire bundle of rights)? At present the swamp forms part of a sheep farm owned by X. All we need is a promise from X (an enforceable one) that the swamp not be drained and the trees in which the thrush nests not be felled. So long as there is an agreement between the present owner and another (perhaps a conservation agency) which attaches the limitation on draining and felling to the land, our objective is achieved. The farmer continues his enjoyment and use vir-

tually undisturbed; the thrush and its environment is saved; the cost to the conservation agency has been small (two sticks of the bundle of rights—perhaps 5 percent of the total value of the land); the cost to the farmer has been minimal and the monetary value has compensated him.

This one example gives some indication of the scope which appears available to parks agencies to utilize the concept of fragmented ownership rights to protect our environment.

Certainly there are restrictions and limitations in the law dealing with covenants and easements. These restrictions are not insurmountable. Indeed there are many instances where statutes have modified or expanded the concept to give effective protection to limited rights, such as a power authority's right to enter private property to repair lines or to put through drains and sewers.

The future of our cultural heritage depends on our creative use of all available tools. Purchase of title is one such tool; planning and zoning is another. Acquiring covenants and easements is a third option, one which to date has been little utilized.

Each tool is complementary; no one tool is adequate to effectively protect all aspects of our cultural heritage. The diverse tools provided by the law have different strengths and weaknesses; they are not mutually exclusive.

Effective preservation requires that we realize that private landholdings can play a positive role in enhancing protection of our cultural heritage. The future of our cultural heritage will depend in part on our ability to accept this and to utilize all the mechanisms which our legal system provides to protect and enhance its diverse demands.

Precis

If environmentalists have been effective in raising public consciousness to the perpetuation of living things, in contrast the defenders of the equivalent in the cultural world—movable property or museum objects—have not met with the same success. Certainly the public flocks to museums and cultural parks to view objects for educational and recreational purposes. But the popularity of 'cultural consumption' in the form of exhibits and interpretive programs has not translated into popular support for the preservation of museum objects.

The public thinks that once objects are donated to a museum, they are preserved forever. In some museums, this impression is far from the truth. Many museums present surprising statistics of deterioration, loss, and lack of responsibility for the objects.

Most park systems, like the U.S. National Park Service, require elaborate planning documents for the development and functioning of a park. In order to establish collections management as a legitimate function of the parks, they must be included in this planning process. To show how this can be realized, the planning process of the National Park Service is described, showing where and at what point the concerns of collections management can be integrated.

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Si los defensores de la preservación del ambiente han sido eficaces en elevar la consciencia del público en cuanto a la perpetuación de cosas vivientes, pero los defensores de la preservación de su equivalente en el mundo cultural, los bienes muebles o los objetos de museo, no han tenido el mismo éxito. Sin duda, el público acude en grupos a los museos y los parques culturales para contemplar los objetos por razones educativos y recreativos. Pero, la popularidad del "consumo cultural" en forma de exposiciones y de programas explicativos, no se traduce en la popularización de la preservación de los objetos de museo.

El público piensa que una vez que los objetos se donan a un museo, estos se preservan a perpetuidad. En un gran número de museos, esta impresión queda muy lejos de la verdad. Muchos museos presentan estadísticas chocantes de deterioración, de pérdida y de falta de responsabilidad por los objetos. La mayor parte de los sistemas de parques, como el Servicio de Parques Nacionales (*National Park Service*) en los Estados Unidos, exigen que los documentos de planificación sean elaborados para el desarrollo y el funcionamiento integral de un parque. Para establecer la gestión de colecciones como una función legítima de los parques, se debe incluir en el proceso de planificación. A fines de mostrar como esto se podría realizar, el proceso de planificación del Servicio de Parques Nacionales se describe mostrando dónde y en qué momento las preocupaciones de la gestión de colecciones pueden ser integrados.

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Si les avocats de la préservation de l'environnement ont été efficaces pour éveiller la conscience du public quant à la perpétuation de choses vivantes, en revanche les avocats de la préservation de leur équivalent dans le monde culturel, les biens meubles ou les objets de musée, n'ont pas eu le même succès. Bien sûr, le public accourt en foule dans les musées et les parcs culturels afin de contempler des objets dans un but éducatif et récréatif. Mais, la popularité de la ''consommation culturelle'' sous forme d'expositions et de programmes explicatifs, ne se traduit pas en popularisation de la préservation des objets de musées.

Le public pense que dès que des objets sont donnés à un musée, ils sont préservés à perpétuité. Dans un grand nombre de musées, cette impression est loin d'être vraie. De nombreux musées présentent des statistiques choquantes de détérioration, de perte et de manque de responsabilités pour les objets.

La plupart des systèmes de parc, comme le Service des Parcs Nationaux (*National Park Service*) aux Etats-Unis, exigent que les documents de planification soient élaborés pour le développement et le fonctionnement intégral d'un parc. Pour établir la gestion de collections en tant que fonction légitime des parcs, elle doit être comprise dans le processus de planification. Afin de montrer comment ceci peut être réalisé, le processus de planification du Service des Parcs Nationaux est décrit montrant ainsi à quel moment et comment les préoccupations de la gestion des collections peuvent être intégrées.

Museum Objects: Another Endangered Species?

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Advocates for preserving the natural environment have been effective in raising the level of public awareness regarding the perpetuation of living things, but advocates for the preservation of the cultural world's counterpart-movable property, or museum objects-have not had the same success. In large numbers the public rallies behind efforts to "Save the Baby Seals" or "Save the Whales." Elaborate laws and regulations are written to identify and protect threatened and endangered species. Frequently the public will be shocked into supporting the rescue of wildlife, such as shore birds soaked in crude oil. The public considers the defense of endangered flora and fauna not only noble but fun. Popular cults develop around the defense of wildlife, as witness the T-shirts, masks, and other paraphernalia surrounding the California condor cult. The defense of the defenseless makes us feel good. There is some intangible reward in preserving other living things with which we share this planet.

But where is the parallel commitment to saving cultural objects? The outpouring of volunteers and money from other countries to save Italian art treasures after the 1966 floods in Florence stands as an almost unique example of an active commitment to preservation of art objects.

To be sure, the public flocks to museums and cultural parks to view objects for reasons of education and entertainment. In fact, it is said that in the United States, more people visit museums than "physically go to all the baseball, football and basketball games, which makes museum visiting our national sport." But the popularity of "cultural consumption," in the form of exhibits and interpretive programs, does not translate into the popularization of the preservation of movable cultural

property. Museums and cultural parks are usually able to obtain funding and support for programs to display or interpret objects to the public, but rarely for the less visible and more mundane tasks of preservation, including documentation, storage, and conservation.

Though the public tacitly acknowledges preservation as a noble function of museums performed for the common good, the lack of popular recognition and support for this objective has precluded its accomplishment in many museums. The public thinks (and museums tend to reinforce this thinking through statements of purpose and visionary messages from museum leaders) that once objects are given to a museum, they are preserved in perpetuity. In some museums this impression is far from the truth. Numerous museum objects are, in effect, threatened and endangered species. In a broad sense, the parallels between the natural and cultural worlds are quite striking.

The Case for Object Preservation

Just as dinosaurs failed to adapt to a changing environment, museum objects, when subjected to environmental changes such as fluctuations in temperature and relative humidity, are stressed and likely to deteriorate. Just as a rare wildflower in New Hampshire was so sought after that it finally had to be fenced off from the public, so the popularity of some objects has the same effect. They become "loved to death." Consider the Declaration of Independence on display under plain glass for its millions of admirers. Severe fading resulted before it was finally protected from ultraviolet light and oxidation after providing ultraviolet filters and encasing the document in an

atmosphere of helium. Consider also the loss of thousands of unidentified insect species with each human encroachment in a tropical rain forest. These disappearing species, whose potential importance will never be known, are comparable to the large quantities of unstudied archeological artifacts that have disintegrated and been lost, stolen, or separated from their original documentation while stored in museum basements. Like the insects, the potential usefulness and information from these objects is lost forever.

Losses of museum objects are frequently similar in impact to those in the natural world. Most go quietly—the unnamed Brazilian dragonfly; the Navajo rug faded by ultraviolet light. A few have major impact. The passenger pigeon and the quagga (a zebra-like animal), which both spent their last days in zoos, departed the world with considerable notice. Likewise, the public was concerned in 1978 when fire destroyed all of the objects on display in a California museum. Charles Lindbergh materials and a large collection of contemporary paintings of renowned figures in the history of aviation and space were lost. Similarly, in 1972, when the Corning Museum of Glass was flooded and innumerable documents were damaged, the country took note, as it did when the home of Franklin D. Roosevelt, a National Historic site, partially burned in 1982.

Newspaper reports have recently revealed that innumerable items in the collections of a west coast museum have been lost, damaged, stolen, neglected, stored carelessly, loaned improperly, and even dumped in the trash. The museum estimates that 12,500 of its 250,000 items are unaccounted for.²

Unfortunately, this example is not an isolated case. Equally unfortunate is the fact that the concern generated by such losses, other than drawing attention from the press and an occasional attorney general, tends to diminish in time and have little long-term effect on the preservation of the remaining heritage. Thus objects, as a whole, continue in a threatened or endangered state.

Losses are as significant to our cultural heritage as extinctions of species are to the natural world. The loss of natural species means the loss of genetic diversity, narrowing the chances for all of us to survive. As James L. Buckley has said regarding the threatened snail darter fish:

What good is a snail darter? As practical men measure "good" probably none. But we simply don't know. What value would they have placed on the cowpox virus before Jenner; or on a penicillium mold (other than those inhabiting blue cheese) before Fleming; or in wild rubber trees before Goodyear learned to vulcanize their sap? Yet the life of almost every American is profoundly different because of these species.³

Beyond the utilitarian argument for diversity, there is the aesthetic one that in diversity there is beauty. We can ask a

question like Buckley's of museum objects and come up with the same types of reasons, some of them practical, many of them aesthetic. Museums are educational institutions that seem to "engender a kind of awareness which leads to a sense of pleasure, enjoyment," and learning. But beyond entertainment and education they frequently form baseline collections that can be extremely helpful in documenting environmental and social change. At Big Thicket National Preserve, studies are being conducted to determine if the disappearance of Spanish moss is linked to recent growth in industrial activity in the area. Museum samples of the moss, collected prior to industrial growth, are being compared with contemporary samples from the same site to detect possible elevated levels of heavy metals and/or sulfur compounds.

In addition to environmental change, museums play a significant role in documenting cultural change. What survives in museums after conquests, wars, natural disasters, acculturation, and selection by curators tells us much about the values of society and human relationships. The better we understand ourselves and how various cultures have coped with environmental and cultural stress, the more options we have for survival in the future. Cultural preservation and diversity is important not only for preserving and understanding heritage but for adjusting and surviving in the present and future.

Over the last three decades we have seen a fledgling private preservation effort mature into a multinational conservation commitment. Preservation of threatened species is widely appreciated. But a parallel concern for object preservation is yet to emerge on a popular level. The deterioration of objects, their ongoing loss, and the concomitant lack of inventory control are problems that the Smithsonian Institution, the Museum of the American Indian, the National Park Service, and numerous other museums and cultural parks in the United States and other countries are attempting to address. The problems stem from a failure of management to emphasize collections.

Lack of Attention to Park Collections

The lack of management priority for collections preservation in cultural parks comes, in part, from the failure of management and the public to recognize the museum, or object-preservation, role of parks. To some extent this lack of recognition is a historical legacy. Objects were not part of the picture when the park concept was first developed.

In 1771 the Encyclopedia Britannica defined a park in Great Britain as a ''large enclosure privileged for wild beasts of chace [sic] either by prescription or the King's grant.''⁵ Authorities also set aside forested areas for use in harvesting natural resources. As early as 1079, William the Conqueror established the New Forest in southwestern Hampshire, England. Gradually the park concept evolved from this earlier resource reserve idea to have a much broader connotation. By the time Yellowstone National Park was established in 1872 in the

United States and Rocky Mountain Park in 1887 in Canada, the concept had grown to denote a public area set aside for the benefit and enjoyment of all the people.

Public appreciation of the need to preserve objects came somewhat later. In the United States the first legislative acknowledgment of the importance of preserving objects came with the Antiquities Act of 1906, which provided for the protection of archeological sites and artifacts and other objects of historic or scientific interest on government land.6 This act was followed by the 1916 Organic Act, establishing the National Park Service, which expanded the park concept to include conserving "the scenery and the natural and historic objects and the wildlife therein" and providing "for the enjoyment of the same in such manner and by such means as will leave them unimpaired for the enjoyment of future generations."7 The concept of cultural, as opposed to natural, parks and the museum role of those parks, however, was not fully recognized in the United States until 1935 with the passage of the Historic Sites Act, which authorized the establishment of national historic sites to preserve and maintain historic and prehistoric sites, buildings, and objects and establish and maintain associated museums.8

The first U.S. National Park Service museum, however, had already been operating since 1917 in Mesa Verde National Park, with others following soon thereafter. In fact, National Park Service Director Stephen Mather stated in 1920 that "one of the most important matters to receive earnest consideration is the early establishment of adequate museums in every one of our parks." Yet the specific legislation establishing most parks, not only in the United States but in other countries as well, does not mention the preservation of objects. Even in cultural parks the historic site, the scene, and structures are usually the primary factors identified in the legal mandate.

Despite the lack of park-specific legislation, under the general legislative authorities (e.g., Organic Act, Historic Sites Act), museums, or furnished structures, have been established in most of the national parks in the United States. Museum objects, located in over 300 areas in the National Park System, total approximately 10 million, of which 65 percent are archeological, 22 percent historical, 2 percent natural history, 1 percent ethnographic, and 10 percent unclassified. The collections include such nationally significant objects as George Washington's tent at Yorktown (Colonial National Historical Park), Benjamin Franklin's desk (Independence National Historical Park), Red Cloud's ghost dance shirt from Wounded Knee (Agate Fossil Beds National Monument), and the archeological collections from Mesa Verde National Park, a World Heritage Site.

The interpretive and exhibition role for such objects is highly visible to the public and, for that matter, to the park staff. The behind-the-scenes need for documentation and preservation of the collection as a whole, however, is not only unseen by

the public but in the past has not been recognized by park managers.

As a result of the ill-defined role of objects as resources in the parks, collecting has more often been haphazard than planned. Collections management has also frequently been haphazard, with the result that some parks lack accountability for these collections and are unable to exert control over their growth, preservation, use, security, and disposition. In such cases the objects do, in effect, become threatened or endangered species because they are not likely to survive in such a ''laissez-faire,'' if not outright hostile, environment.

This situation is one we face in a number of parks in the United States National Park System and the same situation is likely to exist in other countries as well. Most parks in the U.S. system have collections. Even if objects are not a part of the stated purpose or plan for the park, they are likely to be collected. In a natural area, collecting specimens and establishing an inventory of park resources are a likely development and form baseline data for monitoring change in the park's natural resources. In cultural parks, even if objects are not mentioned in legislation establishing the park, they will probably be collected merely because of their association with and relevance to other cultural resources such as sites or structures. In addition, cultural resources are frequently preserved merely because they happen to fall within the boundaries of natural parks.

Because park collections are site-oriented, they are unique and quite different in purpose from other museum collections. This uniqueness also makes them more vulnerable. If lost or damaged, objects original to a site cannot be replaced. Whereas non-park museums may in many cases collect generic examples of particular objects, parks focus, to the extent possible, on the collection of objects original to the site. This site-specific factor raises the ante in the preservation game. In a sense one may consider all site-specific collections irreplaceable and thus endangered species.

Since collections, in one form or another, are common in parks, managers need to anticipate and plan for this resource. The National Park Service recently has taken several major steps to correct oversights with regard to management and preservation of its museum objects. The most important step—the one that will lead to all actions necessary to correct deficiencies and have the most lasting effect—is the incorporation of collections management needs in the planning process. Once museum collections are recognized as a legitimate park resource and incorporated into the park planning process, they are well on their way to being removed from the "endangered species list."

Planning for Park Collections: A U.S. National Park Service Example

Most park systems, like the U.S. National Park System, require that a series of planning documents be written and

reviewed during development and full operation of a park. To establish collections management and interpretation as legitimate park functions, they must be incorporated into each level of this planning process. By way of demonstrating how this might be done, the National Park Service planning process is outlined, showing where and how collections management and interpretation concerns are included.

The National Park Service has seven primary types of documents that play a critical role in the establishment and development of a park and pertain to the development of collections. These documents proceed "from the general to the specific and establish a frame of reference for decision making based on law, policy, objectives and resource characteristics." ¹⁰

- 1. Preauthorization and Authorization Documents
- 2. Statement for Management (SFM)
- 3. Outline of Planning Requirements (OPR)
- 4. General Management Plan (GMP)
- 5. Development Concept Plan (DCP)
- 6. Resources Management Plan (RMP)
- 7. Interpretive Prospectus (IP)

Beyond these basic documents the planning process provides for resource-specific studies and plans. Relative to museum object documentation, preservation, and interpretation, there are six documents and an inventory:

- 1. Scope of Collection Statement (SOC)
- 2. Collection Management Plan (CMP)
- 3. Collection Condition Survey
- 4. Collection Storage Plan
- 5. Historic Furnishings Report (HFR)
- 6. Exhibit Plan
- 7. National Catalog of Museum Objects

If objects are considered in a park's general planning documents and the collections-specific documents and inventories are completed, as needed, then management decisions will give due consideration to collections and their role in the park. Many of these plans generate specific programming documents that detail action to be taken to correct deficiencies or carry out the proposals recommended in the plans. These plans are not static. They are part of a dynamic system and constantly undergo alteration to meet the changing conditions of the resources, needs of the visitors, or other factors.

The following sections summarize 1) the general park planning documents, pointing out their relevance to collections management, and 2) the collections-specific documents. Although these documents, as described, apply to the National Park Service, with little or no modification they may be adapted to other culural parks as well. The National Park Service finds that considering collections in the park planning process has begun to reverse the trend toward increasingly threatened and endangered museum objects in parks.

General Park Planning Documents

1. Preauthorization and Authorization. Before an area is added to the National Park System, studies are conducted to assess the significance of resources and their current use and protection and identify any conditions and constraints that should be considered if the area is to be brought into the system. Objects, if present, should be part of this evaluation.

The purpose of a National Park Service area is usually defined in the legislation, presidential proclamation, or executive order establishing the area. In rare cases, the preservation of objects is a part of the legislative mandate, but usually collections are not mentioned. When legislation for a park does not specifically mention objects, the determination of whether a park will establish and maintain object collections is made in subsequent planning documents.

2. Statement for Management. The first document in the planning cycle is the Statement for Management (SFM), a brief document providing an overview of the purpose, resources, major issues, and management objectives of the park. It also includes a listing of the National Park Service themes that are represented within the unit.

In this document the purpose and objectives of the museum collections, if any, are broadly stated and the contents of the collections are analyzed for significance. Highly significant objects or specimens are noted. Particular issues and deficiencies, such as unrecorded objects, lack of adequate storage and fire protection, and lack of preservation maintenance procedures for objects are listed. The need for, or status of, planning and inventory documents pertaining to collections is also described.

The SFM is prepared by park staff and updated every two years. Based on an approved SFM, park management can undertake emergency stabilization actions to preserve park resources. Major actions, however, cannot be initiated until the park has an approved General Management Plan.

3. Outline of Planning Requirements. The Outline of Planning Requirements (OPR) is a regularly updated document that lists, in priority order, the plans and projects identified in the SFM. This list guarantees that projects will be accomplished in a logical sequence, according to the greatest need. Programming documents are submitted to describe projects and request funding.

The needs of the collections must be fully described as well as the impact on the resource if those needs are not met. Also noted are policy requirements and legislative mandates pertaining to the management of the collections. The OPR is a critical step toward the preservation and management of museum collections. To receive adequate recognition by management, the collection needs must be clearly stated, the urgency must be accurately assessed, and the need for the project to meet legislative mandates or National Park Service policies, guidelines, and directives must be demonstrated. Care must be taken that requests are listed in a logical sequence

with prerequisite tasks receiving higher priority. A collections need that might be identified through the OPR is included in a Scope of Collection Statement identifying the types of objects appropriate for park collections.

4. General Management Plan. Every unit of the National Park System is required by law to have a General Management Plan (GMP). This plan provides the long-range strategies for addressing issues and achieving management objectives over a five- to ten-year period. The plan covers two types of strategies—those to preserve and manage the park's resources and those to provide for interpretation and visitor use. Museum collections are affected by both objectives. With reference to collections management, the document should identify major long-term needs. If there is an extensive backlog of uncataloged collections, the need to bring catalog records up to date and gain accountability for the objects should be identified. If the collections have inadequate storage conditions, the GMP may call for the writing of a Collection Storage Plan for construction of a new storage facility specifying the particular environmental controls and storage equipment that will be necessary for preservation of the objects.

A project that involves the second strategy—to provide for interpretation and visitor use—might be a park manager's desire to furnish and interpret a historic structure that was heretofore closed to the public. In relation to collections, the plan would call for a Historic Furnishings Report to research the historic contents of the structure; if warranted, propose a furnishing scheme and identify the objects to be used, either newly acquired or from park collections; and provide a plan for the curatorial maintenance of the furnishings.

- 5. Development Concept Plan. The Development Concept Plan expands on decisions made in the General Management Plan relative to a particular area or unit of a park. It is a detailed plan for that unit specifying the size and location of new facilities and relating them to existing facilities. If objects are to be collected, stored, or interpreted in the developed area, the necessary actions need to be identified. Careful consideration needs to be given to any proposed historic structure treatment or archeological project to determine if these activities will result in the collection of objects that will need to be documented and preserved.
- 6. Resources Management Plan. As a matter of policy, all parks are to have Resources Management Plans (RMP) that identify and rank, according to priority, important and urgent natural and cultural resource management problems and then propose a schedule for taking action to resolve them. In many cases problems identified in the previous plans will be restated and further developed in the RMP, depending on the significance of the resource and the urgency of the problem.

The plans are updated annually and are dynamic documents. Each plan assesses the extent to which the park has met Service-wide requirements for resource inventory, evaluation, and documentation, and serves as the primary

means of identifying needed plans, studies, and preservation treatment.

Parks with collections that are uncataloged, stored in conditions detrimental to their preservation, or subjected to unnecessary security or fire risks must identify these and other urgent problems in the Resources Management Plan. Collections-related actions that might be identified through the RMP include but are not limited to: a) writing a Collection Management Plan that will outline collection management deficiencies and recommend specific corrective action; b) accessioning and cataloging the backlog of uncataloged objects and entering records into the National Park Service National Catalog of Museum Objects; c) reorganizing the storage area and purchasing new storage equipment to provide adequate preservation and security for collections; and d) conducting a collection condition survey to determine the condition and stability of objects in the collections and identifying specific objects needing conservation treatment.

7. Interpretive Prospectus. The Interpretive Prospectus (IP) evolves from the GMP. The GMP identifies the broad scope of the interpretation program and the IP describes how it will be accomplished. It defines personal and non-personal services (e.g., media, facilities) that will be used, establishes production priorities, and provides cost estimates for implementation, leading to the development of a Statement for Interpretation, a document, updated annually, which provides background data on interpretive themes and visitor use. The Statement for Interpretation includes an interpretive operations plan which incorporates, as appropriate, the use of museum objects in the interpretive program. The IP may also call for an Exhibit Plan or a Historic Furnishings Report as discussed in the next section.

Planning and Documentation Specific to Collections

Six primary planning documents are prepared for collections management and collections-oriented interpretation: the Scope of Collection Statement, the Collection Management Plan, the Collection Condition Survey, the Collection Storage Plan, the Historic Furnishings Report, and the Exhibit Plan. An inventory of the collection in each park is maintained at the park level and in a centralized repository. This inventory is the National Catalog of Museum Objects and is maintained according to procedures and format standardized throughout the National Park Service. The preparation of each of these documents is programmed into the park planning process through the general planning documents noted previously. Guidance for preparation of the collections planning documents is in the National Park Service *Museum Handbook*. 11

1. Scope of Collection Statement. The Scope of Collection Statement is a stand-alone planning document that is required for all parks. It is designed to guide a park in collecting and preserving those museum objects that contribute directly to the understanding and interpretation of the park's themes as

well as site-related materials that the Park Service is mandated to preserve. It sets agreed-upon limits that specify the subject, geographical location, and time period to which each museum collection must relate. The Scope of Collection Statement ensures logical growth while guarding against obligating the National Park Service to preserve in perpetuity objects that are not clearly relevant to a park. In addition, this document delineates acquisition, management, and use of museum collections. Parks that do not intend to collect museum objects must state this position in their Scope of Collection Statement.

2. Collection Management Plan. The Collection Management Plan is a tool that is designed to assist each park in improving its museum collection management program. A team of museum curators conducts an on-site assessment of a park's museum collection and facilities and compares them with National Park Service standards as specified in guidelines and procedural manuals. It examines the accession and catalog records and makes any necessary recommendations for action to bring them up to standard. It reviews and makes needed recommendations regarding storage. The plan may call for redesign of the storage area, recommend the purchase of new storage cabinets or environmental control equipment, and suggest installation of certain fire protection and security devices. It will examine the objects on exhibit and propose changes to improve their preservation.

The plan will also include maintenance schedules for the objects in storage and on exhibit. Relevant reference material to assist the park in collection management is provided. In addition, the guide will make recommendations regarding staffing for the park's curatorial program.

- 3. Collection Condition Survey. The Collection Condition Survey is a detailed survey of all or part of a park's collection to evaluate the condition of the objects from the standpoint of preservation. The survey may examine groups of objects, e.g., metal objects or paintings, or individual objects, and make recommendations for actions to improve preservation, such as revised storage or environmental conditions or treatment of individual objects by a professional conservator, e.g., cleaning a painting, repairing a basket. The survey is accomplished by a professional conservator.
- 4. Collection Storage Plan. The Collection Storage Plan focuses on solving a park's museum storage problems. A storage plan is always included with a Collection Management Plan. It also may be prepared as a stand-alone document, especially to solve urgent collection storage problems before a Collection Management Plan is prepared or to design a new collection storage facility. It is often needed in association with a Development Concept Plan.
- 5. Historic Furnishings Report. The Historic Furnishings Report provides historical documentation on a structure and its contents and, if appropriate, makes a recommendation to furnish. The plan has an administrative section and a historical data section. The administrative section describes the location

and proposed use of the structure; the interpretive objective; the operating plan, including visitor circulation, and staffing; and provision for storage of the documents, photographs, and tapes resulting from the study. The historical data section includes an analysis of the historic occupancy, documentary evidence of historic furnishings, and recommendations regarding furnishing. If the structure is to be furnished, recommendations of furnishings to be used and their acquisition and documentation, installation, maintenance, and protection are provided.

- 6. Exhibit Plan. The Exhibit Plan evolves from the Interpretive Prospectus and provides the label copy, list of objects to be exhibited, and detailed design and construction plans for an exhibit. It must take into consideration the preservation needs of objects while on exhibit.
- 7. National Catalog of Museum Objects. The National Catalog of Museum Objects is an inventory of all cultural and natural history objects in the National Park System. Standardized museum catalog records are completed and filed in the parks and one copy sent to a centralized file. The catalog record contains property management as well as documentary data for the museum objects.

This inventory and these six planning documents are the essence of collections management and collections-oriented interpretive planning in the National Park Service. They are used in concert with the overall planning documents for a park to provide coordinated collections management and interpretation.

To gain recognition and have an impact, collection management and interpretive planning in parks must be integrated with the overall park planning process that encompasses all resources. When collection management requirements are integrated into a park's planning process and park management is effective in implementing the approved plans, then the collections will be assured of proper documentation, preservation, and interpretation. When this recognition is gained and collections are part of the planning process, objects are being preserved and are no longer in a threatened or endangered state.

Conclusion

What will be the "whooping crane" of the cultural world: an object or a collection whose loss is so imminent and so stunning that it galvanizes action not only for its own preservation but engenders a whole movement toward preservation? Many museums already have shocking statistics on deterioration, loss, and lack of accountability. Such statistics should be sufficiently startling to museum professionals and park managers to spur them to action without waiting for the public at large to be alarmed. Public outcry, however, is inevitable if collection managers delay corrective action. Effective planning and ongoing vigilance is the only defense against more and more threatened and endangered objects.

Notes

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- 3. James Buckley, "In Defense of Snail Darters," Washington Post, September 4, 1979.
- 4. S. Dillon Ripley, *The Sacred Grove: Essays on Museums* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1969), 155.
 - 5. Encyclopedia Britannica, 1st ed. (Edinburgh, 1771).
 - 6. "An Act for the Preservation of American Antiquities,"

- approved June 3, 1906 (34 Stat. 225).
- 7. The Act of August 25, 1916 (P.L. 235; 39 Stat. 535).
- 8. The Historic Sites Act of August 21, 1935 (P.L. 74-292, 49 Stat. 666).
- 9. Stephen T. Mather, Museums for Park Visitors: Report of the Director of the National Park Service (Washington, 1920), 59.
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Spring House, an unexcavated ruin on Mesa Verde.

Precis

Tikal, a major Mayan center, is located in the northern part of Guatemala and comprises more than 600 buildings. Tikal is both a natural and a cultural park, being archeologically rich and containing unique jungle flora and fauna. Despite the construction of excellent visitor services following the completion of a master plan produced in conjunction with the United States National Park Service, a drop in the number of visitors, which was caused by reports of civil unrest in the vicinity, has resulted in anticipated funding falling below the level necessary to preserve and develop the park. The challenges to preservation include vandalism and theft by visitors and collectors and the effects of the vegetation and climate on the limestone used to construct the buildings. Maintenance demands of the complex are immense; to meet them fully will require world-wide support.

Tikal, un centro maya principal, ubicado en la parte norte de Guatemala, consta de más de 600 edificios. Tikal es a la vez un parque cultural y un parque natural: rico en su arqueología y lleno de una flora y fauna selvática únicas. A pesar de la construcción de excelentes centros de servicios para los visitantes, después del logro de un plan maestro elaborado en conjunto con el Servicio de Parques Nacionales de los Estados Unidos, el número de los visitantes ha disminuido debido a informes de levantamientos civiles en las proxima-

ciones de Tikal. Estas bajas han causado que los ingresos logrados estén por debajo del nivel necesario para preservar y desarrollar el parque. Los desafíos de la preservación incluyen el vandalismo y el robo de objetos por los visitantes y los coleccionadores, tanto como los efectos de la vegetación y del clima en la piedra caliza utilizada para la construcción de los edificios. Las demandas de mantener el recinto son inmensas y requieren un apoyo mundial.

Tikal, un centre Maya capital, se trouve dans la partie nord du Guatemala et comprend plus de six cents édifices. Tikal est à la fois un parc culturel et un parc naturel: il renferme des richesses archéologiques et contient une flore et une faune uniques de jungle. Malgré la construction d'excellents centres de services pour les visiteurs, à la suite de l'achèvement d'un plan d'ensemble élaboré en conjonction avec le Service des Parcs Nationaux des Etats-Unis, le nombre des visiteurs a diminué sensiblement en raison des rapports de troubles civils à proximité de Tikal. Cette baisse a entraîné la chute des recettes escomptées à un niveau inférieur au niveau nécessaire pour préserver et aménager le parc. Les défis posés par la préservation incluent le vandalisme et le vol par les visiteurs et les collectionneurs, ainsi que les effets de la végétation et du climat sur le calcaire utilisé pour la construction des édifices. Les demandes d'entretien du complexe sont immenses et requièrent un soutien mondial.

Tikal National Park and Its Problems

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No formal written paper was submitted. What follows is an edited version of the English translation of the paper as presented at the conference, complete with slides. The informality of the spoken word over the written is reflected in the language here.

Guatemala at the moment has three important world sites: Tikal National Park, Atitlán National Park, and the colonial city of Antigua Guatemala. I am going to talk exclusively about Tikal, which is the largest of the three sites and extremely important for humanity. I would like to focus my discussion on the park's problems and the kinds of attacks it has too frequently undergone. We have had great difficulty in defending and preserving it in the most effective fashion possible, not because of economic difficulties as Guatemala subsidizes the park very well, but due to certain situations which are out of the control of any one individual or country and can only be resolved in terms of a world consciousness.

Tikal is located in the northern part of Guatemala in the largest department of the republic, the Department of Petén. Petén represents one-third of the national territory. It is sparsely populated, with only some 30,000 inhabitants, and is the place where Mayan culture developed to a splendid degree. Tikal is considered the great capital of Mayan civilization. Taking into account the customs and traditions of this culture, in which they developed highly hierarchical cities with the hierarchy expressed through the height of the buildings, the tallest buildings found to date in the Mayan world are all in Tikal. The highest of them is not in the great plaza but is the fourth temple, which is seventy-eight meters high.

At the moment there is no other city with taller buildings,

although they may exist. Guatemala has about 400 jungle archeological sites in the Petén region on its register list, but we suspect that there may be more than 1,000 sites. We cannot get into the jungles because of the difficulty of access, a situation that works to the advantage of conserving the sites.

Tikal became a great city in the classic period and until recently, we thought that the most important section was the great plaza. However, research carried out by Guatemalan archeologists has uncovered very important, although not quite so high, areas in the pre-classic period.

There is no register of the exact number of buildings in Tikal. We have around 600 buildings registered at present, but we expect there will be a much larger number when we finish counting. Mayan custom held that when a group of buildings were about to fall into disuse they were not destroyed, but rather were "killed." That means a small part of the building was destroyed and buried and on top of it another was built.

At the moment we are working on a group of buildings, 120 in number, which are ten meters below ground. We are doing this without touching any of the buildings above. This complex of buildings that is not really a city are nicely built, have lovely murals and stucco work, and represent a quality and variety of sites and types of expression which tells us that we have a great deal to learn.

One of the prime characteristics of Tikal is that it is both an archeological park and a natural park. It has been said that it is one of the few parks in the world that combines these two categories. Not only is it archeologically rich, but it also has unique jungle flora and fauna.

At the moment, it is very well endowed with services. Since

the study was undertaken with the U.S. National Park Service to develop a master plan for Tikal, we were able to endow it well. This joint project made it possible to open Tikal. When considering the need to have a permanent flow of visitors to sustain and maintain the park, we must remember that there is no permanent population in Tikal. It is a "dead" city, but in reality it is a city that must be maintained or kept "alive," although it is uninhabited. One of our main problems is that unused buildings deteriorate immediately in this area, in the middle of a tropical jungle where vegetation will very quickly take over. Guatemala, in order to maintain all the buildings at Tikal in good condition, must have at least one person there working on each building, which is virtually impossible.

The National Park Service study made it possible for Guatemala to get a loan from the Central American Economical Development Bank in order to build the infrastructure required for Tikal National Park—putting in roads, constructing an international airport seventy miles from Tikal, a visitor's center, and so on. This was done and a good deal of progress was made using, in many cases, technology of a very sophisticated nature. Unfortunately the technology was not very successful, which I will explain later.

But Guatemala got into serious debt which theoretically was to be paid by the large number of anticipated visitors. When the study was made, Tikal was receiving about 1,000 to 2,000 visitors during the tourist season (from June to September). We became concerned that we could have too many people, with deterioration as a result, which obliged us to look at other centers of interest near Tikal so people could go to other places.

However, a series of incidents occurred, which were greatly exaggerated by the press. They said it was a guerrilla attack, but in reality it was an attack by vandals who destroyed laboratories, the archives, and part of Tikal itself only to steal some pieces of jade which someone had seen there. They destroyed the showcases containing the jade pieces, but they also did damage elsewhere. This occurred at a time when the project was well underway. The United States government warned its citizens not to visit Guatemala, creating a crisis for us. There were times, for example in 1980, when we did not get a single visitor, but we continued to have an enormous debt.

The visitor's center is empty at the moment because we do not have the resources to supply it, even though tourism, especially from Europe and Asia, has improved. We do not get more than fifty people a day, and that does not give us enough income to continue with the maintenance of the public facilities at the park. Our economic efforts concentrate on protecting the archeological sites and the flora and fauna and natural assets from destruction. Our visitor's center is a lovely building, very modern and adequate, but empty. Now it is beginning to deteriorate for lack of use.

There is a camping area. Since there is no city nearby, we must have a space adequately supplied with facilities for peo-

ple who arrive by land. When you get to Guatemala, you must then travel another twelve hours overland and some six of those hours must be traveled over dirt roads.

Tikal has one singular characteristic; it has no springs or rivers to supply it with water. Thus, it is supplied by a pre-Hispanic water system—a Mayan pond, a rain catchment area. The Mayans had a water transfer system and ponds to hold water. However, when we applied modern technology in an attempt to use the same system for lack of any other (e.g., no wells can be drilled and lack of water is a real problem), we decided to deepen the catchment areas to obtain more water and use a plastic film to line it. However, those who did this did not take into account the fact that we are in the jungle, where there are a lot of animals. The plastic layer that cost some \$300,000 in one of the catchment areas is now nothing more than a plastic sieve since the animals got into it. We do not have a single drop in the catchment area. We have a very serious problem because only the original Mayan catchment area continues to work.

When you walk around Tikal National Park on the paths, you find very pretty vegetation, including trees thirty to forty meters high. The roads constructed by the Mayans are still used and the rain keeps them in perfect condition. Our roads become full of mud and are very hard to travel.

One of the oldest visible parts of Tikal is called the "Lost World." The great pyramid of the lost world is a temple with gigantic dimensions and the height of the buildings is considerable indeed. Even from the air you can see that you are coming to Tikal despite the thick jungle. There are about fifty-two temples in this section, but we are not going to leave all of them visible. Because of the maintenance problem, it is better to leave them covered up. Everyone assumes that the "lost world" is very far from the rest of Tikal, but it is a name that University of Pennsylvania researchers gave to the area when they began work there in 1958.

The temples on the great plaza, aside from the pyramid, have upper-structure works characteristic of Tikal buildings. Since Tikal was the "mother city," this style is reflected in many other archeological sites nearby and even some distance away from Tikal.

We are learning more and more about Mayan epigraphy, and many pieces of the petroglyphs can be written. Based on some pieces that have come out of Guatemala from the area, we have been able to identify the original location of a piece that has been taken out of the country. Once we have been able to read what is on it, we can determine where it was from. There are seals which can also be used to identify these pieces.

In the great plaza there are steles and altars in a conglomerate context. These original steles are easily destroyed by rain since they are made of limestone. Our hope is to store these originals in a museum or visitor's center, but without the stele it is impossible to understand the history. We must make copies, but we do not presently have the money to do so. We have,

however, begun to take steps to preserve them. You can see the altars, the steles, and part of the rock of the glyphs—the rock writings. The problem is that rain has begun to cause these things to crumble.

The greatest damage that occurs to the steles has to do with degradation. They are very special to us and people have come here against the law to cut them into pieces, destroying just a little piece. In the last ten years, we have recovered about ten steles, but there are parts that we have not been able to recover because they have been cut up. They were cut in the front so there is just a stone plate and then they leave the entire body of the stele clean. Sometimes we can find out about this destruction and can try to find out to what country it has gone.

The Mayan glyphs have been read quite a bit. The first part includes a numbering system, a calendar system which is a perfect system of the Maya. You will remember that they were using the zero before the Europeans and were very adept at mathematics.

From the side of the temple the jungle surrounds the area. The highest and most frequent tree is the *sapota*, the tree from which chewing gum is taken, once a most important product for the Guatemalan economy. It is not exportable any longer because gum is presently made from plastics and natural resins are no longer used. This great resource is not utilized since Guatemala does not make chewing gum.

There is also the *ramon* tree, which is a unique tree with small fruits that were used by the Mayans in their daily nutrition. It has a great deal of protein; you can make a flour from it or it can be cooked. The fruits are like small potatoes and have an excellent flavor.

Near the central plaza and inside the jungle there are rest areas built like those on the ranches, which is the traditional type of house used by the Guatemalan Indians, and which have full services. The park also tries to pay attention to the needs of the visitors.

There are about fifty plazas visible at the present time in

Tikal. There are palaces which use the sides of the mountains and the mounds. One is a five-story palace, where a German researcher lived at the end of the last century.

There are many additional mounds which cover other structures, some that we know very well and which have been recorded and uncovered, and others which we have not worked on yet. Leaving them covered is a great system of preservation. In other cases, the large trees have kept us from getting into other buildings. The materials that were used in the temple restoration process are from the area. It is very expensive and we go to nearby cities to look for the materials. We have researched the ways in which the natives have worked the stone and try to use the same processes. There is always a big difference between the new and the old stone. The new one is very white; the old one is quite blackened by microflora. With time the new stone will also have the same color.

Let us talk a bit about the animals in Tikal. We will talk about Tikal's wildlife in general terms because it is very unique, especially the irruguate and spider monkeys. There is a very nice book written by Frank Smith called The Birds of Tikal, in which he identifies more than 270 different species of birds, some of which are only residents of Tikal. Among these at certain times of the year are migratory birds which come from the north from the United States and Canada. Toucans and various kinds of parrots and parakeets are visible to the public. A special mention is made of the Petén turkeys, which practically live only in Tikal and which walk about with us. They are very nice and have a very beautiful color. In Guatemalan crafts, textiles are important and many have themes based on the wildlife and flora of the area. In Tikal there is a very small craft shop which includes crafts from different areas of Guatemala. Some of the workers come from fifteen kilometers to sell their works in Tikal.

This is my summary on Tikal. I think in the future we will be able to say a great deal more about it.

Precis

Mayan artistic, architectural, and sculptural achievements reached their zenith at Copán in western Honduras. This ancient Acropolis and World Heritage Site is situated in a fertile, scenic valley adjacent to a modern, attractive town. Access to and public services in the park and the town have been modest until recently when roads and utilities have been improved pursuant to an effort to upgrade the site's tourism potential. Under this same program research and archeological investigations, begun in the last century, were continued.

A master plan, conceived by a multi-disciplinary, multi-institutional team, was prepared and is being implemented. Central to this plan are concepts for resources management, visitor use, incremental land acquisition, and further research. These concepts are guiding current management strategies and more detailed planning. As Copán increasingly gains international acclaim, it also is gaining national recognition as one of Honduras's prime tourist attractions and a major source of foreign exchange. Similarly there is an increasing national consciousness of and pride in this cultural heritage and support for its program.

Copán has attracted technical and economic assistance from many international sources, so important to a developing country. The commitment of the government of Honduras to the Copán project has attracted significant assistance from other Central American countries and in-country agencies.

Las realizaciones artísticas, arquitecturales y esculturales de los Mayas han alcanzado su apogeo en Copán en el oeste de Honduras. Esta Acrópole antigua y Sitio de Patrimonio Mundial está situada en un valle fértil y pintoresco, colindante de una ciudad moderna y atractiva. El acceso al parque así como los servicios públicos en el parque y en la ciudad han sido modestos hasta muy recientemente mientras que las rutas y los servicios públicos fueron mejorados, después de un esfuerzo para aumentar el potencial turístico del sitio. Gracias a ese programa, las investigaciones y las encuestas arqueológicas, empezadas durante el siglo pasado, fueron continuadas.

Un plan director, concebido por un equipo pluridisciplinario y proveniente de múltiples instituciones, fue preparado y está en vía de aplicación. Los conceptos de gestión de recursos, el uso por el visitante, la compra de terrenos adicionales y una investigación más presionada, son los elementos esenciales de este plan. Estos conceptos guían a las estrategias actuales

de la gestión y una planificación más detallada. Al mismo tiempo que Copán conoce, de manera creciente, las aclamaciones internacionales, es igualmente reconocida más y más como una de las atracciones principales turísticas y una fuente mayor de divisas extranjeras. Existe paralelamente una consciencia y un orgullo nacionales crecientes para este patrimonio cultural y un apoyo para los programas.

Copán ha atraído numerosas fuentes internacionales, una ayuda técnica y capital para un país en vía de desarrollo. El compromiso del gobierno de Honduras con respecto al proyecto de Copán ha traído una ayuda significativa de los países de la América Central y de las agencias de Honduras.

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Les réalisations artistiques, architecturales et sculpturelles des Mayas ont atteint leur apogée à Copan au Honduras de l'Ouest. Cette ancienne Acropole et Site du Patrimoine Mondial est située dans une vallée fertile et pittoresque, limitrophe d'une ville moderne et attrayante. L'accès au parc ainsi que les services publics dans le parc et dans la ville ont été modestes, jusqu'à tout récemment lorsque des routes et des services publics ont été améliorés, à la suite d'un effort pour accroître le potentiel touristique du site. Grâce à ce programme, les recherches et les enquêtes archéologiques, commencées au cours du siècle dernier, furent poursuivies.

Un plan directeur, conçu par une équipe pluridisciplinaire et provenant de multiples institutions, fut préparé et est en cours d'application. Les concepts de gestion de ressources, l'usage par le visiteur, l'achat de terrains additionnels et une recherche plus poussée, sont les éléments essentiels de ce plan. Ces concepts guident les stratégies actuelles de gestion et une planification plus détaillée. En même temps que Copan connaît, de façon croissante, les acclamations internationales, elle est également de plus en plus reconnue comme l'une des principales attractions touristiques et une source majeure de devises étrangères. Il existe pareillement une conscience et une fierté nationales grandissantes pour ce patrimoine culturel et un support pour ses programmes.

Copan a attiré, de nombreuses sources internationales, une aide technique et économique capitale pour un pays en voie de développement. L'engagement du gouvernement du Honduras vis-à-vis du projet de Copan a amené une aide significative des pays d'Amérique Centrale et des agences du Honduras.

Planning and Managing Honduras's Copan Ruins World Heritage Site: The Role of Cultural Parks in Contributing to Education and Economic Development

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In what is now extreme western Honduras, the Mayans developed Copan as their southernmost major site with unsurpassed artistic achievements. Its beautiful, world-famous sculpture is deeply cut in contrast to the low relief of other sites. Its many delicately carved stelae and hieroglyphic staircase are particularly notable.

Today Copan is located much as Spanish explorer Palacio found the place in 1576, "on the banks of a beautiful river in an extensive well-chosen plain," and in a region of extremely high visual quality enhanced by diversity and an abundance of ecological resources. The region's altitude contributes to an amenable climate for tourism.

Nearby is the modern town of Copan Ruinas with an extraordinary amount of character, colorful and interesting people, a high potential for tourism, an indigenous crafts industry, and a fine central plaza. Surrounding both Copan and the town are fertile alluvial farmlands along the Rio Copan and mountainous terrain still utilized by milpas agriculture.

Copan was a major administrative and ceremonial center during the Mayan Classic period, continuously occupied over a long span of time. Copan's monumental architecture, its style and beauty of sculpture, the uniqueness of the hieroglyphic staircase, and its potential for resolving the perplexing and critical questions of the development and decline of the Mayan civilization all contribute to the international significance of the site.

In recognition of this significance, in 1980 UNESCO's World Heritage Committee approved the site for addition to the World Heritage List, thus placing Copan on the same level with Egypt's pyramids, Rome's historic center, and Mesa Verde, the site of this First World Conference on Cultural Parks. This designation gives special recognition to the site and also places a special responsibility on the custodial nation to maintain the property for all mankind for all time.

Copan's Role in Promoting Public Awareness and Support for Heritage Conservation

Even though Copan is one of Honduras's major tourist attractions and a source of great national pride, it has long been overshadowed by more intensively promoted Mayan sites in Mexico and Guatemala. Thus, in relation to its potential, this site has not historically contributed to local, national, and international awareness and support for heritage conservation. But with the advent of "Proyecto Copan" and the site's World Heritage designation, Copan is gaining prestige internationally, and importantly, gaining local support.

There is visible proof that in past years the residents of the town of Copan did heavy damage to the ruins. There are walls, houses, walks, and other developments made from stone which had been carved by the Mayans. In the process of restoration it has become evident how many structures must remain incomplete due to the fact that the stone has been removed. However, in recent years the Instituto Hondureño de Antropología y Historia (IHAH) has intensified vigilance and organized discussions and short courses which are showing positive results. People are no longer excavating the sites or removing the stone for construction, but rather are helping by notifying the caretakers of any anomaly.

At the national level, an improvement in the consciousness of every citizen toward the ruins has been achieved, in related governmental units as well as in Honduras in general. As the first Honduran site to be entered on the World Heritage List, Copan has attracted the attention of Hondurans as well as outsiders. Specific projects have served to inform and cause reflection among the thousands of government employees who, from various positions, have watched the allocated financing. By way of announcements and short articles which have appeared in the press, the general public has had the opportunity to learn about Copan and what is transpiring there.

Foreign visitors to Copan come from various countries of the world. Specific activities and programs permit them to acquire a greater consciousness of what cultural resources are and how to treat them. The message should be much more eloquent once the programs which are planned have been initiated.

The major impact has been on UNESCO. This international institution has turned its immediate attention to dispatching not only experts but also funds for the realization of various works of infrastructure, training personnel, and activities directly addressing cultural and natural resources.

Undoubtedly these various projects have awakened this western Honduras region from a deep sleep. The ruins have attracted many interested scientists, and it is the ruins as well which are the reason for the huge investment in recent years. The journey between the towns of La Entrada and Copan is no longer the odyssey it was up until 1979. Townspeople can rely on a more abundant water supply and continuous electric service. All of these activities have brought employment to the region and a better income to many residents. The improvements underway will also tend to increase tourism in future years.

International Technical and Economic Assistance at Copan and Nearby Communities

The protection, management, and development of Copan is due in large part to the efforts of the Honduran government since the mid-1800s. As in many developing countries, however, these efforts have received vital financial and technical support from many foreign institutions—governments, nongovernmental organizations, universities, multilateral assistance agencies, and scientists. This section details that assistance in order to provide guidance to resource management agencies in other developing countries which could benefit from similar cooperation.

Serious investigation of Copan's archeological resources began in the late 1800s, with excavations by the Peabody Museum of Harvard University and the British Museum. Unfortunately, as was typical in that era, work concentrated on excavations and export of the most valuable artifacts, with little or no attention paid to stabilizing or restoring excavated monuments, training Honduran technicians, establishing local museums, managing the ruins as a protected area, or improv-

ing the standard of living of the local inhabitants.

Not until the 1930s and 1940s, when the Carnegie Institute carried out a major research effort at Copan, did outside "assistance" really contribute to long-term management and development. Under the Carnegie project, fallen stelae were re-erected; test pits and trenches were dug; the Copan River was diverted; and the major ball court, hieroglyphic staircase, and "temples" were restored. The institute also assisted in establishing a modest museum in the town of Copan Ruinas. However, little attention was devoted to developing a Honduran capability to manage the site or to using the ruins as a focus for the development of the surrounding impoverished region."

Since the mid-1970s, a number of international agencies have become increasingly involved in management and development at Copan. One of these, FAO, prepared a report in 1974 outlining recommendations for natural resources management at the monument—the first serious attention paid to this aspect.

UNESCO has played an extremely important role in Copan's management since the early 1970s when it sponsored a series of expert consultancies on the stone deterioration problems, erosion caused by the Copan River, and general development recommendations for the monument. In 1980, UNESCO contracted with Centro Agronómico de Investigación y Enseñanza (CATIE) to lead the final planning process and to prepare requests for technical assistance through the World Heritage Fund to implement priority components of the plan. Since then, UNESCO has granted nearly \$150,000 to support Copan's management and development. A major part is for training of monument staff in Honduras, Nicaragua, the United States, Canada, Guatemala, and Costa Rica in protected area planning and management, interpretation, environmental education, stone conservation, ranger skills, and other topics. UNESCO support has also facilitated preparation and implementation of an interpretive and environmental education plan for the monument and surrounding areas, including providing an interpretation education specialist for one year, improving visitor services at the monument, and continued CATIE assistance in annual operational planning and preparation of proposals for continued UNESCO assistance.

Many of the training opportunities have been through CATIE's regional training activities, including three-week to three-month workshops, mobile seminars, and intensive courses. In an interesting innovation drawing on the increasing protected area's management experience in Honduras, IHAH, the Honduran Renewable Natural Resource Directorate (RENARE), and CATIE will cosponsor a regional ranger training course at Copan and Honduras's new La Tigra National Park in early 1985 with financial support from UNESCO and the World Wildlife Fund.

Another institution which has provided considerable sup-

port in carrying out archeological investigations at the ruins is Earthwatch, a U.S.-based concern which recruits volunteers to finance and carry out scientific investigations around the world. Several groups of Earthwatch volunteers have thus implemented priority digs at Copan in the last several years under the direction of IHAH and foreign archeologists.

Since the early 1970s a number of governments and universities have played important roles in supporting investigations and management at Copan and in nearby communities. The Smithsonian Institution and the German government have sponsored studies of stone deterioration at Copan. The National Park Service provided technical assistance in the development of the terms-of-reference for the master planning process. In addition, the Honduran assistant director of archeological investigations at Copan recently attended the international seminar on national parks in the U.S. and Canada.

At the request of the Honduran government, a number of U.S. Peace Corps volunteers have aided in monument management and local economic development. One forestry volunteer is currently working with IHAH to establish the first forest nursery in Copan Ruinas for reforestation of the monument as well as aid to nearby communities. Scarcity of firewood affects the well-being of the local inhabitants and the integrity of the forest environment. Another volunteer is working in housing improvement in Copan Ruinas. A third volunteer, an environmental/educational interpretation specialist, will replace a departing UNESCO-financed environmental education and interpretation specialist. Peace Corps volunteers also played an important role in the termsof-reference mission and two volunteers—an environmental education specialist and a landscape architect—were members of the final master planning team. A major advantage of using Peace Corps volunteers is that they stay for long periods of time (two years), possess at least basic Spanish skills before starting their assignments, and are assigned to work with and transmit skills to Hondurans.

Copan's management has also benefited from the cooperation of several neighboring countries. The Institute of Anthropology and History of Guatemala (IDAEH) sent a restoration specialist to lead restoration efforts at Copan for several years. IDAEH also recently hosted a study tour at Guatemalan cultural monuments for four Copan rangers. Mexico has sent archeologists and restoration specialists and IHAH plans to send several Copan employees on a study tour of Mexican monuments next year, particularly to review the Mexican experience in stone sculpture conservation. Two IHAH employees involved in planning and management at Copan attended a park planning workshop at Isla Zopatera National Park in Nicaragua in 1983. Several Copan and IHAH employees have participated in planning courses at CATIE, cohosted by the Costa Rican government, and several more IHAH employees are scheduled to travel to Costa Rica, Panama, and Columbia in December of 1984 for a three-week mobile seminar on park planning and management sponsored by resource management agencies of those countries and CATIE.

Many foreign universities and museums have participated in archeological work at Copan. Many of the current Proyecto Copan archeologists are on loan from universities and their presence has encouraged many of their students to carry out research on priority areas. Occasionally professors lead sizable groups of advanced students on major digs as well.

Increasingly, Honduran universities are also contributing to research and management at Copan. For example, art students are now collaborating on designing interpretive displays, and biology students are carrying out flora and fauna inventories.

Two major international lending institutions, the Central American Bank for Economic Integration (BCIE) and the World Bank, have provided vital assistance to the development of Copan and the surrounding region. As part of a plan to develop the tourism infrastructure in northern Honduras, BCIE approved a major loan project to pave the access road to Copan, finance a major archeological investigation and restoration project, and improve urban services in the town of Copan Ruinas, including providing potable water, sewage treatment, and drainage, cobblestoning the streets, constructing a new municipal hall, and upgrading the central plaza.

BCIE support has now ended, but very tangible results can be seen. The access road's paving accelerated national tourism; the improved urban services have greatly improved the attractiveness of the town and the standard of living of the local inhabitants; and the vast amount of archeological investigation has yielded important scientific data and increased the number of restored structures, adding greatly to the ruin's tourist potential.

Beginning in 1980, the World Bank took over the responsibility for the continuation of archeological investigations and improvement of monument infrastructure. It should be noted that all bank assistance is being channelled toward implementing priority activities outlined in the management and development plan.

Financial and technical assistance given to IHAH by other Honduran government institutions has been just as important as the assistance granted by foreign institutions. The Honduran Tourism Institute has served as the coordinating agency for BCIE and World Bank assistance and has promoted national and international tourism.

The Ministry of Public Works supervised road improvements and continues to play an active role in maintaining highways. This ministry has also provided technical expertise, machinery, and financing in continuing efforts to reduce the erosion damage by the Copan River.

Government-operated public utility agencies have helped improve water, sewage, and electricity service in recent years. Although waste disposal and telephone service is still lacking and the water service remains deficient, Copan Ruinas boasts the best municipal services for any isolated town its size in all of Honduras.

The local municipal council has traditionally played an important role in promoting proper management of the ruins and has cooperated in efforts to upgrade municipal services. The Education Ministry is cooperating in improving cultural heritage modules in the country's school curriculum, especially in the region surrounding Copan. RENARE and the Forestry Corporation have provided technical recommendations in and around the ruins.

All these agencies and several others contributed participants to the interinstitutional, interdisciplinary team that prepared the management and development plan in 1981-82. It contains sections outlining the continued cooperation required from these and other government agencies.

Transferable Technology from Copan

Many lessons learned here have direct application to management and development of similar sites elsewhere, especially in developing countries. Cultural resource management agencies should take a leading role in promoting rural development in the region surrounding the protected areas they manage. They should not shirk from this responsibility and say, "that's the tourism agency's problem," or "the public works ministry should resolve this," or "our job is mainly preservation." The management and development strategy adopted by the cultural resource management agency will play a major role in determining the future of local communities involving resources as consequential as those of Copan. Master plans for cultural parks should include rural development and extension programs. Although cultural resource management agency legal responsibility for carrying out such programs might be limited, at a minimum such agencies should catalyze the interest of the responsible government agencies.

Many cultural parks also have outstanding natural features. Because of the social science background and bias of cultural resource management authorities, inadequate attention is often paid to satisfying visitor interest in such resources. Where feasible, nature trails, interpretive displays, trail guides, and information leaflets and natural history sections in visitor centers should be developed. The cooperation of national parks and environmental education authorities should be solicited where appropriate in this regard. A key concept is to establish the linkage and interdependence of cultural and natural resources through interpretive programs, avoiding "stand alone" messages.

Developing countries are advised to concentrate on laborintensive developments rather than "high-tech" solutions. At Copan, for example, instead of building sophisticated concessioner-operated refreshment stands, consideration is being given to allowing several local residents to operate pushcarts and sell soft drinks in several locations within the monument, avoiding the need to build and maintain permanent structures and providing more employment opportunities.

"High-tech" solutions should not be imported without a serious review of their applicability in a developing country. For example, power lawnmowers are obviously more efficient than the traditional machete-wielding laborers at turf maintenance. However, in developing countries lawnmowers are extremely costly since they must be imported, repair parts are nonexistent, and few mechanics are available—especially in remote regions—to maintain and repair such machines. Even if these problems could be resolved, a more serious one remains. In poor countries like Honduras, with extremely high unemployment rates, capital-intensive contrivances simply put more people out of work.

Another example of the need to carefully review possible technological solutions to management problems involves the use of chemical compounds to retard stone sculpture deterioration. Several outside experts promoted such an approach which was begun some years ago. After a careful analysis of the costs and benefits of this approach, it was decided first to build palm thatch roofs over stelae and altars and to eventually transfer all outstanding sculpture to a museum, replacing them on-site with replicas. This solution will dramatically reduce long-term maintenance and materials cost involved in the stone treatments; analyses of rates of deterioration of major stelae and stone sculpture in U.S. and European museums shows that housing such sculptures in museums dramatically reduces deterioration.

Under no circumstances should major infrastructure development be undertaken before completion of a master plan or without adequate environmental impact analysis. At Copan the construction of a major visitor center before master plan completion greatly reduced the overall development options open to the master planning team, and considerable modifications in the visitor center and other nearby buildings are now required to adequately utilize these structures. The access road to the ruins was upgraded without prior archeological salvage operations, and numerous sites were destroyed in the process.

Upgrading the existing tourist infrastructure and related services, particularly for national tourism, and modest new investments should take priority over major new construction projects. At Copan, a major investment was made in a new international hotel before construction was abandoned. Several previous studies had strongly argued against construction of that or any new hotel outside the town of Copan Ruinas. The smaller hotels and tourist services in town appeared adequate with upgrading, and support facilities were available.

Businesses are locally owned and provide employment to local inhabitants. Grouped in a complex, they provide opportunities for spin-off employment in artisanry, restaurants, markets, etc. Since most employees and owners are local residents, revenues generated stay in the community. Too often luxury hotels located away from existing populations and

service centers provide more benefit to outside owners and staff than to local economic development. In addition, in the case of Copan most visitors, both local and foreign, have only modest financial resources and prefer economical accommodations and services. Finally, locating tourist facilities within, rather than apart from, an existing urban setting expands a visitor's opportunities, thus encouraging longer stays.

Providing an array of visitor services can do much to increase average visitor stay at a cultural park. At Copan, the recent emphasis on restoring monuments, constructing trails, providing improved private guide services, opening a major visitor center, and offering after-dark audiovisual programs and talks in the nearby town have already increased the average visitor stay. It is much easier to entice a visitor already on-site to stay longer than to attract a new one.

Cultural resource management authorities should give more attention to heritage education programs for local residents, the national population, and international visitors. Too often these programs are nonexistent or very insignificant, and yet more than any other management program, education and interpretation can stimulate more support for and an understanding of cultural heritage conservation locally, nationally, and internationally, and help reduce vandalism and adverse impacts on park resources.

Every effort should be made to generate stable local employment where sustainable rural development is a goal of cultural resource management. Developing local tourist services and training employees and artisans is especially important, even if the remoteness of reserves often makes this task difficult. Scholarships, training courses, and small loans should be offered. To stimulate local interest in conserving a region's cultural heritage, formal and informal education and extension programs are also required.

At Copan a major visitor need for better guide service is going to be met through organization of local youths into a tourist guide cooperative. A group of youngsters from ages ten to sixteen are now undergoing training by Honduran and foreign archeologists, monument staff, and the UNESCO interpretation consultant, and will soon be certified as guides. Until now, only outside travel agency guides (from Guatemala City and Tegucigalpa) have led most tours to the monument, often providing false or misleading information to tourists. They, too, are now being trained through IHAH and Tourism Institute courses.

In small developing countries like Honduras, international technical assistance in archeological investigations is extremely important due to the lack of sufficiently trained personnel to carry out surveys, investigative excavations, and restorations. However, in Copan, as elsewhere, such outside assistance has not always been in the best national interest. Wholesale export of priceless archeological relics to foreign museums was once common; little attention was given to training local counterparts or contributing to the development of local

museums, and excavation programs did not necessarily include a restoration component.

Fortunately, most contemporary archeologists have a more conscientious view of their role in promoting scientific development and heritage conservation. Moreover, most developing countries have enacted strong regulations restricting export of archeological relics, requiring submission of detailed project proposals before authorizing investigations, and requiring support for and training of local people during fieldwork. In Honduras this has resulted in a growing cadre of trained professionals and technicians, some of whom have received advanced training at cooperating North American universities, and a continually improving national museum.

"South-south" exchanges of personnel and cooperative training programs for cultural park personnel are increasingly seen as a useful complement to the traditional north-south exchanges. At Copan, for example, the chief of restoration is a Guatemalan technician loaned by his country's government. Technical assistance has also been given by Mexican specialists. To take advantage of the relatively advanced national parks programs in Costa Rica, a number of Copan employees have received training in park management, planning, and interpretation in that country through the collaboration of UNESCO, the Costa Rican National Park Service, and CATIE.

Relationships between Cultural Resource Areas and Adjacent Regions

Copan, like other cultural parks, does not exist as an island, but is vitally affected by and influences the region in which it is located. Access routes should be designed to ensure an enjoyable, informative, and anticipatory experience for park visitors. Visual and cultural values of nearby areas should be protected.

As at Copan, cultural park planners should place priority on promoting a diverse, attractive, and sustaining tourism program, oriented toward increasing average visitor stay rather than simply promoting increases in numbers of visitors. At Copan weekend marimbi concerts, artisan and farmer markets, camping, picnicking, cycling, hiking, swimming, spelunking, birdwatching, and jeep touring are examples of such additional attractions which are being promoted. Diversity of opportunity, coupled with a key cultural attraction and general environmental wholesomeness, will generate both national and international tourism and foreign exchange and thus contribute to improving both local and national socioeconomic conditions. This in turn should increase local support for heritage conservation and reduce management conflicts with park neighbors.

Another proposed innovation at Copan worth considering at other cultural parks where visitors have tended to stay only briefly for lack of "something to do" is opening part of the ruins to well-controlled enjoyable nocturnal contemplation. Even more important is provision of nighttime audiovisual pro-

grams, as well as a small reference library with books in several languages for evening perusal by otherwise unoccupied visitors. These programs, plus the great increase in restored monuments, have converted "seeing Copan" from a one-day into a two-day affair since 1983.

The area around Copan Ruins National Monument, like much of rural Honduras, is characterized by considerable poverty and lack of employment and development opportunities. But the monument, like cultural parks in similar areas elsewhere in the developing world, can and is playing a significant role in contributing to sustainable development of its adjacent region.

Tourism and monument management have developed over the last two decades into the major source of employment and income in Copan Ruinas. The number of tourist services, such as hotels, restaurants, and artisan shops, continues to grow. Archeological investigations underway since 1975 have provided large numbers of full- and part-time jobs, and the monument's core staff of rangers, maintenance workers, interpreters, and technicians continues to grow. Most of those employees, including an increasing number of mid- and highlevel staff, come from the locality.

It should be stressed that concentrated, modest, architecturally integrated tourist facilities can provide many more benefits to local communities than high-class, high-cost hotels, restaurants, and guide services. In too many cases, such services use outside labor, are controlled by outside capital, and many times are intentionally located outside local towns and service complexes.

Multidisciplinary and Multinational Planning and Development of Cultural Resource Areas—Opportunities and Pitfalls

Experience over the last ten years in planning and developing Copan provides useful guidance to cultural resource management areas elsewhere, especially in developing countries with similar socioeconomic situations to those of Honduras. One of the most important needs is to complete comprehensive management plans early in the development process, with a maximum of interdisciplinary, interinstitutional participation. Outside professional, technical assistance is especially important in small countries where few or no specialists are available in the country. Wherever possible, care should be taken that expert advice comes from individuals and institutions with a proven background working in similar situations and with an orientation toward transferring that expertise to the developing country.

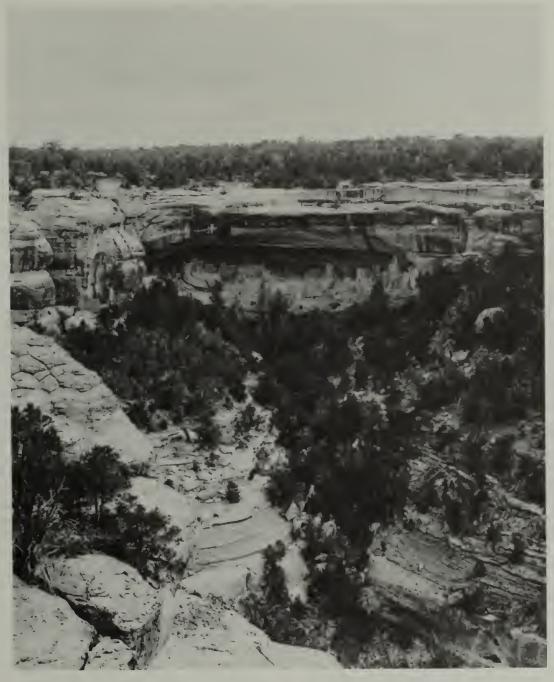
Management and development of a cultural heritage site in a developing country can benefit greatly from careful shortand long-term integrated planning, especially in the case of long-term master plans. The formation of interdisciplinary, interinstitutional planning teams, augmented by outside specialists where necessary, can help ensure preparation of quality documents which will then have the necessary political and institutional commitment to be implemented. Existence of quality planning documents can increase the possibility of outside technical and financial cooperation as well. More detailed and specific program plans (i.e., archeological investigation, interpretation, resource management) should be derived from master plans.

Short-term, practical operational plans can be used as interim substitutes for master plans. Operational plans should continue to be prepared after master plans are completed, providing more details on implementation of other financial and technical resources.

Just as important as careful planning is official acceptance by high government levels and among donor agencies of the master plan as the official guiding document for area development. At Copan, for example, lack of such a high-level commitment has thwarted efforts to remove the airstrip from the monument limits, blocked efforts to upgrade the highway to the Guatemalan border to promote more tourism, and resulted in considerable destruction of archeological resources when the highway to Copan was improved. The new visitor center was built before the master plan was completed and may now require substantial modification to ensure full utilization. In addition, contrary to the recommendations of the 1977 OAS-U.S. National Park Service terms-of-reference, construction of a major hotel with World Bank financing was initiated but never completed.

International financial and technical assistance from a number of sources has played a key role in planning and management at Copan and the adjacent community. The financial assistance of BCIE, the World Bank, and UNESCO; the technical cooperation of the governments of Mexico, Guatemala, Great Britain, West Germany, the United States, France, and Costa Rica; and the cooperation of institutions such as the Smithsonian Institution, Carnegie Institute, CATIE, University of Pennsylvania, British Museum, and the Peabody Museum, have played key roles in the development of Copan. Increasingly the Honduran government has provided important national counterpart contributions to this outside assistance.

The designation of a cultural monument or reserve as a World Heritage Site can increase local and national pride and interest in conserving its resources as well as facilitate international assistance in cultural heritage conservation. UNESCO's World Heritage Fund has played a vital role in financing training courses and scholarships for all levels of monument employees, and has provided funding for the master and interpretive planning processes and plan implementation as well.



Cliff Palace from afar. This photograph was taken at practically the same point from which the ruin was discovered by Wetherill and Mason in 1888.

Can the cultural park perform as an instrument for preserving cultural heritage and identities as well as the natural park in the field of natural heritage preservation? Preservation of cultural and natural heritage must be a combined movement involving the environment as a whole—the man, his work, his habitat, the participating community of workers in the program, and the visitors. It is necessary to establish a harmonious relationship and to equate proposed activities with local realities. It is essential to observe the appropriate popular technologies inherent in daily routine as an important way of preserving not only traditions, but also the material culture. Traditional ways of doing things in daily living routines are essential refreshing exercises for the preservation of traditional cultures.

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¿Puede el parque cultural funcionar como instrumento para conservar el patrimonio cultural y las identificaciones culturales así como también el parque nacional en el campo de la conservación del patrimonio natural? La conservación de los patrimonios culturales y naturales tiene que ser un movimiento combinado que incluye la totalidad del ambiente—el hombre, sus obras, su habitat, la comunidad de trabajadores en el programa y los visitantes. Es necesario establecer una relación armoniosa e igualar las actividades propuestas con las realidades

locales. Es esencial observar las tecnologías adecuadas populares inherentes en la rutina diaria como manera importante de conservar no solamente las tradiciones, sino también la cultura material. Las maneras tradicionales de hacer las cosas de la vida diaria rutina son ejercicios refrescantes esenciales para la conservación de culturas tradicionales.

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Le parc culturel peut-il fonctionner comme un instrument pour préserver le patrimoine et les identités culturels aussi bien que le parc naturel fonctionne dans le domaine de la préservation du patrimoine naturel? La préservation des patrimoines culturels et naturels doit être un mouvement d'ensemble considérant l'environnement comme un tout-l'homme, son travail, son habitat, la communauté des travailleurs participant au programme et les visiteurs. Il est nécessaire d'établir des relations harmonieuses et d'équilibrer les activités proposées avec les réalités locales. Il est essentiel, également, d'observer les technologies populaires appropriées, inhérentes à la routine quotidienne, comme un moyen important de préserver non seulement les traditions, mais aussi la culture matérielle. Les facons traditionnelles d'accomplir des tâches dans les routines de la vie quotidienne sont des exercices fondamentaux de perfectionnement pour la préservation des cultures traditionnelles.

The Ideal Territory: Appropriate Technologies for Preservation of Cultural Structures

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Time present and time past Are both perhaps present in time future, And time future contained in time past.

> Burnt Norton T.S. Eliot

In the beginning there was the territory, the natural environment where man was born, grew, and settled, and created his work. This work, a small artifact or a large structure, must be interpreted as memories and these memories are essential testimonies of his cultural heritage.

We cannot consider only the works made by man. We must also consider the effects of the environment on him and of him on the environment. Sometimes he adapted himself, his daily life routine, and his beliefs. Sometimes out of a sense of nostalgia, he adapted his surroundings in an attempt to recreate an ancient environment. These changes to the environment can generally be seen in all settlements. Besides the actual buildings, these changes to the environment comprise the most visible difference between cultural and natural parks.

At first glance, the permanence of monuments and artifacts in their own natural environment is the optimum for their preservation. The environment must be considered as a whole without an imposed dichotomy between its natural and cultural features.³ Based on this approach, we can say that cultural parks provide the optimum preservation situation. This concept is not easy to understand, in that it often requires comprehensive research into the concerns of both structures and their integration into the immediate environment.

Until some years ago, this integration was not even con-

sidered. Scholars associated with programs of cultural heritage interpreted the natural environment as simply a complementary setting for cultural features. By taking this point of view, damage was often done to the ecosystems. Even when the complete environment was considered, enthusiasm and respect was often only for the beautiful and the exotic; respect for the less-spectacular was often overlooked.

Sometimes studies and projects were undertaken by a multidisciplinary group, including specialists in natural history. However, the idea of a joint venture, an interdisciplinary approach, did not exist. The naturalist as well as the cultural professional did not give the necessary attention to the concerns of the other and an integrated approach was difficult if not impossible.

In our changing and sometimes confused and problematic world, our society is beginning to open its eyes, to understand and take on its own the challenge of preservation of the environment as a whole. It may be said that a position of responsibility is being taken, and the aesthetical slavery so common to yesterday's societies is being relinquished.⁵

We take as a case study the preservation and use of the cultural parks, interpreting the principle that use must evolve into an attitude of preservation. A park, created from the standpoint of the preservation of old and obsolete structures, can serve as nonformal education through the obvious dynamic activities associated with these structures. Preservation is no longer something to be considered in the abstract, as Pietro Gazola said. It is not a problem that can be faced only in an economic way through simple maintenance. Scientific, cultural, social, and even poetic ways must also be

considered.

We need to take a strong attitude towards a new concept for preservation. Use must be considered. Any proposal must take into account both preservation and use. This new concept must also include objective and interdisciplinary research into other areas as well. A detailed program of care and conservation, in addition to material conservation, must also include the preservation of all values of the microenvironment; values such as those of the associated natural world—the flora and fauna. This new preservation concept must also take into account the associated spiritual, emotional, and other associative values which are an integral part of a particular cultural site.

The rise of this new preservation approach has aided in the development of programs in some protected areas, supplementing them considerably. In many parts of the world, however, budgetary restraints do not allow this development.⁷ As a solution, many of us have tried to use our own creativity to solve the problems using alternative materials, appropriate technologies, and the community as teamwork.⁸

This kind of activity in the beginning was observed on the one hand as a possible way to reduce costs, and on the other as an opportunity to incorporate a preservation effort into a joint program for the presrvation of both the cultural and the natural heritage. Frequently areas with insufficient budgets had concentrated only on physical conservation.⁹

It was also common that even in places where people were especially worried about the use of toxic materials in agriculture, no attention was paid to the fact that the same kind of dangerous materials had been used for the conservation of cultural property. Consequently, these dangerous materials resulted in the destruction of natural structures.¹⁰

For many years we have been working on this approach, using ecomuseology with appropriate technologies and alternative materials from natural resources. Ecomuseology is an active method of museology, where in a given territory there is an integration and harmonious development of the relationship between man and nature. It includes the participation of the whole environment. Research and critical analysis are the basic and essential instruments of support added to a creative field's teamwork. With this combination the possibilities for development are ever-increasing.

In the case of cultural parks, the definition of territory is obvious. The active participation of the community is performed by individuals—local inhabitants, members of the park staff (including the required specialists), and even the visitors. Perhaps it may be surprising to some, but the visitor can also be involved by the team and have the opportunity to intensely participate. In that way, he or she can assume even more responsibility for a better understanding of the proposal.

This comprehensive approach must incorporate not only the local museum or the visitor's center, but also all the other various components, each having its own role. This would in-

clude, on the one hand, routines of daily life, and on the other, the incorporation of traditional festivities. The integration of all those aspects is essential for a preservation program. It is also essential for a comprehensive understanding of the program. As are the inhabitants and the staff, the visitor involved in this program becomes a responsible element for preservation and not an element of destruction to the cultural and natural heritage.

With regard to preservation technologies, special attention must be given to the choice of materials and the kind of utilization systems. Often they could destroy man and the natural environment. It is like an uninterrupted cycle; man and the natural environment sometimes provoke the destruction of the cultural heritage, by using materials in conservation which are dangerous to the environment.

Research into the use of existing and traditional technologies which may be appropriate for preservation is still in the beginning stages and is very restricted. UNESCO's approved program for 1979-1980 provided for the study of the use of traditional techniques and materials. It also provided for the use of local manpower and local resources. Both the local manpower and materials are often better adapted to local socioeconomic realities in relation to the conservation of cultural property. As stated in the preface of the brochure on this subject published by UNESCO in 1981, "Requests for information and contributions on the subject have been addressed mainly to specialists active in UNESCO cultural safeguard projects, but also to other conservation experts, whose work has been brought to attention. The result of this data search has not proved overly abundant."

Our position is confirmed by material which follows the preface: "Many specialists in the field in developing countries have long practised one form or another of appropriate technology." Through this we can see that the preoccupation was quite limited to the economic aspect.¹²

Our program of research and the treatment of the subject in the UNESCO brochure supports the importance of traditional technologies not only for economic reasons but principally for the benefits derived from a comprehensive and integrated preservation concept.¹³ We continue to work hard, but results so far are still minimal, although important. Our program involves research from an interdisciplinary approach in which the possibilities we can visualize are essential for our preservation proposal.

Through our program we observe:

- 1. The role of the materials
 - a) the choice of natural materials and analysis of their performance;
 - b) the relinquishment of toxic materials.
 - c) the preference of materials that belong to the ecosystem.
- The traditional use of those materials in each specific and local situation.

- 3. The applied technologies (appropriate) in their own environment.
- 4. The possibilities of transferring that technology facing each special environment.¹⁴

The use, for example, of jojoba, mocoto oil, eucalyptus leaves, peacock feathers, banana trees, tamarind seeds, sandalwood, black cumin, curcuma, etc., as substitutes for such toxic materials as pentachlorophenol open a window of hope in the field of physical conservation. But the research must be deep and comprehensive and its application very carefully adapted to the environment. 6

Our goal is the preservation of the whole environment. Man is not only a part of this environment; he is the principal agent in its preservation. The methods of this preservation come through ecomuseology, combining specialists, scientific research, and the incorporation of the local community and its traditional knowledge into a team. This will result in the use of appropriate traditional technologies for conservation, and the relinquishment of dangerous artificial methods. The cultural park will then be the ideal territory, safely used and preserved.

Notes

- 1. In the settlements of new immigrants we can observe this tendency. It is very common also in the Asiatic settlements in America. Fernanda de Camargo Moro, "The constant Asiatic feeding of America," Asia and America (Rio de Janeiro: Mouseion, 1984).
- 2. The transformation begins at the moment when man penetrates inside the natural environment. The bird flies higher, and establishes his home in an upper branch of the old tree; the grass is crushed by his feet and he then begins to make decisions about the spaces that must be utilized for his cultural performance. Fernanda de Camargo Moro, Man and the Natural Environment (Rio de Janeiro: Mouseion, 1983).
- 3. As said Amadou Matar M'Bow, General Director of UNESCO, in his speech of Tifflis.
- 4. At this time each monument was considered separately, as the idea of conservation of the whole environment was not yet observed. We can see this, for example, in the case of transfer of monuments such as the Marbles of the Parthenon, the Cloisters in New York, and recently the Egyptian temples, as the one in Madrid. Fernanda de Camargo Moro, *The preservation of the environment: Is it necessary?* (Rio de Janeiro: Conselho Municipal de Proteção de Cidade do Rio de Janeiro, 1982).

- 5. For example, swamps now are considered as ideal places for the development of life and their intrinsic value recognized. Intrinsic beauty is assessed a value against the old aesthetical concepts. Camargo Moro, Man and the Natural Environment.
- 6. Pietro Gazola, Back to the Agora: The Conservation of Cities (Paris: UNESCO, 1975).
- 7. The act of considering this area a World Heritge monument, or a national monument, is not important. What is important is active conservation. We must not only consider the area protected, it is necessary to take measures to protect it deeply; if not, it will be destroyed with the label of the National Heritage Institute or the World Heritage Fund. Camargo Moro, Man and the Natural Environment.
- 8. For good results, the real teamwork comes from the community. Fernanda de Camargo e Almeida and Lourdes Novaes, *Santa Tereza—The Memory of a Neighborhood* (Rio de Janeiro: CEPI, 1978).
- 9. This mentality can be recognized in all publications and talks on appropriate technologies for preservation. Fernanda de Camargo Moro, *Appropriate technologies for today and tomorrow* (Rio de Janeiro: Mouseion, 1984).
- 10. Sometimes a private laboratory of conservation occupies space next to where families are established. On the other side of the wall of your son's room, for example, somebody might keep a stock of pentachlorophenol. Even in the newspaper, in the good housekeeping section, there are tips on how to use this dangerous material to kill termites through a "homemade" recipe, although they neglect to say that it can kill you too. Ibid.
- 11. The expression "ecomuseology" was created by Georges Henri Rivière and Hughes de Varine-Bohan, from the International Council of Museums, in 1971.
- 12. O.P. Agrawal, et al., Appropriate Technologies for Preservation of Cultural Properties (Paris: UNESCO). Dr. Agrawal is the head of the National Research Laboratory, Lucknow, India, and is developing an excellent work on this matter.
- 13. Fernanda de Camargo Moro, Thinking on appropriate technologies for our Preservation (Rio de Janeiro: Mouseion, 1980).
- 14. Fernanda de Camargo Moro, "The route of Indies—Appropriate technologies" (Rio de Janeiro, 1983).
- 15. Research is being done with excellent results. See, for example, Dr. Agrawal's article about this use in India.
- 16. It is not enough to transfer only the technology, but we must also analyse the environment to see if that technology is really appropriate.

Europe has rural landscapes where man and nature have been integrated for thousands of years and where the landscape shows the complex interplay of cultural values which characterize human communities. At the end of the nineteenth century the exodus of rural workers attracted by towns and their factories began endangering the continuity of these cultural landscapes. It has therefore been necessary to classify and protect the most representative areas of these landscapes. To this end, parks have been created in places where some populations still remain. One of the methods best adapted to this dual function of integrating the parks with culture and of transmitting this reality is the ecomuseum, which has basically two components: a Time Museum, where one can discover the region's history and culture from its geological formation to the present; and a Space Museum, formed by the park's territory, where the visitor appreciates the cultural values in situ (prehistoric, historic, architectural, etc.), as well as the scientific and aesthetic values still existing which are described in the Time Museum.

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La Europa tiene los paisajes rurales donde el hombre y la naturaleza han sido integrado por muchos años y donde el paisaje demostra una mezcla complejo de los valores culturales que caracteriza las comunidades humanas. Al fin del siglo pasado el éxodo de los trabajadores rurales a las ciudades puso en peligro la continuidad de estos paisajes culturales. Se necesita clasificar y proteger las áreas más representativas y crear fos parques en los sitios donde algunos populations se quedan. Un método que se puede adaptar a este función doble a integrar los parques con la cultura y transmitir esta realidad es el ecomuseo que tiene dos componentes: un Museo de Tiempo donde se puede descubrir la historia y la cultura de la región de su formación geológica al presente; y un Museo de Espacio donde el visitador se aprecia los valores culturales en situ (prehistórico, histórico, arquitectónico, etc.,) junto con los valores científicos y estéticos ya existente en el Museo de Tiempo.

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L'Europa a les paysages ruraux où l'homme y la nature ont été integrée pour un très grand nombre de années et où le paysage montre un mélange complexe des valeurs culturals qui caracterise las sociétés humaines. Au fin du XIXème siècle l'exode des travailleurs ruraux aux cités mette en danger la continuité des paysages culturals. Il faut classifier et proteger las aires le plus representatives et cree les parcs dans les sites où quelques populations il reste. Une de las méthodes qui peut adapter à cette fonction double à integrer les parcs avec la culture et transmettre cette réalité est el ecomusée qui a deux éléments: un Musée du Temps où il peut decouvrir la histoire et la culture de la région de sa formation géologique au présent; et un Musée de l'Espace où le visiteur peut apprecier les valeurs culturals in situ (préhistorique, historique, architectural, etc.) ainsi que les valeurs scientifiques et esthétiques déjà existant dans le Musée du Temps.

The Ecomuseum: An Instrument of Cultural Animation Devised for Park Regions

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Except in limited cases, it is not possible to create national parks in densely populated territories like Europe that are governed by the same concept which presided over their emergence in the United States and Africa. According to this concept, parks are defined as vast territories under government control which have remained unaffected by human intervention, without economic activities, and in which the preservation of nature is the preeminent preoccupation.

One can say that for centuries almost all the European space has been exploited by human communities. Only a few marginal areas remain, for example, some places in the Alps and the Pyrenees where the scenery can be considered as essentially still solely the result of natural elements.

In Europe, the natural environment in the restricted meaning of areas withdrawn from man's intervention virtually does not exist. The rural landscape has replaced the natural landscape. Only a few fringes of the original climatic cover are left to exist in marginal situations due to the difficulty of access or lack of economic interest.

However, the natural elements and their mechanisms, their rhythms, their complexity, and their diversity will continue to determine the evolution and the dynamics of the rural world, and it is into those elements that human cultural roots thrust. Ruralism is the essence of the European people's soul, even in countries like Portugal where the sea has always played a fundamental role in shaping the culture.

Since the beginning of the twentieth century, upon confronting the first consequences of the Industrial Revolution, Europeans have understood that this rural landscape had to be preserved. But the conservation of an agricultural landscape

or of a mountain pastureland, for example, requires the continuity of the processes that created or shaped it. The rural landscape abandoned to itself, without the plough, without burning, without the regular crossing of herds, would very quickly be covered first with bush, and then the dense forest that would do away with what took centuries to build and to maintain.

The survival of traditional economic practices, linked to the exploitation of the earth, can only be ensured by the creation of preserves, or parks, which will generate a source of income to support and guarantee those activities which are now unable to compete with economic developments in our century.

The establishment of parks of natural and cultural interest in rural areas has progressively spread to all European countries. These parks have a dual function: the conservation of nature and its resources, and the protection of the local culture while contributing to the dignity of the rural man so that he does not become a rare species that urban people come to contemplate as if they were going to the zoo.

The areas that are of interest because of the balance of the rural landscape and natural elements existing within them are also areas that are underdeveloped economically. Their backwardness results from insufficient and uncertain income, the irregularity or severity of the climate, the difficulty of access, and the arduous work that development requires. These factors create a feeling of frustration in the inhabitants, a feeling that is increased by isolation, absence of modern comforts, and the nonexistence of required services to support their health and work. Simultaneously, the export of urban living standards toward the rural world, including the most

alienating processes and the most superfluous products of a consumptive society, and the substantial injections of mass culture (movies, books, music, fashion, food) lead the inhabitants of the most remote rural areas to feel inferior and to despise the life they are leading and the environment that surrounds them.

The parks can play an important role in this context. They are the best depositories of the region's culture, and through nature and landscape conservation measures, they will indirectly contribute to preserving the culture, the habits, and the traditional activities of the region's inhabitants.

The park administration must concentrate all its efforts on rendering the local culture more dynamic and raising its prestige. In order to do so, the park administration must mobilize the local population, as the success of protecting nature and the landscape will essentially depend on the population's participation and on their commitment to concrete actions whose primary aim is to preserve nature. The local population will feel a greater achievement and be proud of its way of life when visitors show their interest and sympathy toward the cultural revelations of the rural world.

This is the reason why cultural animation must be one of the park's essential objectives, together with the preservation of nature and the promotion of open-air activities. Cultural animation is intended both for a visiting public who is eager to know nature and a rural world very different from the urban environment and for the people of the region where the parks are established.

It seems to me that the most complete and functional means of promoting a permanent cultural animation of the park is through the concept of the "ecomuseum," a concept established by the Frenchman George Henri Rivière, who, along with Professor Rivet, founded the famous Musée de l'Homme (Museum of Man) in Paris. He was also later the founder of the Musée des Arts et des Traditions Populaires (Museum of Popular Arts and Traditions), also in Paris.

Rivière, who until his retirement was director of UNESCO's International Council on Museums, very early realized the ineluctable link between culture and nature and became aware that ecology is also the science of man and of his cultural relations with the environment. The ecomuseum, he says, is a museological concept with a developmental characteristic, whose definition is not limited, "a mirror where the population can see itself in its relations with the environment which surrounds it." Its structure varies with the territory's cultural dynamics and with the landscape into which it is inserted.

Through the Musée du Temps (Time Museum), the territory's history will be told from its geological formation, the appearance and evolution of the forms of life which have created the natural ecosystems, and the advent of man and his history, recounted from the archeological remains to the present. This exhibition, which will resort to unconventional means such as audiovisual supports and dynamic forms of ex-

pression to show objects, will constitute the chronological thread of the landscape and will send the visitor back to the Musée de l'Espace (Space Museum), which includes the park's region, utilizing all its natural and cultural elements.

After visiting the Musée du Temps and learning the region's history, the visitor will be invited to go see on-site what best interests him or her. A number of itineraries are provided through the park and the neighboring territory. They lead to the discovery of natural values, archeological sites, etc., and are intended for pedestrians or for auto travel. These routes go through halls of thematic exhibitions, operating craftsmen's shops, and even through some craftsmen's homes. The ecomuseum lives, in effect, from the participation of the people who lend their garments, their domestic or work utensils for temporary exhibition, or who show their homes to visitors—the houses where they lead their everyday lives. The visitor can have a meal in any of the houses; he or she can hear the owner play a traditional musical instrument; or listen to the owner's stories and songs inherited through oral tradition.

We have created such an ecomuseum project for the Serra da Estrela Natural Park. The Serra da Estrela is the highest mountain chain in Portugal (2,000 meters), and is linked to the origins of the Portuguese people from ancient Lusitania, whose inhabitants, the Lusitanians, opposed the Roman occupation for decades. It is a region with a mountain economy, agricultural and pastoral, where a famous ewe milk cheese is still produced today on a small scale.

If the natural values of this region are important, the cultural and ethnographic wealth is no less important: prehistoric remains, Roman ruins, castles and buildings from the Middle Ages, and dwellings hundreds of years old, in addition to other small-scale activities of great ethnographic and economic interest.

Unfortunately, for various reasons, it has been presently impossible to follow up on this project, which nevertheless is still of current interest and urgent to undertake. Some buildings, which are very important for local and even national history, have been acquired and others remain to be purchased. A considerable number of articles of all kinds have been collected—furniture, agricultural utensils, craft tools, chinaware, clothes—which have been given by the people who already were starting to appreciate and show interest in the project. A team of excellent academic researchers has been formed representing the diverse fields comprising the ecomuseum: geology, botany, wildlife, archeology, history, and rural sociology.

The Musée du Temps will be installed in a magnificent granite building which was formerly a hand-weaving shop, situated in Meios village. In this building the visitor—local or tourist—will learn of the emergence, evolution, and present state of the park's territory and will then be directed to the Musée de l'Espace, which is nothing more than the existing

landscape. A series of discovery paths will lead the visitor to the places he or she is most interested in: geological monuments, flora, lakes, prehistoric remains (sepulchures dug in rocks, signs engraved on the rocks, Roman roads and bridges, etc.). Other paths will allow the visitor to visit the thematic exhibition rooms, which will be situated in various villages where traditional workshops still operate under economically profitable conditions.

The regional architecture room will be situated in Linhares, a village where one can see Roman ruins alongside houses built by today's immigrants, and pass by a medieval castle and old houses, some of them dating from the fifteenth century and decorated with excellent details in worked granite.

The Serra granitic area is a sheep zone. This is the reason why a room dedicated to the shepherd and to raising sheep will be installed in the village of Sabugueiro, at an altitude of 800 meters. In this village a flock of sheep will be kept, together with a sheep pen identical to others which exist in the area and are owned by local inhabitants.

The Serra schistous area has another characteristic resulting from the matrix that is its support. Here the goat predominates and is the reason why a room dedicated to goat raising and to the production of goat cheese will be created in the village of Cortes de Meio.

Grains are traditionally ground in water mills, a great number of which are found over the park's territory; a number are still working today. Some of these mills, whose existence is mentioned in medieval documents, have been acquired in order to maintain them in good working condition. A room dedicated to milling and bread production will be created in Linhares.

Weaving has a long tradition in the region, going back as far as man's existence there. The preparation of an ancient weaving mill powered by a hydraulic wheel in São Romão will allow the creation of a room dedicated to the evolution of weaving.

Another activity which contributes to the fame of the Serra da Estrela is the small-scale production by craftsmen of ewe milk cheese which still today represents an abundant source of income and is without doubt the park's most profitable activity. There will be, then, a room dedicated to cheese production, near a cheese factory working under normal conditions.

Mountain agriculture today encounters great difficulties as a result of agricultural competition from the valley where mechanization is easier. However, the high quality of the Serra's products may be capable of counterbalancing the sparseness of the production. A room will be dedicated to regional agriculture, especially rye, oats, barley, potatoes, corn, and chestnut crops. This room could be installed in the village of Salgueirais in which a very dynamic agriculture is still practiced today.

All these thematic rooms will abide by rather informal museological techniques, using a small number of articles and audiovisual means in order to make the visit attractive and to dissipate in the visitor's mind the long-standing impression that museums are only a long succession of lifeless, cataloged items. The rooms will always be situated in rural village buildings and will therefore represent an example of how the building's heritage can be salvaged.

The ecomuseum will be supported by a field laboratory. Several popular houses will be acquired in Videmonte where several small laboratories will be opened to student groups and researchers interested in the study of the region's scientific values. In Videmonte there will also be a laboratory for the restoration of ethnographic items.

In addition to this laboratory, there will be a series of support facilities. Some, which are on the discovery paths that cross the Serra, have already been purchased and others must be acquired quickly before they completely fall into ruins—mountain lodgings, campers' refuges. The Unhais da Serra Spa, which is presently in ruins, will be restored and reopened and could be an excellent center of attraction and naturalistic treatment.

Another feature provided by the ecomuseum lies in the Center of Cultural Animation, which will cover the whole park but be specifically focused on the ecomuseum. The remains of an old fifteenth-century manor, the "Casa de Torre" in Gouveia, have been acquired and restored to shelter the Center of Cultural Animation. In this center we will probably keep all the archives and documentation regarding the Serra da Estrela (the sectorial studies, monographs, etc.), as well as the audiovisual equipment and the oral tradition collection (music, etc.)

This center will also organize exchanges between the park's villages, as well as temporary exhibitions animated by the region's inhabitants. The center will participate in the organization of celebrations and of popular *romarias*. Some *romarias* have already been reanimated owing to the development, for example, of cheese production and to the improvement of the bovine livestock. The center will also support local brass bands, popular theater groups, and so forth.

It is, then, a set of museological activities integrated with popular activities of interest to tourists and, most of all, to the local population. This organization is able to promote the park's cultural functions and adapt to the various biophysical and cultural characteristics of each region.

Ecomuseums exist in France (for example, Landes de Gascogne, Brière, Camargue, and Cévennes). From the results already obtained, this strategy of cultural animation seems to be extremely efficient for park regions. To conclude, I would assert once more the hope that at the time of the next conference dedicated to this theme of culture and parks, I will be able to speak about the Serra da Estrela Museum no longer as a simple project, but as a living reality.

The Bosphorus, a waterway renowned as the geographic and spiritual bridge between western and near eastern civilizations and the site of countless scenic and historically significant settlements, has come under the destructive effect of unplanned urban expansion as a result of technological changes and industrial development. Although a legal mechanism has existed in Turkey to protect its cultural heritage since the 1950s, there were no specific statutory regulations for preserving the Bosphorus itself until 1983 when it was officially declared a historic and natural site.

The project of conserving the historic village of Rumelihisar, conducted by the Bogaziçi (Bosphorus) University Committee for the Preservation of the Environment with the participation of UNESCO and volunteers, is aimed at providing a model which, if successful, could be the beginning of a much larger project for the conservation of the whole area. The case for the conservation of this neighbourhood is overwhelming. Situated at a point on the strait where the distance across is the shortest, the village not only possesses outstanding natural beauty but also embodies unique historical values going back to the Byantine period and the Turkish conquest of Istanbul in the fifteenth century. The human and physical environment of the area, a characteristic Ottoman melting pot, reflects the sympathetic reconciliation of complex cultural antecedents, and despite its proximity to the city centre, retains its integral personality. The objective of the committee is to socially and economically revitalize the area in harmony with the cultural and aesthetic values that determine its character.

El Bósforo, un río navegable famoso como el puente geográfico y espiritual entre las civilizaciones del occidente y del próximo oriente, el sitio de innumerables instalaciones pintorescos e históricos importantes, sufre los efectos destructivos de la expansión urbana no planificada resultando de cambios tecnológicos y del desarrollo industrial. Aunque existía un mecanismo legal en Turquía, después de los años cincuenta, para proteger el patrimonio cultural, no fue hasta 1983 que se hicieron los reglamentos legales específicas para preservar el Bósforo mismo.

El proyecto de preservación del pueblo histórico de Rumelihisar, dirigida por el Comité de Preservación del Ambiente de la Universidad de Boĝaziçi con la participación del UNESCO y de voluntarios, se dedica a formar un modelo que, si tiene éxito, podría ser el comienzo de un proyecto mayor

de preservación de la zona entera. Los argumentos en favor de la preservación de esta vecindad son abrumantes. Situado en un punto del estrecho donde la distancia separando las dos orillas es menor, el pueblo posee no sólo una belleza natural fuera de lo común sino también incluye valores históricos únicos que remontan al período bizantino y a la conquista de Istanbul por los turcos en el siglo quince. El ambiente humano y físico de esta zona, un ''melting pot'' otomano característico, refleja la reconciliación simpática de antecedentes culturales complejos y, a pesar de su proximidad al centro de la ciudad, guarda su carácter íntegro. La meta del comité es de favorecer la revitalización social y económico de la región en harmonía con los valores culturales y estéticas que determina su carácter específico.

Le Bosphore, voie d'eau renommée comme pont géographique et spirituel entre les civilisations de l'Occident et du Proche-Oriente, site d'innombrables installations pittoresques et historiques importantes, subit les effets destructifs d'une expansion urbaine non planifiée résultant des changements technologiques et du développement industriel. Bien que des moyens légaux existaient en Turquie, depuis les années cinquante, pour protéger le patrimoine culturel, ce n'est qu'en 1983 que des règlements statutaires spécifiques pour préserver

le Bosphore lui-même, ont été mis en place.

Le projet de conservation du village historique de Rumelihisar, dirigé par le Comité pour la Préservation de l'Environnement de l'Université de Boĝaziçi avec la participation de l'UNESCO et de volontaires a pour but de fournir un modèle qui, s'il est couronné de succès, pourrait être le début d'un projet beaucoup plus vaste pour la conservation de la zone entière. Les arguments en faveur de la conservation de ce voisinage sont écrasants. Situé à l'endroit du détroit où la distance séparant les deux rives est la plus courte, le village possède non seulement une beauté naturelle hors du commun, mais renferme aussi des valeurs historiques uniques qui remontent à la période Byzantine et à la conquête d'Istanbul par les Turcs au quinzième siècle. L'environnement humain et physique de cette zone, un "melting pot" Ottoman caractéristique, reflète la réconciliation sympathique d'antécédents culturels complexes et, en dépit de sa proximité du centre ville, garde sa personnalité intégrale. Le but du comité est de favoriser la revitalisation sociale et économique de la région en harmonie avec les valeurs culturelles et esthétiques qui lui confèrent sa spécificité.

The Preservation of the Natural and Cultural Heritage of the Bosphorus: A Pilot Project

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Introduction

Istanbul, the city that spans two continents and two seas (as Shakespeare said of Caesar, like a Colossus that "doth bestride the narrow world"), situated within the perimetre of the limited area termed the "oikumene," or the known world in ancient times, capital of two world empires and two major religions, was created, according to a sixteenth-century traveller, by the Bosphorus rather than by Byzas, the legendary founder reported to have selected the site of the first settlement. The same author, Petrus Gyllius (Pierre Gilles) adds in words that have become almost as well known as the motto for the Strait: "The Bosphorus with one key opens and closes two worlds, two seas."

The Bosphorus, a strait some thirty kilometres long joining the Black Sea with the Marmara, varies in width from about 700 metres at his narrowest to over three and one half kilometres at its widest. Its strong currents—a surface current from the Black Sea to the Marmara and a cross-current about forty metres below the surface in the opposite direction—make the passage difficult at times but do not prevent dense local and international traffic or even fishing and swimming.

The many indentations of the shores, where a bay on one side corresponds to a promontory on the other (doubtless pointing to the geological formation of the waterway) produce constant variations of view. Edmondo de Amicis, who visited the city at the end of the nineteenth century, is among those who noted the manner in which the Bosphorus "keeps altering its character," now "shut in like a big lake," a moment later a river curving sinuously along its hilly banks. Susan Wallace, another traveller of the early twentieth century, com-

mented on the same characteristic of the strait, saying that "traversing it is like witnessing the unfolding of a panorama." She adds that the "ceaseless change of landscape constitutes the main charm of the locality." To this must be added the effect created by the incessant change of colour and shade caused by the atmospheric permutations over the strait. A popular Turkish poet, Orhan Veli, described the phenomenon with the words, "A thousand shades of blue flow through the Bosphorus."

Another characteristic feature noted by countless travellers, past and present, is the impression left on the mind by the passage of boats that sail close by the shores. Susan Wallace described the scene:

so bold is the step off from the shores that the greatest ships pass within a fathom of the quays . . . The sight of a boat is always a pleasure, and the larger the boat the greater the pleasure. Fancy what it must be to watch the passage of an ocean going steamer so close that you see the eyes of the passengers, and hear the officers on the bridge speaking in ordinary tones.⁴

Early travellers were also impressed by the lushness of the flora and the plentifulness of the fauna, particularly the fish. During the Renaissance, mapmakers such as Ortelius and "cosmographers" like Botero praised the abundance of the fish and drew pictures of men and women bending down from their yalis (waterside houses) to pick up fish in baskets. It is interesting to note that even in our own day, at particular times of the year, the fish become so plentiful that men, women,

and children go down to the banks to collect them by the basket.

I must conclude this brief introduction on the dominant natural characteristics of the Bosphorus by quoting from two contemporary accounts. In their article, "Spanning the Bosphorus," Charles Adelsen and Henry Angelo-Castrillon comment on the natural wealth of the area in the following passage: "The Bosphorus woodlands today are islands of sanctuary for small fauna, from tortoises and hedgehogs to foxes and owls. Nightingales flood summer nights on the Bosphorus with bubbling silver music, but only where protecting woods remain, refuges whose edges are now touched by urbanization."

Another contemporary description of the exceptional natural beauty of the locality is given by John Freely and the late Hilary Sumner-Boyd, two scholars who lived and taught for many years at Bogaziçi University, the former Robert College.

Both shores are lined with hills, none of them very high, the most imposing being the Great Çamlica (262 meters) and Yusa Tepesi (201 meters), both on the Asian side; nevertheless especially on the upper Bosphorus, the hills often seem much higher than they are because of the way in which they come down in precipitous cliffs into the sea. In spite of the almost continuous villages and the not infrequent forest fires, both sides are well-wooded, especially with cypresses, umbrella-pines, plane-trees, horse-chestnuts, terebinths and judas-trees. The red blossoms of the latter in spring, mingled with the mauve flowers of the ubiquitous wisteria, and the red and white candles of the chestnuts, pervaded by the songs of nightingales and blackbirds, give the Bosphorus at that season an even more superlative beauty.⁶

Historical Background

The Bosphorus was probably very sparsely populated during the early Byzantine period, not a far cry from the wild and dangerous shores seen by the Argonauts who dared the perils of the strait under the leadership of the mythical King Jason and his crew of demigods and heroes. We have records and some archeological remains that denote settlements such as small fishing villages in comparatively well-protected bays and creeks, and also temples and altars dedicated to the Olympic deities, such as the temple of Hermes at Rumelihisar and that of Diana at Bebek. These may have become converted into churches and monasteries after the recognition of Christianity as the official religion of the empire.

The turning point in the history of the Bosphorus comes with the penetration of Turkish power into the area, at first with the construction of a fortress on the Asian coast, the Fortress of Anatolia (Anadolu Hisari), in 1393 by Beyazit the Thunderbolt, and later with the erection in 1452 of another, grander fortress by Mehmet the Conqueror on the opposite shore called the Fortress of Roumelia (Rumeli Hisari). These two fortresses, or rather fortified castles, situated at the narrowest point across, served not only as outposts and tokens of Turkish military power but also as stepping stones for the siege of Constantinople. The first was in 1396, balked by Timur's invasion of Anatolia and the calamitous Battle of Ankara in 1402, which prolonged the life of the Byzantine Empire for over fifty years; the second attempt in 1453 ended as a victory and culminated in the transformation of the city into the capital of the Ottoman Empire.

After' the fall of Constantinople, the Bosphorus became a peaceful waterway enclosed by Turkish territories, the summer resort of the Ottoman wealthy, and a recreation area for the residents of Istanbul. The banks took on their dominantly Ottoman character so well known to posterity from countless engravings, paintings, and miniatures of the Bosphorus made by foreign and local artists over the centuries.

The mosques, fountains, baths, and other public monuments erected to beautify the strait by sultans and viziers vied with the private mansions and palaces that were built along the shores on either side surrounded by lush gardens at the foot of wooded hills. The fishing villages and small local settlements led a thriving but semi-isolated existence, nestled in valleys that reached out to the sea through narrow openings between the hills. The dominant mode of transport was the *kaique*, or rowboat, and sailing vessels. Overland transport to the city on horseback or by cart was difficult and arduous since roads were practically nonexistent.

A description of the palaces and summer resorts on the Bosphorus is provided by Lady Mary Wortley Montagu in 1718:

Nothing can be pleasanter than the Canal, and the Turks are so well acquainted with its beautys, all their Pleasureseats are built on its banks, where they have at the same time the most beautiful Prospects in Europe and Asia. There are near one another some hundreds of Magnificent Palaces . . . I was yesterday to see that of the late Grand Vizier who was kill'd at Peterwaradin. It was built to receive his Royal Bride, daughter of the present sultan, but he did not live to see her there It is situated on one of the most delightfull parts of the Canal, with a fine wood on the side of a Hill behind it. The extent of it is prodigious: the Guardian assur'd me there is 800 Rooms in it. I will not answer for that number since I did not count them, but tis certain the number is very large and the hole adorn'd with a profusion of marble, gilding, and the most exquisite painting of fruit and flowers. The Windows are all sash'd with the finest cristaline Glass brought from England, and all the expensive Magnificence that you can suppose in a Palace founded by a vain young Lux-

urious Man with the wealth of a vast Empire at his Command. But noe part of it pleas'd me better than the Apartments destin'd for the Bagnios. There are 2 exactly built in the same Manner, answering to one Another; the Baths, fountains and pavements all of white marble, the roofes gilt, and the walls cover'd with Japan china; but adjoyning to them 2 Room, the upper part of which is divided into a sofa; in the 4 corners falls of water from the very Roofe, from shell to shell of white marble to the lower end of the room, where it falls into a large Basin surrounded with pipes that throw up the water as high as the room. The walls are in the nature of Lattices and on the outside of them vines and woodbines planted that form a sort of green Tapestry and give an agreable obscurity to these delightfull chambers. I should go on and let you into some of the other Apartments (all worthy your curiosity), but tis yet harder to describe a Turkish palace than any other, being built entirely irregular. There is nothing can be properly call'd front or wings, and tho such a confusion is (I think) pleasing to the sight, yet it would be very unintteligible in a Letter. I shall only add that the chamber destin'd for the sultan, when he visits his daughter; is wainscoated with mother of Pearl fasten'd with Emeralds like nails; there are others of mother of Pearl and olive wood inlaid, and several of Japan China. The Gallerys (which are numerous and very large) are adorn'd with Jars of Flowers and Porcellane dishes of Fruit of all sorts, so well done in Plaister and colour'd in so lively a manner that it has an enchanting Effect. The Garden is suitable to the House, where Arbours, fountains, and walks are thrown together in an agreable Confusion. There is no Ornament wanting except that of Statues.7

With the advent of the steamer during the second half of the nineteenth century there was a marked increase in the number of houses and public buildings on the Bosphorus. However, the achitectural style preserved its dominantly traditional character and a healthy balance was maintained between urban settlements and the environment. It was after the middle of the twentieth century, particularly as a result of the political and economic developments which took place within Turkey in the post-World War II period, that the Bosphorus entered into its present state of gradual deterioration and decay.

Dangers Threatening the Bosphorus

Under the impact of industrialization and technological growth which gained momentum in the late fifties, rapid and unplanned urbanization became the bane of most of the towns situated in industrial areas, chief among them Istanbul and its suburbs. The Bosphorus naturally enjoyed its share of the boom. The erection of concrete blocks of flats to accommodate a population that doubled in less than a decade; the spread

of squatters' villages (*Gecekondu*) as a result of the massive exodus from rural areas into the cities; and the installation of oil and fuel depositories and a few industrial plants along the banks caused more harm than could be imagined at the time.

As a result of these adverse developments, both the natural and the historical environment have suffered seriously. The effects may be briefly summarized as follows:

- 1. Green areas have considerably diminished. This is all the more regrettable when one considers the fact that the open spaces and parklands on the Bosphorus, amounting to 3,200 hectares in all, constitute more than half of the green land available in the city set aside for recreational activities: 1.2 square meters out of a total of 2.3 square meters per capita.8
- 2. The skylines and views have been impaired. Particularly as a result of the erection of incongruous modern constructions, often put up in violation of existing regulations, the natural silhouettes of the hills and the spectacular views of the strait have been seriously disfigured in certain places. Moreover, the intrusion of these structures into a region where hitherto a happy balance had existed between a predominantly traditional architecture in wood or stone and a rich natural environment has destroyed the ambience of particular spots on the Bosphorus and their local colour.
- 3. The parks known as the "pleasure resorts" (Mesire) of former ages are steadily disappearing or falling into decay. These parks, well known in Ottoman times such as the often-praised "Sweet Waters of Asia" (Goksu), were a source of fascination to foreign travellers. They offered (and in some cases still continue to offer) leisure and entertainment to large numbers of the public who wish to spend time away from their confined quarters in the city during holidays and weekends.
- 4. The ecological balance has been upset. The diminishing of green areas, woods, and groves has led to a reduction of the variety and quantity of the flora and fauna characteristic of the Bosphorus. A similar comparative depletion has occurred in the amount and species of fish in the sea stream.
- 5. The waters of the Bosphorus are becoming steadily more polluted. Although the strong currents help to clear the rubbish and the waste to some extent, yet with the constant oil discharge, mostly from foreign shipping (still not brought under control despite the enforcement of restrictive regulations) and the lack of proper sanitation, the situation continues to deteriorate.

Conservation Measures

It is clear from the picture painted above that the Bosphorus is in need of protection and that unless immediate measures are taken, the strait will have entered upon an irrevocable course of destruction. At present it is still not too late, and it is gratifying to say that the new constitutional law issued on October 18, 1982, has made special provisions for the protection of the natural and historical heritage.

Although a legal mechanism has existed in Turkey to pro-

tect the cultural heritage since the 1950s, there were no specific statutory regulations for preserving the Bosphorus itself until 1983, when it was officially declared a historic and natural site (November 18, 1983) and protected by a new law (the Law on the Bosphorus) passed on November 22, 1983. The law defines the region known as the Bosphorus and determines the measures to be adopted in order to preserve its historical and natural values. Henceforth, all planning concerning the area has to be approved by the newly instituted Bosphorus Planning Board.

However, the pressure of development upon the Bosphorus is so great that a certain amount of undesirable construction is still permitted, made possible by certain loopholes in the law and also by the blind spots of overlapping authority, where bureaucratic regulations involve more than one office in the licensing procedures. At the same time, it is interesting to note that the recognition of the Bosphorus as a historical and natural site of primary significance is perhaps the most important single decision that can ultimately result in the declaration of the region as a natural and cultural park which could continue to offer leisure and recreation to the future generations of the world.

The Conservation of Rumelihisar as a Pilot Project

The conservation of the historic village of Rumelihisar, conducted by the Bogaziçi (Bosphorus) University Committee for the Preservation of the Environment with the participation of UNESCO and volunteers, is aimed at providing a model which, if successful, could be the beginning of a much larger project for the conservation of the whole area.9 The case for the conservation of the Rumelihisar neighbourhood is overwhelming. It remains one of the most scenic and historically significant settlements on the Bosphorus. The human and physical environment of this area embodies the sympathetic reconciliation of singularly complex cultural antecedents. Byzantine remains, Armenian wooden houses, the Fortress from which the area takes its name (itself the landmark of the upward fortunes of the Ottoman Empire), a nineteenthcentury western-style university, and a house-now-turnedmuseum of one of the intellectual fathers of modern Turkey are all elements of a lively community which is both ethnically and socio-economically diverse. Unlike so many of the "villages" which have been incorporated into the modern city of Istanbul, Rumelihisar still retains its integral personality. Its theatres, museums, quayside restaurants, educational institutions, historical cemeteries, and scenic pathways provide centres of refuge and contemplation for the expanding metropolis of which it forms a part. Its views, particularly that of the Bosphorus from above the Rumelihisar Fortress, are familiar to every schoolchild in Turkey and to an international community-syonymous with Istanbul.

The region of Rumelihisar includes several elements of primary historical and cultural significance. Situated at the point where the distance across is the shortest, it is where Darius is said to have marched his soldiers to Europe over a floating bridge constructed by the Greek engineer Mandrocles of Samos in 512 B.C. Rumelihisar (or Leomocopia as it was called by the Byzantines) has a rich store of legendary and historical material and monuments of unique value.

Historical Sites, Monuments and Buildings

Chief among these monuments, without doubt, is the Rumelihisar Fortress, constructed in 1452 as a military centre for the preparation of the attack on the city; it is a landmark not only in Turkish but also world history. Restored in 1958 as a museum with an open-air theatre, today it is an active cultural centre and constitutes a focal point of interest during international festivals and national days of celebration.

The Asiyan Cemetery (or 'Cemetery of the Rocks') is one of the earliest burial grounds in Istanbul. Janissaries who, according to tradition, used to be buried in rocky soil had their graves here. In our own day, many of Turkey's distinguished poets, writers, and other important personalities are buried here.

The Place of the Martyrs is the burial ground of the soldiers who fell during a battle with the Byzantines prior to the construction of the Fortress in 1451. The site was also revered as the burial ground of several religious and military leaders who were the pioneers of Mehmet the Conqueror's army.

The Hill of Prayer (or the Hill of Saints) is where Mehmet II is believed to have worshipped with his soldiers before the assault on the city.

The site of the Tekke of the Place of the Martyrs (Sehitlik Tekkesi)was also known as the Tekke (monastery) of Nafi Baba, the popular leader of the mystical order of the Bektashis, who lived there during the second half of the ninteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries. This tekke is significant for its contributions to the intellectual and cultural life of the empire, particularly in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Indeed, it should be noted that during the first half of the nineteenth century, before the dissolution of the Janissary corps and of the Bektashi tekkes affiliated with the corps, the tekke became a centre for activities aimed at the development of literary, scientific, and theological studies. Nothing now remains of this building except its foundations; the land on which it stands has been appropriated by the adjoining university. A full-scale study of this building has been made, and a plan prepared from written and oral reports with a view toward having it reconstructed in the future as a museum and research centre. The site of another demolished tekke, the Tekke of Durmus Dede, at the seaside adjoining the Fortress, is venerated today as the burial ground of its sainted founder.

The Armenian cemetery is the place where, according to tradition, the masons who worked on the construction of the Fortress were buried. The cemetery was granted by Mehmet II to the Armenian workers and their families who were settled

in the area after the completion of the Fortress.

Several historical fountains, cisterns, wells, and archeological remains are found scattered throughout the village and the adjoining green lands.

At present the village has two mosques and an Armenian church. The Greek Orthodox church, a third mosque, and a public bath (hamam), to which reference is made in the old sources, are no longer in existence.

Baltalimani, the cove behind the Rumelihisar promontory, harboured Mehmet the Conqueror's fleet and is reputed to be the place where the galleys used during the Conquest were built. The place is named after Mehmet's Admiral Baltaoglu Süleyman Pasha.

There are also several nineteenth and early-twentieth-century buildings that have historical and cultural significance, e.g., the Asiyan Museum, the Library of Ahmet Vefik Pasha, etc.

The Historical Village

The village of Rumelihisar is a historical settlement going back to the fifteenth century or earlier. It is mostly composed of traditional timber houses that date from the end of the eighteenth or beginning of the nineteenth centuries. The houses, built of easily perishable materials, are probably replacements of earlier buildings on the same sites. However, one may assume that a substantial number of characteristics were handed down from one age to another. Indeed, they possess the dominant features of vernacular domestic architecture. They reveal the adaptation of aesthetic criteria to functional needs, the fitting of plan to plot, a genius for exploiting the irregularities of site, and an unparalleled mastery over the adaptation of the building to the natural setting or scenery.

The dominance of tradition in architectural style is paralleled by the presence of a marked continuity in the actual spatial arrangement of the houses. Even a quick survey of property records is sufficient to show that the ownership of plots—which naturally change hands—goes back to very early times. Many are built on lands belonging to religious or charitable foundations (*Vakfiye*) established by Mehmet II or other members of the royal family.

Evliya Çelebi, famous Turkish traveller and historian of the seventeenth century, notes as a characteristic feature of Rumelihisar that its 1060 houses were built on a rocky hillside on terraces rising one above the other. Because of this characteristic and perhaps because the residents observed the age-old rule not to block each other's view, each house has not only a view of the Bosphorus but also of the surrounding countryside and the inner urban space from different angles.

The arrangement of Rumelihisar shows the customary asymmetrical planning of a traditional suburban Ottoman town, or to be more specific, of a Bosphorus village. There are

The arrangement of Rumelihisar shows the customary asymmetrical planning of a traditional suburban Ottoman town, or

to be more specific, of a Bosphorus village. There are numerous focal points of interest and you may see something new at every turn. The freely aligned rambling alleys open onto squares marked by an ancient plane tree or a fountain. The quaint gardens separated by rubble walls overhung with lush greenery and flowers merge harmoniously with and almost disappear into the open green spaces or groves. The picturesque step streets—now fast falling into decay—are flanked by trees and bushes or by rows of cantilevering houses, each with a distinctive character of its own.

The region also has university buildings and private houses that have Victorian American or eclectic European characteristics. In fact, there are no architectural barriers, and American houses freely adopt Ottoman elements. Hence there is a mixture of styles that results in an artistic synthesis peculiar to the area. The architecture of the region constitutes yet another evidence of the marked characteristic of the area as a Turco-Ottoman melting pot of peoples, cultures, and creeds.

Bogazici (Bosphorus) University (formerly Robert College)

The university, which was established in 1863 as a pioneer western-style educational institution by two American philanthropists, Christopher R. Robert and Cyrus Hamlin, has nineteenth-century eclecticist buildings that reflect the unique combination of Victorian American and Turco-Ottoman characteristics. The wooded campus is situated slightly above the castle on the slope of the hill between the dervish monastery on the top and the Bosphorus below. Apart from its contribution to the landscape and the natural environment with its broad and lush parklands, the university forms a cultural centre for the community as well as for the country at large.

Scenic Beauty

Scenic beauty, parklands, open areas, views, vistas, and skylines: Some open areas—scenes of important historical incidents—have already been referred to under the section on monuments. Similarly, the cemeteries which provide the village with open space and greenery have also been mentioned. Among other sites of scenic beauty, the parks of the university campus, the enclosed groves and parklands of the American Community School, and the American Board Mission figure prominently as areas of natural preservation and arboreta where birds and some wild animals take refuge (e.g., fox, weasel, marten), and Rumelihisar's plentiful breed of black cats, some of which lead a semisavage existence. These parks merge and blend with the unenclosed parklands, woods, and green areas—mainly state property—that still remain more or less unspoiled within the region.

The interplay of urban and natural clusters, so typical of an Ottoman suburban town, gives rise to the creation of numerous attractive townscapes. To these must be added the panoramic views of the Bosphorus and the shores on the other

side of the strait. These views, from several vantage points in the village, are familiar to everyone and occur in many engravings and postcards of the area.

Gecekondu (Squatter's Village)

The nearby *Gecekondu* settlement situated in the valleys hidden behind the hills and on the boundary of the lands covered by the inventory constitutes another important feature of this region. It is hoped that this settlement may be studied at a future stage in the conservation project in order to a) determine the nature of the involvement of the *Gecekondu* population in the project and in the future development of Rumelihisar, and b) integrate the area within a wide-scale regional development plan that would include the historic zone without impairing its architectural integrity.

Human Environment

Within the setting dominated by the legacy of history and the beauty of the natural scenery, the village of Rumelihisar continues its existence as a centre inhabited by a lively modern community. The university in its midst provides a livelihood for numerous residents of the historical village as well as of the *Gecekondu*. Yet others earn their living through occupations such as fishing and working in the quayside restaurants and in supplying the needs of the local community. The weekly market once held every Saturday in the village square has now been moved to the *Gecekondu* and the custom continued there, with the result that many people in the neighbouring districts also come to do their shopping at its stalls.

The district also provides residences for professionals, artists, university professors, and students. Some of the older houses are occupied by generations of former Rumelihisar residents—Turkish, Armenian, and Greek families—who need financial assistance if they are to keep their houses from falling apart.

The scarcity of land and the timely building restrictions brought about by the Law on the Bosphorus (albeit not timely enough to have hindered the conversion of some of the historical houses into blocks of cement) prevents the village from turning into a fashionable and lifeless dormitory town. The community, both socio-economically and ethnically diverse, enjoys a pluralistic cultural background that could be utilized in the revitalization of the area and the implementation of a creative program of development. Whether learned, artisan, or professional, and whatever the ethnic background or country of origin, the people of this region share a sense of community now quickly disappearing in other parts of the world and in many parts of the metropolis itself. The variety

of experiences available, the sheer humanizing influence exerted by the historical monuments, and the natural scenery all do their share in contributing to this sense of community. Whatever its causes, this quality of life must be appreciated as valuable and must be preserved from destruction, if only as a safety measure against the ills of the anonymous mass existence fostered by the modern city.

Conclusion

The objective of the Bogaziçi University Committee for the Preservation of the Environment is twofold:

- 1. To revitalize the Rumelihisar region socially and economically in harmony with the cultural and aesthetic values that determine its character. To be able to achieve this end, the Committee for the Preservation of the Environment aims at preparing and implementing a large-scale restoration and urban rehabilitation plan giving priority to the development of cultural tourism and of local industries, such as handicrafts, fishing, gardening, etc.
- 2. To encourage research on the preservation of the Bosphorus and to guide and educate volunteers and local people in issues and techniques related to conservation. In doing so, the committee aims at illustrating the function of a university to enlighten the public as well as mold the sensibility of younger generations in comprehending the moral and emotional significance that underlies the concept of preserving the cultural and natural heritage.

Notes

- 1. Edmondo de Amicis, *Constantinople*, trans. M.H. Lansdale (Philadelphia, 1896), II, 288.
- 2. Susan E. Wallace, Along the Bosphorus and Other Sketches (Chicago, 1898), 10.
 - 3. Ibid., 11.
 - 4. Ibid.
- 5. Charles E. Adelsen and H. Angelo-Castrillon, "Spanning the Bosphorus," *Geographical Magazine* (Feb. 1973): 355.
- 6. H. Sumner-Boyd and John Freely, Strolling through Istanbul (Istanbul, 1972), 477-78.
- 7. Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, The Complete Letters (Oxford, 1965)), I, 413-14.
- 8. The statistical data is provided by Dr. A. Yildizci (unpublished docentship thesis, "Urban Planning in Green Areas: The Case of Istanbul," Istanbul Technical University, 1982, 176).
- 9. The first phase of this project, the preparation of an inventory, was completed and sent to UNESCO on December 31, 1983.



The ruins at Cliff Palace. Throughout the 1890s, when the destruction of Mesa Verde's archeological curiosities was an alltoo-frequent occurrence, concerned citizens rallied in an attempt to protect these ruins and artifacts by having the region declared a national preserve. After negotiating a lease with the Weminuche Utes, who owned the land by treaty, the Colorado Cliff Dwellings Association assumed responsibility for the archeological sites until it could finally persuade Congress to designate Mesa Verde a national park in 1906.

China is extremely rich in cultural resources. In order to protect these resources we have taken three measures: 1) designation of historical monuments; 2) designation of historic and scenic spots; and 3) designation of famous towns of history and culture. This paper is concerned primarily with the designation of famous towns.

In the long historic process, the famous mountains, great rivers, and other natural features have almost all been influenced by human history and culture. Consequently, there are many kinds of cultural resources in historic and scenic spots. Examples of these are the ruins of ancient culture; ancient economic and cultural centers; ancient great engineering sites; centers of religious activities; ancient remains of battlefields; capitals, palaces, gardens, and mausoleums of the past dynasties; and native culture and local conditions and customs.

Many measures are being employed to protect our cultural resources. Administrative systems are being set up to respond to needs. Legislation is being enacted. Comprehensive inventories are being conducted to provide essential information as part of the overall planning processes which will define the limits and capacities that are necessary to protect both natural and cultural features.

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La China es un país muy rico en recursos históricos y culturales. A fin de proteger estos recursos hemos tomados tres medidas: 1) selección de monumentos por su designación como monumentos históricos; 2) zonas pintorescas e históricas, 3) ciudades reconocidas por su historia y su cultura. Esta ponencia examina principalmente la tercera medida.

Durante un largo proceso histórico, las montañas de renombre, los grandes ríos y las otras bellas zonas han estado influencidas casi todas numerosas categorías de recursos culturales en las zonas históricas y pintorescas. Estos recursos culturales pueden ser las ruinas de una cultura antigua, centros económicos y culturales antiguos, grandes sitios antiguos de ingeniería, centros de actividades religiosas, ruinas antiguas de campos de batalla, capitales, palacios, jardines y mausoleos de dinastías pasadas, la cultura indígena así como a costumbres y las condiciones locales.

Hemos acelerado la protección por numerosos medidas tales como: la creación de un sistema de gestión, una legislación, la continuación de encuestas sobre los recursos, una planificación, la limitación de la extensión de la protección, la estipulación de la capacidad, la limitación de las actividades de construcción y la protección de la totalidad del ambiente.

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La Chine est un pays très riche en ressources historiques et culturelles. Afin de protéger ces ressources nous avons pris trois mesures: 1) choix de monuments pour leur désignation en tant que monuments historiques, 2) zones pittoresques et historiques, 3) villes renommées pour leur histoire et leur culture. Cet exposé examine principalement la troisième mesure.

Au cours du long processus historique, les montagnes renommées, les grands fleuves et les autres belles zones ont presque tous été influencés par l'histoire et la culture humaines, de telle façon qu'il existe de nombreuses catégories de ressources culturelles dans les zones historiques et pittoresques. Ces ressources culturelles peuvent être les ruines d'une culture ancienne, des centres économiques et culturels anciens, d'anciens grands sites d'ingéniérie, des centres d'activités religieuses, d'anciennes ruines de champs de bataille, des capitales, des palais, des jardins et des mausolées des dynasties passées, la culture indigène ainsi que les coutumes et les conditions locales.

Nous avons accéléré la protection par de nombreuses mesures telles que: la création d'un système de gestion, une législation, la poursuite d'enquêtes sur les ressources, une planification, la limitation de l'étendue de la protection, la stipulation de la capacité, la limitation des activités de construction et la protection de la totalité de l'environnement.

The Position and Preservation of Historic and Cultural Resources in China's Historic and Scenic Spots

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Historic and Cultural Resources in China

China is a country which is vast in territory, with a long history which has been influenced by many nationalities and cultures. Peking Ape-Man existed 500,000 years ago. The Banpo village culture in Xian City of Shaanxi Province existed 6,000 years ago. The first dynasty began in the twenty-first century B.C. The Shang dynasty (fifteenth century B.C.), with its ideograms carved on tortoise shells and animal bones, was the beginning of written history in China. There were many other historical and cultural remains and ruins in addition to these, all of which have an independent system and unique features. In order to protect these resources, our government has taken several measures.

Selection of Historical Monuments Designation

The old buildings, cave temples, stone carvings, historical sites, tombs, revolutionary sites, and memorials are classified according to value for protection at different levels. So far there are more than 20,000 historical monuments designated throughout the country, which include 241 under state protection and more than 3,000 under provincial protection. This work is administered by the Ministry of Culture.

Historic and Scenic Spots

This is an area that has many historic and scenic sites. The natural environment is very important. The areas have certain conditions for relaxation, visiting, and partaking of the culture and science. They are classified according to the value of the view, historical culture, and science at three levels: state, province, and county. So far there are forty-four national Historic and Scenic Spots. Some provinces and counties are going to select their own Historic and Scenic Spots. This work

is administered by the Ministry of Urban and Rural Construction and Environmental Protection (URCEP).

Famous Towns of History and Culture

This category is very rich in ancient monuments and has great significance and historical and revolutionary value. Twenty-four towns are classified under state protection. This work is administered by URCEP.

Historical and Cultural Resources in Historic and Scenic Spots

The Chinese people have an age-old tradition: they love their national landscape and history. From worshipping natural powers, ancient people admired, recited to, studied, and decorated the natural landscape. In the long historic process, the famous mountains, great rivers, and other natural features have almost all been influenced by human history and culture. The Historic and Scenic Spots are not only cultural parks; the natural landscape and environment are also rich in cultural resources.

Ruins of Ancient Culture

In China more than 7,000 ruins of ancient culture have been discovered. No province is without its own remains of earlier cultures. Many of them are in the cities and Historic and Scenic Spots, such as Peking Man in Zhoukoudian, Beijing; Banpo Village in Xian City of Shaanxi Province; Jiongzhai Ruin in Lintung Li Shan Hill Historic and Scenic Spot; and Xue Jiangong culture in Qianshan County of Anhui Province close to the Tanzu Mountain Historic and Scenic Spot. They fill in the gaps of China's human history before the written record.

Ancient Economic and Cultural Centers

Taihu Lake Historic and Scenic Spot; West Lake Historic and

Scenic Spot, Hang Zhou; and Lushan Mountain Historic and Scenic Spot.

Cultural Resources from Natural Resources

When ancient people faced imposing and marvelous natural phenomenon, they often worshiped them as gods. In their sacrifices, commemorations, and eulogies, those ancient people left many mythologies, poems, drawings, stone carvings, buildings, and old trees. These became the museums of history, culture, and art. Five sacred mountains are well known in China: East Mountain—Taishan; West Mountain—Hua Shan; South Mountain—Hengshan (in Hunan Province, the most ancient South Mountain was Tan zu Shan); North Mountain—Hengshan in Shaanxi Province; and Central Mountain—Songshan.

The Ancient Great Engineering Sites

The Great Wall at Badaling in Yuanging County of Beijing; the Great Wall at Shanhaiguan in Qinhuangdao City of Hebei Province; the Dujiang Yan irrigation works in Guan Xian County of Sichuan Province; the Grand Canal from Jiangsu to Zhejiang Port; and Ling Qu Canal in Xing-an County of Guangxi Province.

Capitals, Palaces, Gardens, and Mausoleums of Past Dynasties

Quin Shi Huang Mausoleum in Lintong; Li Shan Hill Historic and Scenic Spot; Ming Thirteen Mausoleum in Changping County of Beijing; and the Imperial Summer Resort in Chengde City of Hebei Province.

Centers of Religious Activities

There were four famous mountains of Buddhism in China: Wutai Mountain in Shaanxi Province; Emei Mountain in Sichuan Province; Putuoshan Island in Zhejiang Province; and Jiuhua Mountain in Anhui Province. The famous stone carving in the Longmen Cave in Luoyang City of Henan Province and Maijishan Cave in Tianshui, City of Gansu Province, are also important religious centers of Buddhism. The Wudang Mountain in Hubei Province, QingCheng Mountain in Sichuan Province, and Laoshan Mountain in Shandong Province were the famous mountains of Taoism.

Ancient Remains of Battlefields and Historic Sites

The Jianmen-Shudao Historic and Scenic Spots are located from Guong Yan County to Jiange and Zitung Counties of Sichuan Province. There are many ancient Zhandao (plank roads along the face of a cliff), ancient towns, battlefields, postal roads, and mountain passes located along a few hundred kilometers. The town of Diaoyu in Hechuan County of Sichuan Province, on the Jialing River, was an ancient battlefield. The Baidi town in Fengjie County, on the Changjiang River, is a famous historic site.

Revolutionary Historic Sites

Jinggang Mountain in Jiang Xi Province is the first rural base of the Chinese revolution.

Native Culture and Local Conditions and Customs
On Wuyi Mountain, Fujian Province, there are boat coffins

of ancient Yue nationality on the cliff. Huang Long-Jiuzhai Historic and Scenic Spot has stockaded villages of Zang nationality. Juang guo Su Historic and Scenic Spot has villages of Buyi and Miao nationality. The Lunan Stone Forest Historic and Scenic Spot has villages of Yi nationality. Dali Historic and Scenic Spot with its villages of Bai nationality and Xi Shuang Ban na Historic and Scenic Spot with its villages of Dai nationality are still more examples.

The Importance of Historic and Cultural Resources in Historic and Scenic Spots

We can see the importance of historic and cultural resources in Historic and Scenic Spots. Within the Chinese historic and geographic condition, almost every Historic and Scenic Spot consists of natural and human cultural landscape. Historical and cultural resources are absolutely necessary.

The value of cultural resources decides, to a great extent, the Historic and Scenic Spot level. When a spot is examined and approved, first the resource value of art, historical culture, and science must be determined. The cultural resource presents the beauty of human culture—the beauty of things according to human aesthetic standards, and the beauty of natural landscapes that have been polished by mankind. In the scientific field, the cultural resource not only has value for social and historical science but also for technical and natural science. The value of a cultural resource is wider than that of a natural one and influences, to a great extent, the spot's level.

The glorious achievements of human history and culture becomes a vital textbook—the source of literary and artistic creation; the classroom of our ability to appreciate beauty; the power to love one's country; and the medium of friendship and understanding between peoples of different countries. Thus the cultural resources belong not just to one country, but to all of mankind.

A cultural resource must be protected forever. It was created by our ancestors and belongs to us. If we do not protect it, it will lose its historic value which can never be recovered. In addition, in every Historic and Scenic Spot, the cultural resources have a strong appeal to most visitors.

The Preservation of Cultural Resources

Our government has done much to protect resources, and in the process has repaired many valuable cultural resources. However, due to various factors such as construction projects, many cultural resources are being modified every day. In recent years we have increased the protection of our resources by the following measures:

- 1. An efficient administrative system
- 2. Legislation
- 3. Research and inventories to provide critical information
- 4. Comprehensive planning processes: According to stipulation, every Historic and Scenic Spot is required to develop a plan of protection, development, and management; when

ratified, that plan will become the basis for the operation of the area.

- 5. Designation of a buffer zone: In order to restrict outside development which will impact the landscape and prevent environmental pollution, we must extend the boundary as a protective belt
- 6. Stipulate capacity: In order to prevent destruction of resources and guarantee the safety of visitors, the Historic and Scenic Spot must stipulate a rational visitor capacity.
- 7. Divide Historic and Scenic Spots into different zones to limit construction activities.

- 8. Stop destroying the topography, changing water systems, and felling trees.
- 9. Maintain and manage natural and cultural resources: Repair the cultural resource but do not change the old face.
- 10. Protect the whole environment: Prevent environmental pollution; keep the environment sanitary; plant trees and protect vegetation; make the area green.

Of course, in our work we encounter many problems. There are many factors destroying the environment, but we are beginning. We will work hard and hope that conditions will improve in the future.

Thirty parks and nature preserves have been created since 1975 in the Piedmont region in northwestern Italy, demonstrating a great commitment on the part of the regional administration in its policies regarding the preservation and protection of its territory during the last ten years. This commitment is particularly relevant when compared with the Italian situation in general. Indeed, even if Italy can show excellent examples of environmental protection, particularly those of natural, environmental, and historical interest, it should be pointed out that these examples occurred in periods when there was no large demographic growth or widespread industrialisation. Furthermore there are only five national parks in all of Italy, created between 1922 and 1968, inspired by a philosophy that today can be called out of date because it is limited solely to nature conservation. In the Piedmont, however, we have steered park policy towards not only a protectionist role but also scientific, recreational, cultural, and tourism roles within the protected areas. Thus, the relationship between tourists (and park users in general) and the local population takes on a particular importance.

Desde 1975, se han creado 30 parques y reservas naturales en la región del Piamonte, situado al noroeste del Italia. Este hecho muestra la inmensa importancia del compromiso de parte de la administración regional en el curso de los últimos diez años, en su política tratando la preservación y la protección de su territorio. Este compromiso es mucho más pertinente cuando se compara a la situación italiana en general. En efecto, aún si la historia italiana ofrece excelentes ejemplos de protección del ambiente, en particular esos que ofrecen un interés del punto de vista de la naturaleza, de la historia o del ambiente, se debería señalar que estos ejemplos se produjeron durante épocas donde no había una demografía intensa y la industrialización general. Además, se debería tener en cuenta que solamente cinco parques nacionales, creados entre 1922

y 1968, existen en toda Italia, inspirados por una filosofía que se llama hoy día como pasada de moda porque se limita estrictamente a la conservación de la naturaleza. En Piamonte, sin embargo, hemos orientado la política del parque, no solamente un papel de protección, sino a un papel científico, deportivo, cultural y turístico dentro de zonas protegidas. Por estas razones la relación entre los turistas (y los usarios de los parques en general) y la población autóctona recogen una importancia particular.

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Depuis 1975, 30 parcs et réserves naturelles ont été créés dans la région du Piedmont, située au nord-ouest de l'Italie. Ce fait montre l'immense importance de l'engagement pris par l'administration régionale, au cours des dix dernières années, dans ses politiques ayant trait à la préservation et à la protection de son territoire. Cet exposé souligne que cet engagement est beaucoup plus pertinent lorsqu'on le compare à la situation italienne en général. En effect, même si l'histoire italienne offre d'excellents exemples de protection de l'environnement, en particulier ceux qui présentent un intérêt du point de vue de la nature, de l'histoire ou de l'environnement, on devrait souligner que ces exemples se produisirent au cours d'époques ne connaissant pas de démographie intense et d'industrialisation générale à associer à cet engagement. De plus, il devrait être rappelé que seulement cinq parcs nationaux, créés entre 1922 et 1968, existent dans toute l'Italie, inspirés par une philosophie qui peut être définie aujourd'hui comme dépassée en raison de sa stricte limitation à la conservation de la nature. Au Piedmont, néanmoins, nous avons orienté la politique du Parc vers, non seulement un rôle de protection, mais aussi vers des rôles scientifique, de détente, culturel et touristique au sein des zones protégées. Pour ces raisons les relations entre les touristes (et les usagers des parcs en général) et les populations autochtones prennent une importance particulière.

Use of Natural Parks: Relationships between Tourists and Local Inhabitants in the Experience of the Piedmont Region

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To understand the significance of environmental protection, and particularly the conservation of natural areas in Italy, it is necessary to begin with a brief historical summary of these problems. It is well known that our country is rich in the history of ancient civilizations. Signs and remaining traces show us that nature conservation was already present in Roman times. For example, there were "holy woods," as evidenced by works left by such noted Roman writers as Plinio, Lucrezio, and Varrone. These holy woods were protected because people thought they were inhabited by "magical forces." This reasoning, even if rather confused, would appear to be one of the first links between man and nature.

More recently, we can recall the famous "Cansiglio's Forest," instituted by the Maritime Republic of Venice to preserve the indispensable timber for constructing the Venetian navy's boats. This was one of the first officially protected areas, along similar lines to today's natural reserves, with strict controls on conservation. Another example is the "Sacred Mounts," places of religious devotion and faith—sanctuaries and chapels symbolizing the "Way of the Cross"—which were built in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and situated in the midst of forests. From the Renaissance up to the end of the nineteenth century, nature protection was limited almost entirely to the upkeep of the parks and gardens of the nobles; therefore, the first consideration was esthetic beauty.

This brief historical summary may help to understand the progressive development of the relationship between man and nature in a country like Italy and the cultural basis under which the natural environment protection philosophy was developing. We must also emphasize that increasing industrialization

and the deep social changes, particularly in the last century, have considerably altered the concept of the natural environment. The growing demographic concentration, mostly in the great urban centers; renouncing the agricultural economy and its transformation; polluting the air, water, and ground—all have bred throughout the years an increasing need to preserve and recover natural resources.

Under these new social and territorial conditions, the first environmental protection operation in Italy dates back to 1922, when the law to create the first national park (Gran Paradiso) was passed. This park is situated in the Piedmont alpine region in northwest Italy. It is a mountainous park covering an area of 278 square miles, which is fairly large when compared with Italy's total area of 115,830 square miles. Italy is densely populated with approximately 58 million inhabitants, or about 500 per square mile. Later, four additional national parks were founded in Italy: Abruzzo in 1923; Circeo near Rome in 1924; Stelvio in northeastern Italy in 1935; and Calabria in the south in 1968. However, the national park concept, as it had originally been envisioned at the beginning of the century, fell into a deep crisis due to the changed territorial conditions in our country.

The first park concept of putting a parcel of land under a bell-glass to protect it—even if it had proved effective in the social situation existing in the 1920s and 1930s—proved insufficient in the period following World War II. It was, and still is, impossible to find areas which do not suffer from the influence, whether positive or negative, of man. As a consequence, it was necessary to change the old protection philosophy, as local inhabitants began to deeply dislike these

forms of protection and considered them only as restrictions to any possible economic development.

This transition period, together with a legislative vacuum on land use planning in the 1960s and 1970s, saw the growth of speculative forces which exploited the environment and damaged its natural equilibrium. Those were, in fact, the years of uncontrolled construction and industrial pollution which almost resulted in irreversible damage to the natural environment.

The landslide in Agrigento, Sicily, in 1967, which destroyed a large part of a new residential area, was a clear example of bad land use. This helped to create a "cultural" movement at various levels. One of the first was in the academic world, where university courses aimed at interdisciplinary planning multiplied. At the same time a number of nature associations were formed and grew. This growth coincided with a more widespread consciousness and a change in ideas of the mannature relationship.

Government legislation was still fragmentary, only temporarily meeting those requirements of the population which appeared the most urgent, deriving from a "house shortage" problem. This problem is obviously always present in a highly populated environment, but in Italy's particular case it seemed to overrule all other considerations. In practice, whatever land planning was done only covered small parcels of the territory, without considering the effects on adjoining areas, and with an eye primarily on the housing problem.

As foreseen by the Italian constitution in 1948 and essential to the establishment of local autonomous government, in the 1970s regional councils were elected. These have become programming and planning bodies with their own legislative powers, particularly with the possibility of regulating land use in all its aspects.

As a consequence, the first law defining general principles for the formation of parks was passed in the Piedmont region in 1975. This law proposes three stages to achieving park institution and operation:

The first stage is a general census to find the areas of great naturalistic interest in order to identify the Natural Parks and Reserves Plan. This plan comprises the geographic identification of areas meriting protection and imposes certain limitations on use of the territory. This stage is obviously a passive one.

The second stage is to pass laws instituting the individual natural parks or reserves, according to the IUCN classification, with specific control measures, taking into consideration the environmental characteristics of each area. This stage, too, is generally a passive one.

Finally, the third stage provides the means for environment management planning in the various sectors: territorial, naturalistic, and forestal. This is the stage which is greatly changing and innovating the parks policy and the protection concept. At first, the idea of preservation was a restrictive one, clashing with every possible idea of development, even if controlled. However, now the idea of preservation is a dynamic one which consists not only in regulation but also in the promotion of local activities which do not conflict with the natural environment. One example is farming and forestry and the involvement of local inhabitants in the area's management, while preserving its social and cultural characteristics.

Returning to the first stage, we can show that between 1977 and 1979, the regional plan has chosen forty-one areas worthy of preservation in a territory covering 9,653 square miles. These areas cover 4 percent of the regional surface area, certainly not a large percentage but above the Italian average of 1.8 percent. The aim is, however, to achieve a protected area of 10 percent. This aim, considering the particular conditions of high urban concentration in our region, represents a very ambitious goal. It is interesting to note that many of the Piedmont natural parks and reserves are the very same parks and gardens previously owned by the royal family and nobles and the religious places which had been protected in earlier centuries.

The protected areas in our region have to aim at conserving different aspects. For example, there are some areas more strictly controlled because they are important from a naturalistic point of view—geological, paleontological, botanical, faunistic reserves, such as Valle Andona, Valle Botto, and Bosco del Vay. Other areas are controlled because they have natural significance as a whole, such as alpine parks, freshwater marshes, and bird sanctuaries. Examples are Parco dell'Orsiera-Rocciavrè, Garzaia di Valenza e di Oldenico. Still others have distinctive features of human culture and tradition, being areas of archeological and prehistoric interest. La Bessa is one example. Others, such as La Mandria and Stupinigi Castle, are of greater interest because they are near urban centres and form vital "green belts."

As to the second stage, we can say that it proceeded rapidly. To date we have instituted thirty of the forty-one selected parks or reserves in the regional plan, obviously with different regulations according to the type of protected area.

Finally, the third stage has already reached a satisfactory level of completion. Indeed, a number of the operative plans have already been put into action. This stage, moreover, was and is the most rewarding one because several specialists, such as naturalists, biologists, architects, agronomists, and university institutes, are involved in the territorial studies and research.

Before describing the relationship between the local inhabitants, their cultures, and the park, we believe it relevant to clarify that this policy of protection has met and still meets a lot of difficulties and objections. In spite of the increased ecological consciousness developed in the ten years between 1970 and 1980, we still note resistance against the protection policy from a number of groups. First of all, resistance comes from those who have exploited the land for years with

speculative building, in the process making large profits. In fact, the parks generally are situated in beautiful areas and have suffered the pressure of uncontrolled vacation home building. Secondly, there are those who irrationally exploit the resources of the land, such as its timber, gravel, and waterways. And thirdly, the hunters have resisted, as hunting is generally not allowed in the protected areas. These examples provide some understanding of the extent of the difficulties to be faced in environmental protection and the creation of natural parks and reserves in our region, in Italy, and in Europe in general.

These conflicts cause yet another problem—the relationship between the regional authorities and the local inhabitants. With incorrect and distorted information disseminated by the people opposing the parks, the local inhabitants react by rejecting the idea, convinced that this form of protection means dispossession of private property and prevention of any economic activity. As a result, local inhabitants are persuaded that they will be made to feel like animals in a zoo for the entertainment of the tourists. The solution to this clash can be found in the parks institution itself. If the creation of natural parks and reserves is preceded and accompanied by exhaustive, correct, and objective information, it can demonstrate that the prejudices against the parks are completely groundless.

Ten years of brief but significant experience in our region allows us to state that good land management can never be in conflict with the interests of the local inhabitants. When the natural parks and reserves are not only areas for environmental protection but also means of local activities and cultural development, an opportunity for qualified work, scientific laboratories for universities and schools, and recreational places for town-dwellers, there is no reason that there should be clashes. As an example, the park wardens in our parks are employed from the local population. They follow special training courses and are there not only to issue fines but also to help, inform, and guide the visitors. If tourists are encouraged to learn about nature, to understand its scientific aspects, to learn the historic, cultural, and social motives that allowed the conservation of these areas up to now, there will no longer be a situation of conflict, but instead one of reciprocal enrichment for both tourists and inhabitants. It is absolutely necessary to speak openly, without mistrust or prejudice, to achieve effective cooperation with the local community. If they understand that tourism promotes activities which benefit the local inhabitants in some areas, they can better understand how it can benefit them.

Certainly, to welcome an "alternative" tourism and develop the educational potential of the protected areas, it is necessary to plan an adequate system of tourist facilities, including social and cultural services. This is preceded by serious research to determine, for example, the maximum number of visitors to be allowed since the primary aim always is environmental protection. Among possible activities to encourage correct and fruitful use of the park, we can give the following examples: naturalistic trails, guided tours, information and visitor centres, "nature weeks" especially for students, ecological courses, working holidays with the cooperation of the local inhabitants, and natural and agricultural museums. If feasible, the local youth should be made a part of park management.

In conclusion, from the Piedmont region experience we can point out a significant fact: Local inhabitant acceptance of the park idea can be achieved by promoting practical activities, planned according to the different kind and quality of the protected areas. Such initiatives can result in an improved tourist awareness, better farming and forestry practices, a reevaluation of local handcrafts and cultural inheritance, and a promotion of scientific research in the area. Only in this way can we stop the local negative reaction. In fact, we believe that if a certain amount of opposition to the park concept still exists in Italy, it is because these initiatives, especially with regard to national parks, are still too few and too weak.

Moreover, we think it is very important to emphasize that in our country the parks policy must be closely coordinated with urban, agricultural, and forestry planning, and with pollution, soil erosion, and flood controls. Finally, we strongly believe that parks allow men to be at one with their surroundings, compatible with and aware of nature, and that parks should be not only a testimony of the past but a heritage for future generations.

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The Council for Cultural Planning and Development, in compliance with the Revised Law on Preservation of Cultural Assets, is engaged in restoring fifteen Class I Historical Sites (equivalent to National Monuments in the United States), most of which are left unrestored or given only an interpretive program. Among the fifteen sites selected for restoration and interpretation is the tomb of General Wang Der-Lu of the Ching Dynasty (Wang was the highest-ranking official and thus entombed in the largest grave). This paper presents the results of the eight-month project.

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El Consejo de Planificación y de Desarrollo Cultural (Council for Cultural Planning and Development), de acuerdo con la Ley Revisada de Conservación de Bienes, se ocupa con la restauración de 15 Sitios Históricos de la Clase I (equivalente a los Monumentos Nacionales en los Estados Unidos), la mayoría de los cuales no están restaurados o no más tienen

un programa interpretativa. Entre los 15 sitios seleccionados para restauración e interpretación es la tumba del General Wang Der-Lu de la Dinastía Ching (Wang era el oficio de más alto rango y así sepultado en la tumba más grande). Esta ponencia presenta los resultados del proyecto de ocho meses de duración.

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Le Conseil de Planification et de Développement Culturel (Council for Cultural Planning and Development), conformément à la loi révisée sur la préservation des biens culturels, s'efforce de restaurer 15 sites historiques de classe I (l'équivalent des Monuments Nationaux aux Etas-Unis), dont la plupart sont laissés sans restauration ou font uniquement l'objet d'un programme d'interprétation. Parmi les 15 sites sélectionnés pour la restauration et l'interprétation de la tombe du Général Wang Der-Lu de la Dynastie Ching (Wang était l'officiel de plus haut rang et a été, par conséquent, enterré dans la plus grande tombe). Cet exposé présente les résultats du projet de 8 mois.

Preservation Project—The Graveyard of General Wang Der-Lu

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Background

On November 11, 1981, the Council of Cultural Planning and Development (CCPD) was founded under the Executive Yuan, to supervise and carry out important cultural development projects within Taiwan. On May 26, 1982, an amendment of the Cultural Property Preservation Act was announced by the president. According to the amendment, the preservation of cultural property under the five categories of antiques, historical sites, intangible cultural property, folk art, and natural heritage became important duties for the newly founded CCPD.

In December of 1982, CCPD invited twenty experts in the fields of history, archeology, architecture, and art to discuss the standards of classification and then designate 15 from more than 400 historic places in the whole Taiwan region as National Historic Sites. General Wang Der-Lu's Graveyard is the only old tomb among the selected National Historic Sites. After it was selected as a National Historic Site, CCPD and the Chiayi County government decided to carry out some preservation work on it. The Department of Landscape Architecture of Tung Hai University and I were invited to handle this project.

General Wang Der-Lu's Graveyard lies in Chiayi County. This plain is the location of some of the earliest Chinese settlements on Taiwan. In 1624, Yen Shih Chi landed on Pei-Kang (the north harbour). He arrived at the area where Chiayi County lies today and began cultivation. This is the earliest record in history of Chinese immigration in Taiwan.

In 1661, after defeating the Dutch, Koxinga established Chen Tien Prefecture in South Taiwan. In 1684 Taiwan was included in the Ch'ing empire. In 1786 Lin Shuang Wen emerged as an opposing force against Ch'ing rule. He encountered little resistance on the island except for the military and civilian people at Chu Lo Chen. To recognize their loyalty, the place was named by Emperor Chien Long as Chiayi County. This is the only place in Taiwan named by a Ch'ing emperor.

Many well-known figures in history were born in Chiayi. The first among them should be Wu Fong, who sacrificed his own life in order to educate the aborigines in the Ali Mountains. Next to him was General Wang Der-Lu, who, after settling the conspiracy of the pirate Tsai Chien, was promoted to the highest officer. In 1841, during the war between China and the United Kingdom, General Wang, stationed in Pescadores, died ill on duty.

Introduction

Life and death have always been the big puzzle of the world. Many ancient cultures believed that there was life after death, along with posthumous glory and wealth. That is the reason why, no matter whether oriental or western, emperors and kings all spent great efforts on their own tombs, which as a result number among the important historic landmarks today. The best-known among them may be the pyramids of Egypt.

The largest imperial tomb known today is in Japan. It was built in the fifth century and occupies approximately 470,000 square meters. However, the graveyard of the Great Emperor of Ch'ing, built about three centuries before Christ, is actually much larger than the tomb in Japan. With the tomb itself and the graveyard combined, it exceeds 2 million square meters. Still, it is not the largest. The royal graveyard of Tang Tai

Chung and its 167 simulated tombs occupy 2 billion square meters. It is undoubtedly the largest graveyard in the history of the world.

However, not only the tombs of emperors have become historic sites. Sometimes the tombs of great people or heroes attract millions of visitors as well—for instance, the tombs of Mozart, Shakespeare, or the Graveyard of General Wang Der-Lu. The latter is the most important and valuable historic site of Taiwan. Representing as it does the region's history and culture, the graveyard can be considered "national."

Principles of Preservation

There are currently two major methodologies pertaining to the preservation of historic sites. One is to maintain the remains as they are and the other is to restore them using materials similar to the original and following the original model. It is rather difficult to decide which method is the better. Currently, the United States and Japan adopt the restoration principle while most European countries such as Greece and Italy prefer to maintain the remains as they are.

In the United States, most tombs and churches are not included in the National Register of Historic Places unless they have a very specific historic meaning. This is due in large part to the fact that the United States has a relatively short history and that it has no royal tombs. Japan's efforts to preserve cultural properties date back to 709 A.D. It was stipulated that any exposed or damaged tombs should be covered or repaired immediately. In 1979, Japan investigated more than 8,700 valuable cultural properties and categorized many of them, including ancient tombs, as ''buried cultural property.''

In recent years, the ancient tombs in Japan have earned increased recognition and are being preserved by the following methods. Those discovered during construction that have no historic value are preserved through records; they are either reburied or moved to other places once recording has been completed. The tombs of more important value are preserved based on the previously mentioned two principles.

When the five-coloured ancient tomb was discovered in Japan, debate centered on whether to maintain the remains as they were or to restore the whole tomb. It was felt that a restored tomb would provide a greater sense of reality than a buried property and would also provide live experience and education. The tomb was eventually restored.

However, some feel that current techniques available in Japan are not adequate for restoring old tombs, especially those that are ancient and extensively damaged. For such, it is preferable to preserve the remains only to a degree that does not affect its academic value.

Yet preserving the remains can include minimal changes. For the convenience of visitors, amenities can be added, including parking areas or souvenir shops, usually located on land across the road. The graveyard itself can be equipped with a ticket booth, pedestrian trails, and interpretation boards.

In Korea, different approaches have been adopted. The tomb remains the same at the surface while a door at the rear leads through a subway to the inside of the tomb where duplicates of everything are on view. The originals go to a museum for safekeeping. This seems to be a more interesting approach as visitors can see the tomb exactly as it was; however, its completeness is inevitably ruined to a certain degree.

After careful review of the above examples, it was concluded that Japan's methodology is more appropriate for the renovation of General Wang Der-Lu's Graveyard. Preservation of the remains is the top priority while necessary utilities will be added. It was also decided to follow the USA's example of setting up a visitor center to enhance the visitor's experience in understanding and interpreting the historic site.

The objectives of this project are as follows:

- 1. To preserve the completeness of the tomb as a first-grade national historic site through investigation, evaluation, designation, protection, and management so that it will be preserved for the benefit of future generations without any further deterioration.
- 2. To set a precedent for complete planning—that is, in addition to preservation of the historic site itself, related public facilities are also considered and coordinated.
- 3. Through proper planning, to preserve the characteristics of the setting and maintain balance and coordination between the historic site, its affiliated facilities, and the total environment.
- 4. To provide a place of both historic enlightenment and recreation for the general public while economically benefiting the adjacent towns.

Methodologies of Planning

To achieve the above-stated objectives, information from various countries was collected and analyzed, on-the-spot surveys were conducted and the findings analyzed, and scholars and experts were consulted. During all stages, briefings were given and ideas and opinions exchanged with Chiayi County. The steps and procedures of the plan are as follows:

- 1. Determine the best methods of transportation between the site and the outside world based on 1:5000 aerial photos and on-site surveys.
- 2. Evaluate what facilities should be included in the planning effort and ascertain locations for the parking lot, visitor center, and pedestrian trail, utilizing 1:600 survey maps and on-site surveys.
- 3. Collect data on methodologies of historic site preservation from various countries in the world, especially those used by Japan.
- 4. Obtain historic documents and data on General Wang Der-Lu. Visit the descendants of the Wang family and their family temples and tombs.
- 5. Conduct on-site investigations to determine the best locations for the public utilities. Determine the curves of the trails

from the parking lot to the visitor center and on to the tomb as well as the focus of vision at every stop.

- 6. To maintain compatibility with the overall environment, conduct surveys on the adjacent towns and cities to record the characteristics of their civilian houses and historic sites for reference in future planning.
- 7. Complete a first draft to include the land to be acquired, transportation system, parking area, pedestrian access, and design of the visitor center.
- 8. Modify the first draft to increase the size of the land to be acquired and the capacity of the parking area.
- 9. When the plan is finalized, complete detailed plans, estimate costs, determine priorities of development, and compile and print the report.

Planning and Design

Data Analysis

Natural Condition: The base of the plan lies in a typical plain setting, flat and spacious, with unlimited visibility. As it is located near the Tropic of Cancer, the summer temperature is predictably hot. In winter, when the northeastern monsoon sweeps over the plain, it is very windy though not freezing.

Land Use and Physical Setting: The immediate vicinity of the graveyard is characterized by farmlands. Different crops grow in different seasons which provide an interesting and rich variety in colour and contrast to the whole environment and the winding country roads. Adjoining the graveyard is a village surrounded by a heavy wood of bamboo. Looking from a distance, it creates a beautiful picture with farmhouses and bamboos sparsely located. The farmhouses were mostly built following the traditional Chinese structure. Some used bamboo as a substitute for wood.

Principle of Design

In designing a base as described above with its very special pastoral atmosphere, the first priority is to maintain harmony between the site and its physical environment. The addition of any new facility must conform to the real setting and not emphasize any individual style. As such, the main responsibility of the designer is to discover and determine the characteristics of the physical environment, group them into certain models, and apply them to the design to achieve a wholesome and harmonious effect.

Master Plan

On a flat and spacious base like this, a top priority is to properly locate the visitor center and the parking area and connect them with the entrance and trails to achieve a complete but not monotonous route for visitors. It is advisable to place the visitor center somewhere along the trail close to the bushes so that the flatness of the base will not be disrupted. The parking area should be located at a proper distance from the graveyard so that visitors on their way to the tomb can have an opportunity to enjoy the pleasure of walking in a fresh southern Taiwanese field.

Space Planning

The design of the physical space includes the parking area, bridge, visitor center, the graveyard, and the various trails which connect these points.

Parking Area: The parking lot will lie immediately next to the village to minimize the physical size of the parking lot, which should accommodate approximately six tour buses, seven cars, and twenty motorcycles.

Bridge: From the parking lot, the original trails through the field extend toward a canal; the bridge lies one foot above. Passing through some trees and bushes, visitors turn northeast from the bridge and find themselves facing the graveyard. A route like this has the benefit of providing the visitor with a diversity of views while avoiding a few tombs located by the trail.

Visitor Center: A slope connects the bridge again with the trail. Proceeding along it for a certain distance, the visitor steps onto the visitor's road heading northeast toward the visitor center, which is placed near a few encircled small tombs. To create a unity of image with the nearby village, bamboos will be planted near the visitor center.

The construction of the center will follow the structure of the local farmhouses with three sides of the rooms encircling a courtyard which opens toward the southeast to receive summer breezes and avoid the north wind in winter. The courtyard provides necessary shade for activities. The east chamber will serve as a rest area and provide simple refreshments to visitors, who can see the courtyard through open windows. At the end of the rest area is a small castle and a balcony where visitors enjoy a great view of the plain. An isolated building in front of the center will be used as restrooms. This is separated from the center for two reasons: The center will be open only for a certain period of time daily; thus, people who visit the graveyard outside of this time frame will have access to the restrooms. It also will create a similar impression in design to the farmhouses which are grouped by the surrounding bamboos.

The Graveyard: Leaving the bamboos behind, the trail leads the visitor's footsteps and vision away from the northeastern open field toward the east, to arrive at the graveyard. Proceeding along the stone path at the right-hand side of the tomb, the visitor can appreciate the stone figures by the road and finally reach the platform in front of the tomb, the highlight of the whole visit.

As the tomb itself is a historic property, we cannot effect any changes except some very simple and yet necessary touches. The farmland at the rear and along both sides will contain some natural-shaped and easily maintained grass. Heavy trees will be planted behind the tomb and along the trail surrounding the tomb. When visitors stop for a cool rest under the trees, a contrast of vision is also achieved between the tall trees with their heavy and dark leaves and the light-coloured grasses.

This work addresses the question of the stabilization or preservation of cultural resources in the form of ruins. The implicit presumption that the resource ought to be preserved forever resides in the practice of stabilization of ruins. For sites with a local significance and cultural importance, preservation at times requires a high price-including the price of the integrity or authenticity of the resource. We should fully examine the implications and philosophical consequences of such extraordinary means taken to prolong the life of a resource on the verge of disappearance. What is the value of a cultural resource after a major reconstruction or a massive intervention necessary for its perpetuation? Has not the resource in fact been destroyed by the very process required to save it? All cultural resources have a limited life span. It is not difficult to calculate the time that it will take for materials such as stone, brick, wood, and mud to deteriorate with minimum intervention. In certain cases, the appropriate preservation treatment for the ruins is simply to take care of their decline.

A case study that addresses these questions in the evolution and stabilization of the ghost town of Independence, Colorado, is examined.

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Este trabajo se dirige a las cuestiones ligadas a la estabilización o la preservación de recursos culturales en la forma de ruinas. La presunción implícita de que el recurso debería preservarse a perpetuidad, reside en la práctica de estabilización de ruinas. Estos sitios son de una significación local y cultural importante y su preservación a veces requiere a todo precio—y incluye el precio de la integridad o autenticidad del recurso. Deberíamos examinar de manera más completa las implicaciones y las consecuencias filosóficas de estas medidas extraordinarias que deberíamos prender para prolongar la vida de un recurso de vida en desaparición. ¿Cuál es el valor de un recurso cultural después de una reconstrucción mayor o una intervención masiva necesaria para su perpetuación? De

hecho, ¿no se ha destruido el recurso en el mismo proceso requerido para salvarla? Los recursos culturales tienen una duración de vida limitada. No es difícil calcular el tiempo que tomará para que los materiales tales como la piedra, el ladrillo, la madera y el lodo se deterioren con una intervención mínima. En ciertos casos, el tratamiento apropiado de preservación para las ruinas es simplemente de cuidar de su declino.

Un estudio de caso sobre estas cuestiones, la evolución y la estabilización del pueblo fantasma de Independence, en Colorado (Estados Unidos), se examina.

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Cet exposé porte sur des questions liées au traitement pour la stabilisation ou la préservation de ressources culturelles qui ont la forme de ruines. La présomption implicite que la ressource doit être préservée à perpétuité, réside dans la pratique de stabilisation de ruines. Ces sites ont une signification locale et culturelle importantes et leur préservation est souvent requise à tout prix-y compris au prix de l'intégrité ou de l'authenticité de la ressource. Nous devons examiner de façon plus complète les implications et les conséquences philosophiques de ces mesures extraordinaires que nous devons prendre pour prolonger la vie d'une ressource en voie de disparition. Quelle est la valeur d'une ressource culturelle après une reconstruction majeure ou une intervention massive nécessaires à sa perpétuation? La ressource a-t-elle, en fait, été détruite dans le processus requis pour la sauver? Les ressources culturelles ont une durée de vie limitée. Il n'est pas difficile de calculer le temps qu'il faudra à des matériaux tels que la pierre, la brique, le bois et la boue pour qu'ils se détériorent avec une intervention minime. Dans certains cas, le traitement approprié de préservation pour les ruines est simplement de prendre soin de leur déclin.

Une étude de cas sur ces questions, l'évolution et la stabilisation de la ville fantôme d'Independence, au Colorado (Etats-Unis), est examinée.

Philosophical Issues of Ruins Stabilization

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An implicit assumption in the practice of ruins stabilization is that the cultural resource must be preserved in perpetuity. It has been said that we as participants in the management of the world's cultural heritage have a "moral imperative" to see that these resources are perpetuated. Certainly this precept is true for resources of the highest societal value, but should this be true for all resources? Are there resources so fragile that they should not be touched and should not receive treatment or intervention?

The world's heritage consists of sites of varying degrees of artistic and cultural significance and their preservation is often achieved at considerable cost, including the cost to the integrity or authenticity of the resource. An alternative that is seldom evaluated in the decision-making process for ruins stabilization is that of allowing the ruins to continue to decline naturally until they disappear, with intervention limited to very minor therapies and diligent caretaking. This option not to intervene in the fabric of the resource may be appropriate if the intervention itself will diminish the significance or integrity of the ruins. In some cases, the most responsible preservation decision is to leave the ruins to the forces of nature while protecting them from the forces of man.

However, the idea of allowing a valuable cultural resource to continue its natural decline is unthinkable to many professionals and managers; the concept is synonymous with neglect and the mindless destruction of resources that plagues the cause of heritage conservation. These attitudes are understandable since more international attention has been given to the technology and practical methodology of ruins stabilization than equal consideration to the philosophical issues.

A determination of the natural life span of the resource should be part of the evaluation prior to intervention. This is not difficult to calculate with the various construction materials and agents of physical attrition. The interaction of these environmental forces is relentless and intervention can mitigate the effects of aging and weathering, but intervention can also destroy the authenticity of the resource. All too often, the resource is simply "saved" with good intentions, without an examination of the consequences of the intervention or consideration for the integrity or the authenticity of the structure.

A resource that is preserved for posterity requires continuing maintenance and intervention in the fabric of the ruined structure to ensure its structural and physical viability, which results eventually in a facsimile of the original resource. The term "ruins stabilization" implies minimal intervention, conjuring the image of repointing masonry or pumping grout into cavities in partially standing rubble walls. In fact, and in practice, ruins stabilization often involves radical and complete intervention, including such procedures as the disassembly and rebuilding of walls or entire structures and reconstruction of vanished portions of buildings.

The ghost town of Independence, Colorado, provides a case study for examining these philosophical issues of ruins stabilization and resource preservation. Independence is the skeletal remains of a town established in 1879 to support gold mining and milling activities in a high Rocky Mountain valley at 11,000 feet elevation (c. 3,000 meters). By 1882 there were 2,000 people living in Independence. It was a town built entirely with logs and milled lumber, and buildings were arranged along a main street. From documentary sources it is

known that the town featured forty businesses, including four grocery stores, four boardinghouses, and at least three saloons. Housing for 2,000 inhabitants was in the form of small log and wood frame structures as well as more temporary structures such as tents and tar-paper shacks. There are no known photographs of the town in its heyday in the late nineteenth century, but due to excellent photographic documentation of a number of similar mining towns in Colorado, it is easy to imagine how Independence looked in 1882.

In just six years the population of Independence dropped from 2,000 to only 100; the ore's value could not sustain the boom and greater economic opportunities existed elsewhere. The decline in population continued until the town was completely abandoned by the turn of the century. There was, of course, a steady deterioration of the town's buildings starting in the 1880s due to neglect, the deep winter snows, and the harsh environment.

Historic resources such as the town of Independence were largely ignored and regarded as eyesores by many Coloradans until the 1950s and 1960s when these ghost towns began to intrigue tourists. The important historic value of Independence was recognized officially in 1973 when the town was nominated to the National Register of Historic Places. By 1980 ruins of only twenty-five buildings were visible in Independence, many only collapsed piles of logs and lumber. A number of buildings had walls partially standing, but the roofs had nearly all collapsed under the snow loading. Only a few of the buildings had any remnants of roof framing still intact.

Ruins of all kinds are fragile resources, but roofless timber structures are perhaps the most vulnerable to rapid decay. The natural life span of Independence (without significant intervention) is about another seventy-five years until the ruins disappear from view. The abandoned town looks like bleached bones set in a beautiful alpine meadow. Wild iris and other flowers grow in profusion among the ruins. Independence is significant for these visual qualities exhibited now, not its 1880s appearance which has long disappeared. Its historical significance is based on the boom and bust cycle it experienced and its rapid evolution to abandonment and ruin.

Ghost towns in the Rocky Mountains are popular tourist destinations and Independence suffers from tourist degradation, due to a lack of tourist control and souvenir hunting. In 1982 the Colorado Historical Society prepared a preservation plan for the town of Independence at the request of the U.S. Forest Service (the principal landowner). The plan recommended caretaking the continuing decline of the resource with very little intervention in the historic fabric. Simple therapies such as occasional shoring and bracing were recommended. Major intervention which would help to slow the rate of

deterioration, such as the reconstruction of walls and roofs on the ruined buildings, was rejected as a recommendation, because the quality, character, and authenticity of the structures would be compromised. The emphasis of the preservation plan was to allow the historic ruins to continue their decline into oblivion and rest in peace. The management of tourists was identified as the most important requirement for preservation; proper caretaking, parking, footpaths, and signage were needed to protect the resource.

Also in about 1982, the local historical society from the nearby resort town of Aspen decided to "save" Independence as a new project (under permit from the U.S. Forest Service). Operating under an assumption that the buildings must be preserved in perpetuity, the well-intentioned historical society began a campaign to restore and reconstruct Independence. Unfortunately, since there are no early photographs of the town, the restoration is conjectural and inaccurate. They began by restoring a log cabin for use as a caretaker's residence. They also began to tidy up the town site, eliminating a number of piles of lumber and logs. In terms of historical archeology, great damage was done. The historical society did not value the collapsed buildings as archeologically significant. Rather, they regarded the heaps of weathered lumber as potentially hazardous for tourists and a source of material for restoring and reconstructing other buildings on the site.

After the caretaker's building was "restored," the historical society decided to rebuild another ruined log building to serve as a repository for artifacts collected on site. The goal of the Aspen Historical Society is to recreate the town of Independence, continuing the massive intervention necessary to attempt its preservation for posterity. Sadly, the Aspen Historical Society and the Forest Service value the buildings and the town for their imagined former appearance and are working to recreate the past while destroying the present.

This response of the local historical society to ruins stabilization at the town of Independence is not unusual. The resource must be "saved" but inadequate thought is given to the philosophical issues or consequences of intervention and treatment.

The condition of the building ruins at Independence was so deteriorated that only massive intervention was possible in order to eternalize the resource and make the ruins usable for their caretaking and museum functions. The problem is that in the act of intervening, the character of the resource was drastically changed and its integrity destroyed. The newly reconstructed buildings intrude harshly upon the delicate ruins of Independence. In the name of preservation, they have resurrected a skeleton and are in the process of dressing the bones in new flesh.



Spruce Tree House, looking upward towards the archeologists' camp.

The ruins of prehistoric structures and classic antiquities have long been recognized as cultural property. The cultural value of ruined medieval structures is generally accepted. However, there is an urge to restore remains of historic structures of more recent vintage, rather than manage them as ruins. This paper addresses some of the essential qualities of prehistoric and historic structures and proposes that the management of a prehistoric and historic structure in a moldering state may be a viable cultural resource management option for some types of structures in some environments.

I suggest that decay of a structure be allowed to occur in a controlled way so it is possible to predict its deterioration, while protecting its essential elements. Along with this mitigation of decay, control of visitors for safety is an essential part of the appropriate presentation. The management of a moldering structure must consider the total process of decay and attempt to control change with the least intervention. The objective of these management actions and treatments is not only to prolong the life of the structures but to plan for a natural but noble demise of the structure at some predictable future date.

Las ruinas de estructuras prehistóricas y de antigüedad clásica son desde hace mucho tiempo reconocidas como propiedad cultural. El valor cultural de las estructuras medievales en ruinas es generalmente aceptado. Sin embargo, existe una necesidad apremiante de restaurar los vestigios de las estructuras históricas de un pasado más reciente, en vez de que se administren como ruinas. Esta ponencia apoya algunas de las cualidades esenciales de las estructuras prehistóricas e históricas y sugiere que la gestión de una estructura prehistórica e histórica que se están degradando puede representar una opción viable para la gestión de recursos culturales, para ciertos tipos de estructuras, en ciertos ambientes.

Yo sugiero que se deje, incluso preservando sus elementos esenciales, que una estructura se deteriore de una manera con-

trolada a fin de que sea posible predecir las deterioraciones que se producirán. A mismo tiempo que esta atenuación de la degradación, el control de los visitantes, para su seguridad, es una parte esencial de la presentación apropiada. La gestión de una estructura en vía de deterioro debe tomar en cuenta la totalidad del proceso de deterioración y tratar de controlar los cambios con una intervención mínima. El objetivo de estos tratamientos y de estas acciones de gestión no es solamente de prolongar la vida de las estructuras, sino también de planificar para una destrucción natural pero noble de la estructura, a una fecha futura que se pueda predecir.

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Les ruines de structures préhistoriques et d'antiquités classiques sont depuis longtemps reconnues comme propriété culturelle. La valeur culturelle de structures médiévales en ruines est généralement acceptée. Néanmoins, il existe un besoin pressant de restaurer les vestiges de structures historiques d'un passé plus récent, plutôt que de les gérer comme des ruines. Cet exposé porte sur quelques-unes des qualités essentielles des structures préhistoriques et historiques et suggère que la gestion d'une structure préhistorique et historique qui se dégrade, peut représenter une option viable pour la gestion de ressources culturelles, pour certain types de structures, dans certains environnements.

Je suggère que l'on laisse, tout en préservant ses éléments essentiels, une structure se délabrer d'une façon contrôlée afin qu'il soit possible de prédire les détériorations qui se produiront. En même temps que cette atténuation de la dégradation, le contrôle des visiteurs, pour leur sécurité, est une partie essentielle de la présentation appropriée. La gestion d'une structure en cours de détérioration doit prendre en compte la totalité du processus de détérioration et tenter de contrôler les changements avec une intervention minimum. L'objectif de ces traitements et de ces actions de gestion est non seulement de prolonger la vie des structures, mais aussi de planifier pour une destruction naturelle mais noble de la structure, à une date future qui peut être prédite.

Management of Moldering Historic Structures

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What Are Moldering Historic Structures?

The preservation of historic structures in a moldering state may be an acceptable preservation treatment if we can consider all the components for the management of these resources. The ruins of prehistoric structures and classical antiquities have long been recognized as cultural property in their present condition. The cultural values of ruined medieval structures are generally accepted as they are seen. However, there is an urge to reconstruct ruined walls or entire prehistoric structures and restore the remains of historic structures of more recent vintage rather than manage them in their existing condition.

We can learn from observations of existing ruins, whether they be medieval abbeys or prehistoric pueblos. The values of these remnant forms are probably as instructive from the interpretive point of view as are the reconstruction of kivas or keeps in the midst of the prehistoric or historic site. If one agrees that maximum retention of the original fabric with minimum intervention into the fabric is the best state of preservation, then it can be argued clearly that the stabilization of a structure in its present but perhaps moldering state is preferable to restoration or reconstruction. The key concept is monitoring and mitigating decay and controlling access for visitor safety and related wear and tear. Management of moldering structures is an alternative to restoration, and with this component of management it is an alternative to neglect benign or aggravated-that usually leads to dereliction and demise of the structure.

Learning from the essential elements of the ruins of antiquities, one can recognize the important place and time. These ruins are often in a romantic setting of natural splendor,

vegetation, and remoteness. These ruins of antiquities generally express architectural form, mass, detail, ornament, and structural system. Where the vertical dimension survives or vertical elements have been re-erected, they define space and the space/time relationship of the site. If one is to apply the concept of value to these moldering structures, we must fully understand their significance and the integrity of their fabric.

Treatment of Moldering Structures

Intervention to mitigate the agents of deterioration must be considered in a comprehensive evaluation. One of the key issues is priority of treatments. In the world of architectural conservation these are categorized simply as:

- 1. *Urgent* emergency action is required for the occupant's health and safety or to protect major loss of property.
- 2. *Necessary* action is required to prevent further deterioration but the condition is not an emergency.
- 3. *Nice to do* deterioration or agents of deterioration are present but action can be deferred.
- 4. Watch it monitor to determine the degree or rate of deterioration.

Urgent consideration must evaluate life safety factors, including limiting or eliminating access if the instabilization of an unsafe condition cannot be altered. Urgent actions would also consider treatments necessary to mitigate loss of structural integrity or fabric only to the extent that it would be cost effective in the overall treatment of the moldering structure. Priorities for necessary actions should be limited to progressive causes of deterioration that can be corrected before their effects become serious. These actions would include rain-

shielding systems and vegetation control. The "nice-to-do" priorities are often time-consuming and should be lumped as additional work when necessary actions are undertaken. Most important, the structure must be watched in a consistent manner. Comprehensive monitoring is essential to determine the rate and extent of the deterioration so that "necessary" treatments are performed before they become "urgent." In the concept of managing moldering ruins, the management of decay and planning for a noble demise of the structure should be the spoken part of the long-term expectations.

We might develop a scale of survival or deterioration. At one end of the scale could be a structure like the eighteenth-century mansion, Drayton Hall, where most of the architectural elements survive including worn interior finishes. At the other end of the scale might be the collapsing walls of Rosewell, the colonial plantation house in Tidewater, Virginia, which some would consider too dangerous to approach. Between these extremes of condition, there is a whole range of matrices of condition and integrity of original buildings and sites with their accretions of time. In many cases later additions are preserving earlier structures by sheltering them from deterioration. Some structures may be hidden from view by their own debris or by vegetation.

In evaluating this scale of survival, one has to be able to understand the difference between integrity and condition. Decay of finish may not affect the integrity of original form. Decay of accretions may have little or no impact on significant original fabric. One has to be able to discern and discount the visual effect of trash and debris, overgrown vegetation, and brambles that are results of neglect and do not have an influence on the significance, integrity, or actual condition of the structure.

What Structures Should Be Allowed to Molder?

It should be possible to develop criteria for the application of a moldering structure status to a specific resource by considering the characteristics and limitations of the structure with the suitability and feasibility of this action, or lack of action, on the structure. The underlying principle must be that this action will not seriously impair the integrity of the structure. This also requires a comprehensive understanding of the forces of decay and the extent of damage to the fabric and the structural system.

The deteriorating brick face of Fort Pickens on the Gulf Coast might be described as "skin disease," since the structure is not going to suddenly collapse and the form of the fort is still understandable. While on the other hand, the spalling and structural cracking of the concrete on the main cell block of Alcatraz can be described as a symptom of a terminal disease; that structure may collapse during a catastrophic event. In both cases the expense to restore or repair these structures is probably not cost effective or warranted if one can accept them as moldering structures.

Forces of deterioration can be both negative and positive. The environmental condition of arid areas can contribute to the longevity of many building materials as opposed to tropical areas where rainfall and fast-growing vegetation can lead to rapid deterioration and obliteration of common building materials as well as whole sites. Structures in juxtaposition to the sea have a continual and overwhelming adversarial relationship in a hostile physical and chemical environment that erodes materials at a rapid rate. The process of deterioration can be intrinsic in the nature of poor weathering material such as adobe, in poor construction practices such as using seawater in mixing mortar, and in poor maintenance practices like unattended clogged rainwater conductors leading to rot in timber cavity walls.

Management of Visitors

Along with the monitoring and forecasting of decay, the management of visitors is the most important aspect of successful moldering structures management. Here there is also a scale of accessibility with safety being the major component. The scale can range from full access with an unlimited number of people and minimum restrictions to no access at all. The repair, stabilization, or restoration of a structure, or its ruins, has been motivated primarily by the desire to present it in a stable condition with the maximum accessibility to the structure or ruin. The expectations associated with such presentations generally lead to considerable effort to enhance and maintain the condition of the structure and its site.

I believe that there are opportunities to interpret a structure in its existing condition as a survival of material culture expressive of all the associates of historic or prehistoric fact, and in so doing to define the values of the original, but moldering fabric. In this interpretation the limitations of access, whether it is the number of people or portions of the structure itself, can be explained. If the structure is presented from a distance and interpreted for its true value and the reason why it is closed is explained to visitors, there should be no expectations and reality of the fabric and form should clearly answer the question, "Is the form right?"

Treatment and Visitor Questions

The four priorities for treatment are harder to discern when applied to worn extant structures or unraveling ruins. This is partly because our frame of reference is based on these being habitable and operational structures and partly because we combine and blend purpose or the motivation for the presentation of prehistoric or historic structures or their ruins. We need to ask and answer questions based on resource management principles first. There is a structures (ruins) conservation question. There is a visitor interpretation, understanding, and display question. There is a visitor safety and convenience question. Until the goal is clearly established, the expectations must be separate but parallel decision factors. If

a presentation of the resource is the prime objective, then interpretation, display, access, and safety are the prime considerations. Sometimes these factors lead to the deterioration of the resource. The mowed lawn at Kenilworth Castle or a flagstone path in the nave of the ruins of the seventeenth-century church of San Guisewa in Jemez Springs, New Mexico, are examples of this.

If the form and fabric of the resource is readily the overriding preservation factor, then one has to determine the actual characteristics and limitations of these features and do what is necessary to preserve them. In some cases it may be to do nothing. The ultimate example of this is the ruin in a bramble that is recorded but unmarked and all but forgotten. This is a true moldering ruin and for some classes of structures this may be an acceptable level of protection and cultural resource management. I believe this concept of preservation and management of moldering structures applies to ordinary or repetitive types of structures. It certainly may apply to large or very deteriorated structures, and it might apply to some remarkable survivals. In all cases, condition, access, and remoteness may be factors, but I believe these limitations should not be considered until the resource characteristics are understood.

The Case for Moldering Survival Structures

In the category of survival, I know of eighteenth- and earlynineteenth-century houses that have survived intact from their original construction. They have all their major features including the original but worn wallpaper and painted woodwork. The interior and exterior have never had major alterations or additions. There has never been any modern convenience added. The key to their physical condition (beyond the urge or ability of the owner to change them) has been the fact that they were "well built" and they were maintained to shed water and were well ventilated. In this case a moldering structure may be an extant structure where the concern is to keep weather out and to provide minimum heat and ventilation to prevent condensation on the interior surfaces. Housekeeping would involve only the gentlest vacuuming, dusting, and washing to clean accumulations of dirt from the original (but worn) finishes of the walls, doors, other woodwork, and floors. Monitoring would be for changes that would be evaluated on their own terms. Weathertightness and control of termite or wood-boring insect attacks would be a priority for action. Visitor use in this case would be limited since the interest is the survival interior finishes of the building. Travelways would be protected by mats and special surfaces would be guarded from touch. There would be no attempt to furnish the building or enhance the grounds or interpret the lifestyle of the occupant. The building in its survival condition would be the purpose for its display. With this minimum care it could be expected to survive another 200 years or more. This approach to structures conservation is more valid than repairing and repainting the house in the style of the period and furnishing it with a good collection of tasteful antiques.

The Case for Moldering Sick Structures

A moldering structure may be a very large masonry or concrete construction that in its form is expressive of its function. It may have good integrity of original features, but much of the surface of the original fabric or many details are missing or in poor condition. Beyond this obvious condition of the surface, there may be the insidious deterioration of the masonry such as oxide jacking. This corrosion of iron element may be just pushing off the face brick, or corrosion of the reinforcing bars may be causing the concrete to spall. It may be structural steel columns and beams rusting and bulging the entire wall or the corrosion expansion of rebars causing beams or columns to separate on their long axis. The only known cure for oxide jacking is to remove the corroding metal and replace it with new material. When one removes and replaces corroding steel windows or shutters at the cost of hundreds or thousands of dollars per unit times hundreds of units, the costs multiply quickly. The major surgery to remove embedded structural steel or reinforcing bars may involve remaking the entire structure. In these cases the cost and the extent of intervention and the loss or change to original fabric must be considered with the real significance and other values of the structure.

To do nothing and hope for money has been the traditional approach. Management of these types of resources as moldering structures is a viable alternative if in these cases we recognize we have a very "sick" structure and learn to enjoy it in its existing condition. This may mean to help it shed the weather externally and internally a little better. Certainly management of the visitor is a key part of this strategy. Access must be protected or limited for safety. Interpretation must present not only facts about the significance of the structure but also facts about its integrity and condition. There should be explanation but not excuses for the structure's continuing moldering condition.

The Case for Moldering Ruined Structures

The case for management of moldering structures is perhaps easier to make for ruined remains. However, even here there may be too much intervention desired and undertaken. Is it necessary to remove debris of the fallen structure; to excavate to the original floor level; to expose the full height of the wall? Is it necessary to reassemble column elements and reconstruct portions of missing internal walls? Is it necessary to build new roof shelters or conserve plaster fragments? In some cases it certainly is.

One must balance the cultural and the structure's values and value of interpretation with those of the continuing funds and manpower needed for ruins stabilization and conservation. Viewing a ruin from a distance may be preferable to structurally stabilizing it to permit visitor access. Perhaps most impor-

tant in these cases would be to clear and control vegetation. This will provide an opportunity to view and understand the form of the structure (ruin) from a distance. More important, vegetation control will reduce biological deterioration and the effect of root jacking and related moisture entry into the structure. The extent of treatment must be planned and reasonable. The ideal to cap the tops of walls and point masonry units may not be practical but a decision about how much unraveling will be permitted must be planned, and a forecast must be made about when deterioration will reach a point that mitigation of collapse is not possible. It may be possible to keep the essential aspects of plan, mass, form, and maybe some detail or features with minimum conservation treatments.

If the management of change is the basic principle in the management of cultural properties, I suggest that the management of selected prehistoric or historic structures in a moldering state is an appropriate treatment. This would allow the ever-present decay to occur in a controlled way so that we could predict deterioration and make decisions on ways to protect essential elements. In this strategy physical intervention is kept to a minimum and visitors are managed. I would expand John Ruskin's credo—"Take good care of your monuments and you will not have to restore them"—to suggest that one can take care of existing conditions and plan for a slow deterioration that will present a natural but noble demise of the structure at some predictable future date.



The first true archeological excavations at Mesa Verde were directed by Jesse Walter Fewkes of the Smithsonian Institution's Bureau of American Ethnology from 1908 to 1921. While excavating only the largest dwellings in the park—Cliff Palace, Spruce Tree House, and Square Tower House—Fewkes placed more emphasis on stabilizing the sites than in obtaining specific information about them. Shown here are the ruins at Spruce Tree House.

The value of the built environment of the past is reflected in how the physical remains are used and disposed of by later peoples. As an example, economic value was often reflected in the reuse of structures and building materials. Other values such as political, artistic, and spiritual were reflected in other ways. The actual preservation approaches and ruins stabilization practices utilized at sites in cultural parks worldwide are also reflections of their value to contemporary people. However, the values implied by the stabilization practices are not only often different from the actual values of these resources; they are, on occasion, in direct conflict.

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El valor del ambiente construido del pasado se refleja en cómo los pueblos que vienen después usan y desponen los restos físicos. Por ejemplo, el valor económico se reflejaba muchas veces en el uso repetido de estructuras y materiales de construcción. Otros valores como lo político, lo artístico y lo espiritual se reflejaban de otras maneras. Los pasos hacia la conservación y las prácticas hacia la estabilización de ruinas que se utilizaban en sitios de parques culturales mundiales

también reflejaban su valor al pueblo contemporáneo. Los valores implicados en las prácticas de estabilización, sin embargo, no solamente son frecuentemente distintos de los valores actuales de estos recursos, mas ocasionalmente los dos están en conflicto directo.

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La valeur de l'environnement bâti du passé se reflète dans la façon dont les vestiges physiques sont utilisés par les générations ultérieures. Un exemple en est la valeur économique qui leur est donnée et qui se traduit par la réutilisation des structures et des matériaux de construction. D'autres valeurs, telles que les valeurs politiques, artistiques et spirituelles, se reflétaient de façons différentes. Les approches actuelles de la préservation et les pratiques de stabilisation de ruines, utilisées mondialement sur les sites culturels, reflètent également leur valeur aux yeux des contemporains. Néanmoins, les valeurs impliquées par les pratiques de stabilisation sont non seulement différentes des valeurs actuelles de ces ressources, mais aussi elles sont, parfois, en conflit direct.

Ruins Stabilization—The Value Implied

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This paper does not set out to justify the efforts which have been undertaken in the past, are being undertaken presently, and will be undertaken in the future to preserve the ruins of previous generations. It does, however, look at the values of these important resources and how those values are affected by preservation actions. This paper is not intended to evaluate the effectiveness of specific preservation treatment. Neither is it intended to establish a hypothesis for how contemporary generations value the past, although in looking briefly through the eyes of other generations, thoughts do arise about how contemporary society views those values. The paper's intent is to briefly look at the relationship between the values of historic and prehistoric ruins, the subjects of ruins stabilization, and actual preservation approaches. Although the actual values which a ruin may be perceived to have vary from culture to culture, time to time, and place to place, the possible range of values is generally the same. These values can normally be grouped as either symbolic or religious, economic or functional, educational or informational, and aesthetic.

The preservation of the remains of structures, or ruins, is a concern of preservationists throughout the world. Various specific approaches are taken, techniques applied, and materials utilized that fall within a general approach of preserving the remains for later generations. Some of these specific approaches appear to be successful in preserving certain values and others appear to be less so with the judgment of the actual success or failure often based upon what the viewer assumes to be the intent of the particular preservation action. It could be assumed that the construction of a contemporary protective shelter over a portion of the Ciudadela Tschudi at

Chan Chan on the northern coast of Peru is to prevent the further erosion from rainfall of adobe walls and delicate decorative mud features. It might also be assumed that the application of an acrylic resin to the surface of a standing adobe wall at long-abandoned Fort Union in northern New Mexico is also to provide protection from the elements. In these cases it could be further assumed that the two different actions were taken specifically to eliminate or control surface erosion or, more generally, for the preservation of material fabric. In still another case, at another site, a leaning adobe wall is braced by four adobe buttresses which equal the mass of the original leaning adobe wall itself. In this latter case the stabilization effort was apparently not directed toward the slow loss of surface material but the traumatic loss of an entire adobe wall.

At a small ruin on the edge of a large important southwestern pueblo, workmen are pushing ancient stone walls over and leveling the site. To that same observer who saw the protective shelter at Chan Chan, the protective coatings at Fort Union, and the adobe buttresses preserving material fabric, a question surely arises as to what is the value of the latter place. What are the important values which are being affected here?

Throughout history, the relative significance of the past to people who came after is implied to some degree by how those later people utilized the structural remains of the past. The Romans certainly took advantage of the remains of many Greek temples in utilizing previously shaped building stones in their buildings. Later, during the Middle Ages, new constructions in Rome were built from the existing materials of the ancient city. J.W. Fewkes, a noted southwestern ar-

cheologist, was appalled in 1896 over the destruction of a large prehistoric pueblo by ripping out roof beams to be used as firewood.²

Coming upon a finely cut Zapotec glyph stone set into the base of a corral wall of a seventeenth-century hacienda in the Valley of Oaxaca, Mexico, one is immediately reminded again of the economic value of building stones which require little effort in securing and preparing. A large temple platform which has been truncated for the foundation of a Spanish colonial parish church in Mitla, Oaxaca, also points out the value of a pre-prepared building site. Again, the economic value of work that went on before is obvious. However, the use of the Mixtec temple platform to support the symbol of another religion is also an example of the reuse of a site or materials to show how one group has subjugated another. In this case, the actual destruction was symbolically valuable. There are other examples of this. By either partially or totally destroying church cathedrals and abbeys built during the monastic movement, Henry VIII provided a dramatic symbol of the dominance of one political thought over another.3

The enactment of specific preservation laws gives a very specific insight into what people thought about the importance of the structural remains of the past: "It is forbidden to disfigure external decorations on private buildings through modern additions and to spoil historical buildings in an important town out of avarice and the desire to make money." While this edict by the Emperors Valentinianus, Theodosius, and Arcadius does not indicate what specific value was meant to be preserved, it does indicate that those historic buildings were held to be valuable. It could have been that their educational, symbolic, aesthetic, or economic values were all important.

Regulations about the restoration of dilapidated buildings for economic reasons and financial assistance for the purpose of restoration existed under the Roman Empire. Hadrian and Constantine specifically banned the destruction of decorative elements of historic buildings. Roman writers also wrote of specific conservation efforts such as the restoration of Phidias's Zeus which occurred during the Hellenic period.⁵

The preservation of ruins today certainly makes a statement about the value which they hold in contemporary societies. And more to the subject at hand, actual preservation and stabilization techniques imply even more specifically the particular values which are ascribed to those same ruins. Following are several examples of ruins stabilization efforts and the values, inconsistencies, and conflicts which seem to be implied by those actions.

At the remains of a nineteenth-century stone fort in west Texas, the ruins of an officer's house are overgrown with vegetation. Building materials such as beams, windows, doors, metal roofing, and stone lay scattered about the site. The remaining walls and the scattered building materials have been stabilized, yet the stabilization work is not readily evident.

Nearby, the ruins of another officer's quarters have been stabilized as well. However, the remaining masonry walls appear to be as sound as the day they were originally constructed. The site of this second structure is free of building debris and is newly landscaped. These two similar structures on the same site are preserved utilizing two basically different approaches. It might have been presumed that the values which should be preserved would be the same; however, the completely different approaches imply that they have different values, and are being preserved for different reasons.

Another distinct value and its associated ruins stabilization approach can be seen at the large masonry ruin at Kenilworth Castle in Warwickshire. Parts of the walls have been reconstructed for the purpose of adding structural stability, but also for the visual effect. Vegetation grows from the masonry and while perhaps destructive in the long term, it too adds to the overall romanticism of the site. The actual use or interpretation of many other ruins in nineteenth-century England follows this same approach in providing a theatrical experience for the visitor. The importance of Kenilworth and similar sites does not appear to be the actual fabric, or in the actual original material, but rather as a way to embellish the romantic feeling associated with ruins.

A large structure built in the early 1930s to protect the remains of a fourteenth-century, four-story mud building at Casa Grande National Monument in southern Arizona reflects a different value. The large shelter does offer protection from rainfall, but because of its large scale and its special structural system, it has itself become important both aesthetically and as a historic monument. Not only does the protective structure imply something about the value of the mud building it was constructed to protect, but it now has an importance of its own, distinct from that of the fourteenth-century mud structure. It might be argued that by becoming valuable in its own right, it distracts from the importance of the ruin itself.

Similarly, a large protective structure at Mesa Verde National Park also provides protection from the natural elements for the ruins of a pithouse complex. Beneath the structure are a series of walks, handrails, and rock gardens provided to assist the visitor in walking through the site and observing the individual structure components. While not the intent, the actual effect of these features is to isolate the individual components of the ruins from one another. The implication is that the relationship of one component to another is not important, but rather each is an important individual object, which could also be protected individually in a museum if their size but permitted.

The massive adobe ruins at Chan Chan are truly a wonder. Individual molded adobe blocks comprise several kilometers of adobe walls, some as much as six meters wide at the base and twelve meters high. Because of their aesthetic value alone, they are truly of international significance. However, perhaps even more important are many intricate mud plaster reliefs

which cover walls, and delicate mud decorative features which remain intact after close to 700 years. Preservation approaches should address the important aesthetic and symbolic values associated with the surfaces and should attempt to preserve every particle of soil on those surfaces to the extent possible. A protective surface coating of mud would perhaps preserve the delicate surfaces from further erosion but would respect few aesthetic values. Such a treatment to the observer might imply that wall mass was the important value to preserve. This treatment, which in fact is not followed at Chan Chan, would actually be a compromise as some values would be preserved to the detriment of others. And compromises are often the only real solutions. A preservation approach which preserves all important values of a particular ruin with no compromise is seldom an achievable reality.

Original historic adobes at an important Spanish colonial complex in northern New Mexico are being physically protected by a new adobe veneer which covers both sides and the top, completely encapsulating the remains of the adobes. The historic adobes are being protected from the weather by this preservation approach; however, the symbolic value associated with being able to see the original adobes and thus have a direct contact with the past has been lost. Perhaps, however, it is not the original material that is important at all, but rather the aesthetic value of a wall mass of a specific height and thickness.

At another ruin, a low adobe wall is being protected from upper wall erosion by a cap of several courses of stabilized adobes. Over the years the original adobe wall has continued to change, at times appearing as a monolithic structure and at other times as a wall made up of distinct building units as some surface decay continues. In contrast, no surface erosion has occurred to the stabilized adobe cap and except for a slight color shift brought about by ultraviolet radiation, there has been no change at all. While the color and texture of the stabilized adobe cap was similar to the wall when the cap was added, as time passes the contrast between the two becomes ever greater. Again, an apparent conflict exists: the actual fabric to a degree is being preserved at the expense of certain aesthetic values.

Tumacacori National Monument, in southern Arizona, is the site of a Spanish colonial mission complex consisting primarily of a partially restored adobe church and several adobe ancillary buildings, now in ruins. One of the ruins, a two-room portion of the original *convento*, in particular has gone through many changes in the past fifty years, which seems to imply that there has been a change in the value which is being preserved.

The earliest graphic representation of this structure in the mid-nineteenth century shows a long adobe building, probably still with a roof in place. Photographs taken in 1887 show standing adobe walls, partially eroded, without roofs. As this particular part of the *convento* had eroded less than others, it

was utilized as a corral and later, in the early years of this century, it was roofed and became a two-room schoolhouse. During the adaptation to a schoolhouse, deteriorated portions of the structure were reinforced, a metal gable roof was constructed, one wall was partially reconstructed, and new doors and windows added as needed. At this point the value appeared to be purely an economic or functional one as the historic remains were simply utilized, taking less effort than would have been necessary in the construction of a totally new building.

In the late 1930s, the roof system and windows and doors were removed and the two rooms again were simple unprotected adobe walls standing among mounds of earth where other adobe walls had once stood. There was no attempt to restore the rooms to their pre-schoolhouse days, although the colonial floor level in one of the rooms had been excavated and there were interpretive signs indicating its historical significance. During this time this ruin was treated similarly to the other adobe ruins at Tumacacori. A minimal amount of maintenance was no doubt undertaken from time to time. but no preservation activities were obvious. At the same time the partially restored church was the subject of considerable attention. New protective plasters were added and during the late 1940s plastic resins were applied to the church walls. In comparison with the adobe ruins, it appeared at that time that the preservation of the actual material fabric and perhaps the exact architectural mass of the church was of great importance. As the walls of the ruins were not being protected from the effects of surface erosion, it could have been assumed similarly that the overall wall texture and color were more important than the surface fabric. It might have also seemed that the more romantic feeling of a ruin was an important characteristic to retain.

In 1955, a protective shelter was constructed over the two rooms. This shelter consisted of a flat roof at approximately the height of the original roof and hard cement stucco walls painted a light earthen color which stood immediately outside the original wall line. One end of this enclosed structure was open and several other "viewing ports" existed as well. The overall appearance, based upon a literal interpretation, was that of a reconstructed portion of the convento. Other similar adobe ruins at the site remained as they had been previously with no obvious preservation attention. At this point in the preservation history, the actual material fabric of the two-room ruin at Tumacacori appeared to have gained importance. Because of the close proximity of the walls of the protective structure to the original, only small portions of the two rooms could be seen and there was little visual relationship of this ruin to the remainder of the site.

In the late 1970s, the protective structure was essentially replaced with another protective structure of the same basic dimensions, but with only a roof for protection. That roof was supported by a limited number of posts and everything was

painted a dark color. The open sides allowed the entire structure to be seen for the first time in twenty-five years and also allowed the two rooms to be seen in relationship to other site features. The value of the two rooms then appeared to be less as an isolated object and more an important part of an entire site.

By 1983, the two-room ruin had gone through three distinct preservation or stabilization approaches in addition to a purely functional use as a schoolhouse. But there was one more stabilization effort still to come. In 1983, one particular leaning wall was thought to be moving. An engineering analysis resulted in a design to stabilize the wall and the design was subsequently executed. Today the two-room ruin is still protected from the effects of rainfall by the roof, and the leaning adobe wall is secured by four perpendicular adobe buttresses which approximately equal the mass of the wall which they are supporting.

Each of these four distinct stabilization efforts may well have been appropriate action at the time. However, they each had a profound effect on the implied values at the site and of the particular structure. Although it is possible that the values changed over the years, it is more likely that the actual effects of the action on the implied values was simply not sufficiently considered.

All specific preservation or stabilization actions have implied values associated with them. As a preservationist, I also look at nearly all activities at historic and prehistoric places as to whether or not the observed activity complements or distracts from what I assume are the important values. This is true whether or not the activities have anything to do with conscious preservation actions.

In 1978, at the village of Mishongnovi on Second Mesa on the Hopi reservation in Arizona, a small structure attached to a larger masonry complex was being demolished. Sandstone building stones held together with mud mortar were pushed over and the area leveled. Those same building stones would soon serve as the base for a new structure. The colors and textures of other structures, both functional and in ruin, were the same as those of the walls which had just been demolished. A few feet away stood a stack of concrete blocks.

My sensitivities were jarred at the thought of the visual intrusion that a concrete block building would cause in an otherwise visually compatible place, and a place where people had utilized natural materials and traditional building techniques for many generations. "This is terrible. This is not thoughtful and appropriate. The textures and colors of the concrete blocks will distract from, if not completely destroy, the relationship of the colors and textures of the buildings and the natural land-scape." These were my thoughts as I stood there. The men continued their work.

It was only later, when at another similar pueblo complex, that I began to question my initial reaction. At this latter pueblo a new wall was being built using sandstone slabs and mud

mortar. Several dozen tourists stood nearby taking pictures and feeling good about their experience. But something was wrong. The "right" materials were being used and the "correct" methods were being employed. My visual sensitivities based upon my own cultural bias were being satisfied, but I became even more uncomfortable as the work progressed. Then it occurred to me. What was occurring here was not real. The new structure was not meant to be functional; rather, it was for demonstration purposes, an attraction for the tourists. At Mishongnovi, in contrast, people were continuing to add on to a structure which had been continually added on to for 300 years with the most readily available material, the only difference being that the most readily available materials in 1978 happened to be concrete blocks rather than sandstone. Was my own judgment of the aesthetic qualities the most important value after all? Or was the symbolic and functional values reflected by people living continuously in one place, trying to preserve their own cultural values and traditions in an ever-changing modern world, more important?

The effects on different values by various stabilization and preservation acts are real. Some of those effects are obvious and some are much more subtle. Some of the values themselves are easily protected while others are not. The questions may not be simple and answers may not come easily, but they are important to pursue nonetheless.

There is yet still a more basic and even more important question to ask before planning any specific preservation or stabilization action. That question has been asked by many but perhaps was best expressed by the anthropologist Loren Eiseley:

standing above excavations, . . . I have been both excited about what the shovel would reveal and disconsolate and stricken at the sacrilege done to the past. . . . Our scouting party had unearthed . . . a child's skeleton tenderly wrapped in a rabbit skin blanket . . . I stood silent and was not happy . . . the child should have been left where the parents intended . . . to the endless circling of the stars . . . for all eternity.⁷

Perhaps the most basic preservation principle is that there are some values with which we may have no right to interfere at all. Before asking the question of what is the value we are trying to preserve and how best we can achieve that end with the least intervention, perhaps we should first ask the question, "Do I have the right to intervene at all?"

Notes

- 1. M. S. Thompson, Ruins, Their Preservation and Display (London: British Museum Publications, Ltd., 1981), 36.
- 2. J. W. Fewkes, "Two Ruins Recently Discovered in the Red Rock Country, Arizona," *American Anthropologist* 9 (1896): 270.

- 3. John Redwill, "Ruins on Our Steps," Architectural Review 932 (October 1974): 248.
- 4. Regine Dolling, ed., The Conservation of Historical Monuments in The Federal Republic of Germany (Munich: Heinz Moos Verlag, 1974), 9.
- 5. Ibid.
- 6. Thompson, Ruins, 36.
- 7. Loren Eiseley, "Poignant Work of Tampering with Prehistory," Smithsonian (October 1975), 34.



Cleaning up and strengthening Balcony House. Stabilization of this ruin began in 1911 with a donation of \$1,000 from the Colorado Cliff Dwellings Association, symptomatic of the growing interest in preserving the cliff dwellings and making them accessible to the public.

Rock art is only now being recognized worldwide as a common element of human culture. It offers a means of reconstructing various aspects of human history over the past 40,000 years and is especially important as a source of history for nonliterate peoples of the world. Rock art is not "portable," but must be appreciated at the spot where it was created.

A world inventory of rock art is in progress, with over 20 million figures recorded. So far, 148 sites have been selected by UNESCO and ICOMOS as major rock art sites, but rock art is found in nearly all parts of the world.

Access to rock art sites presents problems. People need to be able to visit the sites in order to benefit from them, but if the sites are made accessible, they also must be protected. We must be able to explain the meaning of rock art to the public. We can recognize certain styles and relate them to certain historic periods, for example, hunting and agricultural styles.

Its fragile nature makes rock art vulnerable to destruction. Therefore, it must be protected, and the best protection is education. People must see that the art is part of a universal patrimony. But first it must be recorded and then conserved and protected before it can be made available to the public. Interpretation and explanation should follow. Recording must be standardized and the records made available in a systematic way. Through ICOMOS, a worldwide file is being compiled to which people everywhere may contribute.

El arte rupestre no se reconoció mundialmente hasta el día de hoy como un elemento común de la cultura humana. Ofrece una manera de reconstruir los diversos aspectos de la historia humana a través de los últimos 40.000 años y es especialmente importante como fuente de historia para el pueblo analfabeto del mundo. El arte rupestre es ''intransportable'' y se debe apreciar en los lugares dónde fue creado.

Un inventario mundial del arte rupestre se está llevando a cabo y más de 20 millones de diseños, gravados, pinturas y esculturas han sido anotados. La UNESCO e ICOMOS hasta el presente han seleccionado 148 lugares como sitios mayores de arte rupestre, pero el arte rupestre se encuentra en todas partes del mundo.

El acceso a los sitios de arte rupestre plantea algunos problemas. Las personas deben poder visitar los sitios para poder sacarles beneficios, pero si los sitios son accesibles, se deben proteger también. Debemos poder explicarle al público el significado del arte rupestre. Podemos reconocer ciertos estilos y asociarlos a ciertos períodos históricos, por ejemplo, estilos de caza y agrícolas.

La naturaleza frágil del arte rupestre lo rinde vulnerable a la destrucción. Por lo tanto se debe proteger, y la mejor protección es la enseñanza. Las personas deben considerarlo como parte del patrimonio universal. Sin embargo se debe, en primer lugar, hacer un cotejo y su conservación y su protección deben hacerse immediatamente para que se pueda hacer accesible al público. Su interpretación y su explicación deberían tomar lugar después. El cotejo se debe estandarizar y los registros deberían estar disponibles de manera sistemática. Los archivos mundiales se están creando por la intervención del ICOMOS a la cual todo el mundo puede contribuir.

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L'art rupestre n'est reconnu qu'aujourd'hui dans le monde entier comme un élément commun de la culture humaine. Il offre un moyen de reconstituer les divers aspects de l'histoire humaine au cours des 40 000 années passées et est spécialement important comme source de l'histoire des peuples illétrés du monde. L'art rupestre est ''instransportable'' et doit être apprécié dans les lieux où il a été créé.

Un inventaire mondial de l'art rupestre est en cours et plus de 20 millions de dessins, gravures, peintures et sculptures ont été enregistrés. L'UNESCO et ICOMOS ont jusqu'à présent sélectionne à 148 sites comme sites majeurs d'art rupestre, mais l'art rupestre se trouve dans presque toutes les parties du monde.

L'accès aux sites d'art rupestre pose des problèmes. Les personnes doivent pouvoir visiter les sites afin d'en tirer avantage, mais si les sites sont rendu accessibles, ils doivent alors être protégés. Nous devons être à même d'expliquer au public la signification de l'art rupestre. Nous pouvons reconnaître certains styles et les associer à certaines périodes historiques, par exemple, des styles de chasse et agricoles.

La nature fragile de l'art rupestre le rend vulnérable à la destruction. Il doit donc être protégé et la meilleure protection est l'éducation. Les personnes doivent se rendre compte qu'il fait partie du patrimoine de chacun d'entre nous. Néanmoins il doit en premier lieu être recensé et sa conservation et sa protection doivent suivre immédiatement avant qu'il ne soit rendu accessible au public. Son interprétation et son explication devraient alors prendre place. Le recensement doit être standardisé et les registres devraient être disponibles de façon systématique. Des archives mondiales sont créées par l'intermédiaire d'ICOMOS et tous les peuples peuvent y contribuer.

Parks and Museums at Rock Art and Archeological Sites

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No formal written paper was submitted. What follows is an edited version of the English translation of the paper as presented at the conference. The informality of the spoken word over the written is reflected in the language here.

When I describe "rock art," I mean engravings and paintings which are left on walls, roofs, or stones in prehistoric times and preserved until today. Here in Mesa Verde National Park, as in many other places in the United States, there is a wealth of rock art—many beautiful sites which have not received as much attention as they should. This is not only the case in the United States, but worldwide. Rock art is being discovered now. As a discipline, it did not exist twenty-five years ago and almost 80 percent of the discoveries have been made in the last twenty years. It is an emerging field in archeology, little known to the public, but becoming more and more important for our cultural heritage.

Many people know where there is rock art in their particular areas; many know of Lascaux in France and Altamira in Spain, both highly publicized for many years and described in textbooks. But most people do not know that rock art is found all over the world and is a common element of human culture. Recent discoveries substantiate the hypothesis, and I think today it can be demonstrated that the production of art is a characteristic of Homo sapiens and the art that was preserved until today is rock art.

We thus have examples of artistic production for the last 40,000 years all over the world, which means that we have access to an enormous data bank on human experiences comprised of intellectual experiences, religious experiences,

moments of happiness and fear, social events, and all sorts of other things. In other words, through these pictures which, when you see them for the first time make little sense, gradually we are reconstructing the history of many places, many people, and ultimately of mankind for the last 40,000 years.

Those who may think that the privilege of having a history was reserved to literate populations and that non-literate or pre-literate peoples were denied that, rock art can be a revelation. It can provide the base for historical information for people who did not have writing. As we know, writing has spread over the world but even today there are many parts—Africa, Asia, certain parts of Latin America, Europe, and North America—where the population is not 100 percent literate. If populations of many emerging countries who discovered literature in the last couple of centuries previously had no written history, they did have legends. These are documents that can provide us with a new means of understanding people in many parts of the world.

Another significant factor is that rock art cannot be moved. Thus it is *there*, where it was made some 2,000, 3,000, or 20,000 years ago—it was made on the spot that we find today. And for the same reason it cannot be brought to museums and stored but must be preserved and enjoyed where it is. Potentially, then, each rock art site could be a site for a preservation park, but this is practically impossible. We have begun a world inventory of rock art which has enabled us to collect data on over 20 million figures spread over 144 countries around the world. There are some 30,000 or 40,000 major sites and many other minor sites. So it is remote that every rock

art site will be preserved and become part of a national reservation or a national park.

A joint project of UNESCO, the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS), and my research center made a preliminary selection of 148 major sites. We found that rock art is distributed almost evenly around the world. There are a few areas that are not very well known: the Amazon, the tropical forest of the Congo, Southeast Asia, and China. In China we have information on the existence of rock art, but we do not have any indication of the sites. Regarding the other three areas, they are in tropical, heavily forested areas and it might not be coincidence that when there is such a wealth of wood, art painted or engraved on rock may be neglected. People may have found some other way of artistic expression through decorations, engravings, and carvings on wood which unfortunately is perishable material and thus much may be lost forever.

South Africa includes over 1,000 painted caves. In other places—in the Alps, in the site where I live and work—there are 2,000 localities with rock art, and of course there are other places which may have as many or more. I would not recommend opening the entire area to the public because it creates some dangers and cannot be controlled. Those to be opened to the public are those that can be guarded and controlled; a selection must thus be made. However, I would not recommend not opening sites to public access because they are vulnerable. Of course they are vulnerable, but if a site is to stimulate the minds of people, they must have access.

Rock art research in the last few years has established a few things. For instance, through style and subject matter we can date, or at least attribute, certain art styles or groups to certain cultures or certain periods. Some hunting styles, for example, follow a very specific line and certain agricultural styles follow completely different lines. And within these ranges are many different categories through which we are reaching some general view on patterns, aided by a systematic computerization of data, comparing different patterns in different parts of the world. This art reveals not only belief, religion, and mythology—every angle of a rock art site is full of the intellect of the people—but indirectly it reveals to us much data on the way of life, on the social structure of the clan or tribe, on the economy.

As I mentioned, there is a difference between the art of agriculturalists and the art of hunters, and there are many other differences. But within the figures we know what were the important animals for these people. We know if they had contacts with distant regions. We know how they dressed, what kinds of haircuts they had, if any, and what kind of rituals, not just for religious purposes but for birth, marriage, social events, and so on. Altogether this art gives us views of certain populations at certain times and when, in some lucky places there are sequences of rock art from different periods, studying the different sequences brings us knowledge of dif-

ferent historical horizons. When they are put together, it becomes a historical sequence.

This rock art originated in many parts of the world much

earlier than we had thought. We were amazed eighty or a hundred years ago when, after twenty years of debate, it was finally determined that Altamira belonged to Paleolithic times and to the Pleistocene, which meant necessarily that it must have been older than 12,000 years. Now we have datings of rock art which go back to 30,000 years or more-and not only in Europe. In Namibia we have a dating of 28,000 years for decorated slabs found two meters below the surface, beneath a whole series of layers with radiocarbon datings which fix exactly the date of this site. In southern Australia we have a date of 22,000 years in Kunalta Cave. And in the Americas, strange as it may seem, the oldest dates come from South America: one from Brazil, 17,000 B.C., and another of 12,000 B.C. at the end of Patagonia near Tierra del Fuego, which means art spread very early around the world. When we compare this early evidence of art from Argentina and Europe, the similarities are such that we could think it was made by the same people. It was in that it was Homo sapiens, our ancestor. He emerged about 40,000 years ago and spread around the world; he was the big explorer. I hope that our and future generations will retain the characteristic of curiosity, inquisitiveness, and sense of adventure and exploration which helped this early Homo sapiens. In less than five or six thousand years from the core, which must have been in Asia or in Africa, they reached the entire world, penetrating into the Americas and reaching Australia and even some of the nearest islands of the Pacific. Homo sapiens arrived in Europe later than every other continent, probably because Neanderthal man was there and defended his area. This Homo sapiens carried the idea of art, produced this art, and since his appearance, man became a potential artist. What would humanity be if we did not have the potential of being artists? It would be a very gray world, and we should be happy that Homo sapiens was what he was.

Rock art, for this reason and many others, has a multitude of uses-educational and cultural, in the sense of general culture. It can be brought to everybody and understood by everybody, which, for educational purposes, is of great importance. Rock art provides an in-depth view of the history of mankind beyond the barriers of conventional history taught in schools. Rock art is a very important element which can help open us up to the world, realizing that the figures found at Petroglyph Point in Mesa Verde are part of a phenomenon found all over the world. And it produces the same reactions as it would produce in other parts of the word. Something will be felt by the people of this state when they see the art here, and when they have an opportunity to see something similar somewhere else. There are visitors who will say, "Ahah, but also in my country, in the other corner of the world, I have something like that-what does that mean?"

As I mentioned, this art is a tremendous tool of historical reconstruction. From material culture, we can recognize the degree of technology and pattern of housing, but through rock art we discover the soul of the people. It is the third dimension of history—not just the people of that time but why some developments were possible. What was their state of mind? What developed in their minds? And, by comparing different periods or stages of rock art, this whole process emerges in an extraordinary way. It is a subject of enjoyment, of leisure, and of mental stimulation. It is also a matter of culture, of education, of historical reconstruction, and of research. Let us not forget that the culture of today is a result of the research of yesterday, and the culture of tomorrow will be the result of the research of today. So, by doing research we are preparing the culture of future generations.

I will relate a short story of what happened to me to help you realize how important this may be for certain people. I was working in the central highlands of Tanzania, tracing a rock surface with marvelous paintings and a beautiful stratigraphy. Some schoolchildren, about 150 of all ages, and their teacher, the only one in the area from the Uranga tribe, would come every morning and sit and look at me while I was working on the tracings. They were so excited with big eyes, just looking at me all the time. The third day they came I tried to communicate with the teacher, who knew some words of English. I tried to explain that the the drawing on top was made by Bantu-speaking people some 2,000 years ago, the first Bantu to arrive there. Below was a tribe of cattle breeders who arrived from Ethiopia, and below that, hunting figures-the man with the bow and arrow and the gazelle. How old was that? Well, maybe 3,000 to 5,000 years old. And below that, there is a scene of a dance, which is even older. Then we have a drawing even older and then huge figures of elephants and giraffes, five or six meters high. When you look at details, you do not see them, but after all the stratigraphy, the children went back and suddenly saw them. They asked, "How old is this?" I said, "Well, it can very well be thirty or forty thousand years old." The teacher was conveying to the children every word I was saying, and after a moment of silence he asked me, "Do you mean that our culture is older than that of the British?" He then translated it to the children and you could see these 150 children jumping around and wanting to kiss me! They discovered a new dimension of their past; this is what rock art can do.

Many people, especially those in developing countries, need a history. We believe we have a history, but we do not care very much. There are people who are not aware that they have a dimension of history like they think we have. They need that. Rock art for these developing countries is a *must*. It is important to note that poor countries like Tanzania and Madagascar are investing in rock art research to a much greater

degree than the United States or Italy because they realize that it is something that can help them discover their roots.

Yet some attention must also be given to rock art sites in the so-called "developed" countries. We may feel we have a history and our roots, but we are only talking about some 2,000 years. What happened before that? We seem so sure of our history but one which goes back only to our grandfathers. We do not know what is beyond that but we should. It is of tremendous importance for a historical consciousness, for being aware of what we are. We were not born with the Greeks. This is something that we must consider and reconsider.

Rock art, as I said, has this power. It should be taken care of and, as I said, is very vulnerable. It is in the open air; it suffers from weathering, from all sorts of natural causes. But the biggest cause of disaster unfortunately is man. Yet the damage done by man could be prevented. Education can help. We have to explain what rock art is and how each person has to defend it because it is our own patrimony. In the valley we have begun a serious program of education. For twenty years we have used factual mass media, given factual pamphlets to visitors, and we have had no damage done by man, although we have 300,000 visitors a year. There is no intentional damage done to the rock art.

There is a process to be followed before opening a rock art site to the public. Recording must come first because if you do not know what is there, you cannot protect and conserve it. Conservation and protection must occur before opening a site to tourists, after recording. So you have recording first, conservation and protection second, and tourism third—but a clever tourism that explains and educates people and not just a tourism approach that suggests you go and see how beautiful the rock art is.

To accomplish all this, we need interdisciplinary work, with teams of various specialists, and with international cooperation. My committee in ICOMOS is working in this direction promoting international cooperation, promoting connections among people working on rock art and administrators dealing with rock art; anyone interested can join the committee. We also have produced some basic forms which should be completed and filed for each specific rock art site for comparative purposes. It is not enough that one states that the stone is gray, the second that the figures are one meter high, the third that they are beautiful, and the fourth that they are very old. Now we must get together and produce the same information. From this file usually one copy remains with the institute or the researcher; the second goes to the government agency responsible for the area; the third one goes to ICOMOS in Paris, and the fourth one to the world inventory. At all levels the information will be available and whoever participates in the world inventory has the right to obtain it.

With the increase in public interest since the 1960s and a growing level of visitation to Peru's historical sites, challenges to site conservation have also grown. Visitor impacts on cultural sites have included vandalism, graffiti, and illegal excavations. To help meet these challenges, not only must the public be educated to the preservation of the cultural heritage, but inventories of sites and artifacts must be conducted to determine what exists and must be protected and what artifacts in private and public collections worldwide can be recovered. Research must be conducted. Meeting these many needs will require the cooperation and collaboration of individuals and organizations throughout the world who are interested in cultural heritage preservation.

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Con el crecimiento del interés público desde los años sesenta y el número creciente de visitantes a los lugares históricos del Perú, los desafíos a la conservación de los sitios han aumentado. El impacto que tienen los visitantes sobre los sitios culturales incluyen el vandalismo, los grafitos y las excavaciones ilegales. Para hacer frente a estos desafíos no sólo es imperativo educar al público a cómo preservar el patrimonio cultural sino que también son indispensables los inventarios de los sitios y de los artefactos para determinar lo que existe,

y pueden proteger, y cuáles artefactos en las colecciones particulares y públicas del mundo se puedan recuperar. Las investigaciones se tienen que llevar a cabo. La cooperación y la colaboración de los individuos y de las organizaciones del mundo entero, interesados en la preservación del patrimonio cultural, serán necesarias para responder a estas necesidades.

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Avec l'accroissement de l'intérêt du public depuis les années soixante et le nombre grandissant de visites aux sites historiques du Pérou, les défis posés par la conservation des sites sont également plus nombreux. L'impact qu'ont les visiteurs sur les sites culturels inclue le vandalisme, les grafittis et les fouilles illégales. Pour faire face à ces défis il est non seulement impératif d'éduquer le public à préserver le patrimoine culturel mais il est aussi indispensable de dresser des inventaires des sites et des objets façonnés afin de déterminer ce qui existe et doit être protégé, et quels sont les objets dans des collections privées et publiques du monde entier qui peuvent être récupérés. Des recherches doivent être entreprises. La coopération et la collaboration d'individus et d'organisations du monde entier, intéréssés par la préservation du patrimoine culturel, seront nécessaires pour répondre à ces nombreux besoins.

Visitor Impact on Peru's Cultural Resources

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No formal written paper was submitted. What follows is an edited version of the English translation of the paper as presented at the conference. The informality of the spoken word over the written is reflected in the language here.

Beginning in 1960, public interest in cultural resources began to increase tremendously. New archeological discoveries, the development of tourism, and improved roads and communications have awakened the curiosity of the public and the desire of the government and educational authorities to put culture within everyone's grasp. For almost twenty-five years, the public has been able to increase its knowledge about its deepest cultural roots.

People have populated the Andes from 18,000 B.C. and were domesticating animals as early as around 3,000 B.C. The Inca empire fell in 1532 through European conquest and colonization, but even now the studies of Inca social, political, and economic organization have not been completed. However, before the Incas there were also some significant cultural manifestations in the Andes. Cultures such as the Mojicas, Chavín, Paracas, Nazca, Moche, Huari, and Chimú were ultimately dominated by the Inca. This doubtless improved their existing living conditions with a high agricultural development. Metallurgy was a significant development, along with the construction of irrigation canals, roads, and architecture. Our ancestors made significant contributions to our current culture, including crops such as potatoes and several varieties of corn, and the wool from alpacas and llamas, which also serve as high-altitude transport. But perhaps the greatest lesson passed down was how they lived in equilibrium with nature.

At the beginning of this century, important fieldwork began in Peru to research and acquire precious cultural artifacts for museums, archives, and libraries, enriching our cultural heritage. Since the 1970s, we have understood that our monuments require permanent conservation, maintenance, and vigilance. Otherwise, they will deteriorate and be abandoned, with human beings themselves tending to destroy them. The idea of the conservation of cultural resources and the cultural atmosphere was a new one, and there are still many people in the private and public sectors who do not yet understand the importance of conservation for the future in Peru

One solution which has been proposed in the past is concerned with tourist use of the monuments while conserving them better. However, it has been noted that the growing number of visitors can bring unexpected consequences. For many years, residents around Cuzco wanted to make the site part of the UNESCO world cultural heritage. In November of 1983, the necessary steps were concluded and Cuzco is now a World Heritage Site. We are well aware that we have some new responsibilities and we are seriously concerned about the ability of our human and economic resources to respond to those needs. Local efforts to develop investigation and research projects are being undertaken, but this is a task that began only ten years ago. There are technical problems and also a lack of qualified people. However, there is much hope that with international cooperation in the future we will be able to do what has to be done.

One of the new problems we have at Cuzco is that transportation, food, and housing have become more expensive.

Generally, tourism has made life more expensive in this area. Cuzco, the capital, and Machu Picchu, the sacred city, have become much more active tourist centers. The extent of the social impact on the local people is hard to say, but it appears that tourism has not benefited local areas very much.

Another problem brought on by tourism is having a direct effect on the monuments themselves. On the coast, for example, there are mud and cane monuments. These are weak materials that quickly decay. The repair and maintenance of walls and floors puts the authenticity of the monuments in doubt. They are different from what they were twenty years ago and if this continues, in time the changes will be even more extensive and these will be new monuments.

In the Peruvian mountains, the monuments are made of stone, and although they are solid and permanent, tourism produces vandalism and graffiti. In some cases there is irreparable damage. Many monuments are not properly policed and the authorities that do exist are not able to respond to public need. Clandestine and illegal excavations are frequently the result and many historical sites that have not been subjected to scientific study yet are being destroyed. In the hope of being able to identify and organize future preservation activities, it will be necessary to make an inventory of monuments. As an example, an inventory can determine if more effort should be directed toward working with the most important monuments without abandoning the ones that are of lesser, but still important, significance.

Two responsibilities which we have had to take on are conservation on the one hand, and on the other, the establishment of a comprehensive inventory. It is impossible to control public works like roads, dams, and the steady growth of cities unless there is an inventory of monuments and places that should be conserved and preserved. The problems exist not only in terms of real estate and fixed monuments, but also in the many artifacts such as ceramics that have wound up in public and private collections and in museums. One of the most serious problems that we have in museums is that the objects therein are not inventoried; there are no photographs or files on them. This sort of inventory is important because one of the evils of our times is that we are losing more and more museum pieces.

The systematic loss and robbery of art works is a very serious problem in countries like Peru which has lost very important assets like the custody of the Lima Cathedral and gold ceremonial objects. We cannot close the churches for fear of theft. We cannot close the doors to researchers and students. We cannot deny access to school students. The function of these places is to be open, and this is as it should be. But to dissuade attempts at theft, it is necessary to maintain an in-

ventory of the movable assets so we can more likely recover artifacts in case of loss.

When objects have been lost, they often have illegally left the country of origin and show up later in art galleries and private collections in other countries. In Peru since 1981, we have had to carry out significant efforts to recover 760 objects of our cultural heritage. There is serious work going on to establish repatriation agreements with countries that trade in Peruvian artifacts that are illegally exported. If we want to have museums and cultural parks and if we want to have things available and visible in the areas where they are found, it is necessary to conserve and preserve these objects.

Finally, I would like to mention our bibliographic heritage which we find in archives and libraries. Continual use of old documents and books for research and exhibit affects their integrity and therefore they need preservation. If archives are going to be repositories of information and if learning is to take place from them, then there has to be some way to protect them from catastrophe and theft. Their information must be preserved.

Of course, many of these problems being discussed here can be prevented, but it is urgent to take measures to make sure that steps be continually taken to preserve our cultural heritage. The steps can be broadened through brief educational programs that explain preservation problems to the public. And, if we describe the solutions that other countries have found to these problems, we can get school student participation in these programs. School students are very receptive, and are likely to be enthusiastic about campaigns to preserve cultural heritage.

Peru urgently needs the cooperation of colleagues and institutions that have succeeded in these tasks of planning and training personnel in order to update our methods of inventorying and looking after these artifacts. Countries like Peru also need to seek the cooperation of others who have not fully managed to administer successfully their resources—the experience of other countries is very important and should be shared. We especially need to learn, and if we look at management plans like those at Copán in Honduras and the historical monument registers of the United States, we see the importance of the legal steps that have been taken to balance institutional and private resources. We are very aware and eager to understand how we can work with political and legislative people to promote the laws that we need to control the activities which are most important in protecting our cultural heritage.

To conclude, in Peru we have a great deal left to do, and you are all welcome to collaborate with us; we consider this type of collaboration most urgent.



Remains of a corner ruin wall in Balcony House.

This paper will discuss experiences with a field course, having both teaching and recreational goals in rehabilitating an abandoned village. The students who participated in the restoration rehabilitated lodgings. At the same time that they learned theory, restoration techniques, and building crafts, they learned about the history of the place and the region. The village is medieval, with a castle, walls, and other structures. Various public ministries and entities collaborated in the project.

Este ensayo tratará de experiencias con un curso en el campo que tenía objetivos de recreación y de enseñanza en una aldea abandonada. Los estudiantes que participaron en la restauración rehabilitaron alojamientos. Al mismo tiempo que aprendieron teoría, técnicas de restauración y los artes de

construcción, aprendieron la historia del lugar y de la región. La aldea es medieval, con un castillo, murallas, y otra estructuras. Varios ministerios y entidades públicas colaboraron en el proyecto.

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Cet exposé portera sur les expériences d'un cours sur le terrain, ayant un double objectif d'enseignement et de détente, dans la réhabilitation d'un village abandonné. Les étudiants participant à la restauration ont réhabilité les habitations. Ils ont pu apprendre, à la fois, la théorie et les techniques de restauration, l'art de la construction ainsi que l'histoire du lieu et de la région. Il s'agit d'un village médiéval avec un château, des murs d'enceinte et d'autres structures. Divers ministères publics et d'autres entités ont collaborés à ce projet.

Granadilla: Restoring an Abandoned Site

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No formal written paper was submitted. What follows is an edited version of the English translation of the paper as presented at the conference. The informality of the spoken word over the written is reflected in the language here.

Cultural parks do not exist as legal, administrative entities in Spain. However, the concept of a national park does exist and has an important tradition, based not only on environmental or physical values, but also a historical value. We do have a type of cultural park, such as several palaces with their associated forests and parks, which are now administered by the National Heritage Authority. At the same time, considerable potential also exists to create new parks from the great extent of the cultural heritage that has been conserved and is being developed, and because of foreign and domestic demands for cultural information and knowledge.

Spain is a country where many of the principal western cultures have had an impact, mixing and mutually enriching each other. The Romans, Phoenicians, Carthaginians, Visigoths, and Arabs have been in the territory. We have Roman, Gothic, and Baroque cultures, all of which are expressed in Spanish monuments. We could say that the basic characteristics of the monumental cultural heritage of Spain are the characteristics of variety—the lack of a consistent style, in some cases the rarity of its manifestation, and the immense number of remains that have been passed down. The architectural and monumental heritage is protected by law and is well based on such precedents as the Alphonse laws of the thirteenth century.

A great deal of the monumental heritage is found in the rural areas and is religious in nature. Some examples are

monasteries, convents, churches, and hermitages. Other examples of the Spanish cultural heritage consists of rural palaces and castles and public works such as bridges, aqueducts, and roads. Still others come from military sources and include forts and castles. In sheer numbers there are more than 4,000 castles or defensive structures in Spain.

There is another architectural heritage to which less attention has been paid. It is valuable, varied, incorporated into nature, and a product of local culture. These are architectural sites without formal design; examples of architecture without architects. The use of local materials often makes such sites incorporated in a special way with the local environment. This architecture has a geometrical relationship to the landscape. Where it has been useful, the home can become an important agricultural tool. An understanding with the environment and people who live in this culture makes it especially interesting.

This latter heritage demonstrates the concept of a relationship with nature and goes beyond the limits of simple architectural samples. Currently this heritage has some very severe problems. For one thing, it is fragile. It is built in an economical fashion with the materials found in the area, which sometimes deteriorate very fast after abandonment. There is also the problem of adaptation to new ways of life. For example, in the rural populations urban architectural types are imported which are too aggressive for this environment. Finally, the indiscriminate introduction of new materials presupposes another group of assaults. Popular architecture can automatically incorporate the use of materials from the area and use few of them, with few techniques, so that the harmony is done almost automatically. When new kinds of

materials are introduced, they have to be carefully incorporated so that there are no negative impacts.

One of the most important problems we face in the rural environment in Spain is the phenomenon of the abandonment of the rural nuclei. At this time there are more than 1,000 uninhabited rural centers, which is almost a national crisis. This cultural heritage is deteriorating very quickly for some of the reasons mentioned, and is almost a social sin. Management of this heritage by cultural associations—public and private—continues to be very disorganized.

Several preservation activities in Spain can be transferred with few modifications to other countries with similar problems. First, there is qualitative and quantitative knowledge. The usual tool is the inventory. A tremendous amount of the existing heritage is physically represented although other structures cannot be preserved physically and so must be preserved through documentation.

Another group of activities have to do with legal protection. The general director of fine arts in Spain by law must protect our artistic heritage, not just in the sense of monuments but also in rural areas; they create a great deal of public interest. An example is that of *piedras y chincon*, which basically allows for the management of two things: 1) the managerial control of any activity which allows protection against negative impacts, and 2) public investment for conservation.

Another concerns direct action, that is, restoration or rehabilitation works, which are then directed by management. In this sense, there has been a tendency to restore permanent sites—sometimes dwellings and sometimes the creation of a cultural setting such as small museums on a local scale. One example is a paper museum in Catalán, a living museum where people continue to manufacture paper.

Much of the work to preserve these elements has been funded by organizations. Still elsewhere, funds have been allocated by organizations to recover other important groups of buildings. The most recent activities include \$100,000 for the restoration of three hermitages in the Spanish Pyrenees. Also interesting projects are those done with the National Institute of Labor. Basically these programs utilize both professionals and unemployed laborers, paid through unemployment insurance by the Ministry of Labor, to work on the restoration or rehabilitation of our cultural heritage. Finally, another kind of aid comes from technical services to create a renewed interest in crafts.

Many experiments have been jointly coordinated with other activities. We recently attempted to carry out an activity regarding an important cultural heritage piece that is located in a region of great scenic interest. In this place there are cultures that have left important monuments with a potential for great public interest, and with the added potential of encouraging traditional crafts, there exists the possibility of the creation of a cultural park.

An important experiment began just a few months ago with

a specific project in the small abandoned town of Granadilla. Other experiments are underway in Spain, but this one may be the most interesting. The program set out first of all to recover, or to rehabilitate, many of the structures that were abandoned. At the same time this recovery will attempt to create a kind of rehabilitation which will be popular and involve the participation of students from various disciplines.

The site of Granadilla is located in western Spain, very close to the border with Portugal, in an area with a great deal of cultural interest. Here there are many cultures of different origins, something common throughout the Iberian Peninsula. At the same time this is an area with a great tourist as well as cultural potential.

Granadilla as an urban settlement dates from medieval times. The exact date of its founding is unknown, but in the fifteenth century it became a part of the lands of the Duke of Alba. The city walls and an already-existing castle were rebuilt and had acquired a certain importance by the end of the century. There was a period of decline after Spain was reunified under the Catholic monarchs and the site ceased to be important. It continued to decay until there were only some twenty families—some 300 to 400 inhabitants—living there. In the second half of this century, from the 1940s on, Spain began planning a hydraulic project for irrigation in this very dry area of the peninsula. In the face of the threat of flooding the lands by the damming of the Tagus River, the people who lived in this area had to find housing elsewhere in the vicinity. The town was abandoned in 1962.

The town of Granadilla, consisting of a series of concentric structures, is located on a hill in a swampy area so that the only means of access is by a medieval bridge. The town is walled with only two gates and a road going up to the plaza. A church which dates from the sixteenth century still exists in one section of town and there is a castle which defends the main accessway to the city. The town is organized in a radial fashion around a plaza, and outside the wall there are a series of orchards.

Because of an upswing in tourism, there was an early attempt at recovery, using the town as a sort of mass hotel in the 1970s. For one reason or another, this project did not work. Then in the 1980s, the Fine Arts Commission of the Cultural Ministry was placed in charge of trying to rehabilitate Granadilla. The Spanish Public Works Ministry is promoting this program, setting up a series of agencies to take charge and come up with a joint approach with the Education and Science Ministry and the Agriculture Ministry to promote this project. The project began with the restoration of the deteriorating walls and the castle which was threatened with demolition. At the same time architects involved in this restoration project planned to reconvert the town and sought ways to recover its usefulness.

The Cultural Ministry is in the process of restoring the castle, which is the initial project for revitalizing the town and restoring it so that once again it can be used for dwellings. This part of the project was carried out through the Housing Ministry, which began the restoration of three of the more significant dwellings using students on a summer-project basis. They are going to work on the reconstruction activities and will be able to learn some trades and tasks. The first stage will last some three years. Then hopefully the remaining structures will be restored and finally the orchards through the resources of the Agriculture Ministry.

This restoration project was ready to launch at the beginning of the summer with three or four groups of students for a couple of weeks. The students, in groups of sixty with their teachers and monitors, came to Granadilla with funds from the Cultural Ministry who paid for their stay. They took courses not only on restoration, under the direction of the architects involved in the project, but they also received regular university courses there. At the moment, a university course is underway which includes courses in history, literature, and art history of this region. All can be used for university credit. The first group of students have been very enthusiastic.

Restoration began four months ago and students are now there working on the project. One of the buildings will be restored in order to convert it into a dining room. Other houses will serve as dormitories with various-sized rooms to accommodate from six to a dozen or so people.

One problem is developing an infrastructure which the town did not have—it had no electricity or water, nor sufficient heating and health facilities. The response to all of these needs is in alternative energy technologies. Instead of a power line, solar panels are used, making the town self-sufficient for electricity. A windmill to use wind energy is under construction

and a well has been drilled for water. (It is possible that this town never had water.) There has been an attempt to make this town totally self-sufficient, given its remoteness and the near-impossibility of supplying it with services from outside.

The amount of funding to date has been 50 million pesetas, or \$300,000 U.S. It will take about five years to complete this restoration project for a total of less than \$1.2 million. What will happen in this town once it is restored? At the same time that its physical structures are being restored, new uses and functions are being sought for Granadilla. Artisan shops will try to revitalize various types of carpentry, masonry, ceramic, and other activities which used to exist in the area. There are interested artisans who are willing to participate in this program in its later stages. This will be complemented with a number of other activities such as irrigation and other water projects. The idea is to establish a project in Granadilla with students from all sorts of disciplines, including architecture, biology, and history. There will also be laborers who through their work will learn to appreciate and get a feeling for old buildings, which will help them learn more of their heritage and how it can be passed on to future generations. The program will also give them the opportunity to enjoy and learn through the courses which will help them professionally and through the association with their supervisors and teachers.

At the moment it is difficult—and indeed premature—to try to evaluate the results of this project. We hope the various programs undertaken at Granadilla during the first summer will be positive; everything indicates that they will be. Hopefully within a few years at a future world conference on cultural parks, we will be able to present more results and some economic progress.

Ireland's rich and varied heritage of cultural and historic sites survived remarkably intact up until the present century, due largely to the nature of farming practices which centered on animal husbandry as opposed to tillage and a pattern of life that was essentially rural with few big cities and little largescale industrial development. The results of the National Survey of Monuments and Sites of archeological significance which commenced in the 1960s, together with more recent regional surveys, demonstrate a level of destruction of monuments which gives cause for great concern. In most areas about one-third of all known monuments have been destroyed. The Commissioners of Public Works are tackling the problem of destruction through more extensive field surveys, wider use of legal powers, closer liaison with planning and development agencies, interpretation programmes, and direct contact with the public.

El patrimonio rico y variado de los sitios culturales e históricos de Irlanda ha sobrevivido notablemente intactos hasta el siglo presente. Este hecho es en gran parte debido a la naturaleza de las prácticas agrícolas reposadas en la cría por contraste con la labor y un modo de vida esencialmente rural con pocas ciudades grandes y poco desarrollo industrial en una gran escala. Los resultados del inventario Nacional de Monumentos y Sitios de importancia arqueológica que empezó en los años sesenta, así como los inventarios regionales más recientes, muestran un nivel de destrucción de monumentos que justifica una gran preocupación. En la mayor parte de las regiones

alrededor de una tercera parte de todos los monumentos conocidos han sido destruidos. Los Comisionados de Trabajos Públicos (*Commissioners of Public Works*) han atacado el problema de la destrucción por medio de encuestas profundas sobre el terreno, de un uso mayor de los poderes legales, de vínculos más estrechos entre las agencias de planificación y de desarrollo, de programas de interpretación y de contactos directos con el público.

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Le patrimoine riche et varié des sites culturels et historiques de l'Irlande a survécu remarquablement intact jusqu'au siècle présent. Ce fait est en grande partie dû à la nature des pratiques agricoles reposant sur l'élevage par contraste avec le labourage et un mode de vie essentiellement rural avec peu de grandes villes et peu de développement industriel sur une grande échelle. Les résultats de l'Inventaire National de Monuments et Sites d'importance archéologique qui a débuté dans les années soixante, ainsi que les inventaires régionaux plus récents, montrent un niveau de destruction des monuments qui justifie une grande préoccupation. Dans la plupart des régions environ un tiers de tous les monuments connus ont été détruits. Les Commissaires de Travaux Publics (Commissioners of Public Works) se sont attaqué au problème de la destruction au moyen d'enquêtes approfondies sur le terrain, d'un usage plus grand des pouvoirs légaux, de liaisons plus étroites avec les agences de planification et de développement, de programmes d'interprétation et de contacts directs avec le public.

Safeguarding Ireland's Cultural and Historic Sites

Pascal Scanlan

Chairman Commissioners of Public Works Dublin, Ireland

Ireland is a small island of about 85,000 square kilometers, about one third the size of the state of Colorado, but for its size it has a tremendous richness in its heritage. Its physical heritage in particular is abundant and was, up until the present era, fairly well preserved. But like most other modern states Ireland has had problems in reconciling the advance of technology and commerce with the need to preserve the irreplaceable evidence of the past. The values of history have become blurred in the minds of many. It is to reinstate those values that we must address ourselves. That process may be a long one so in the meantime we must take what other steps may be necessary to preserve what remains for more enlightened generations to come.

I propose to outline briefly the steps we are taking to that end in Ireland. First, however, let me give you a few selected examples of the quality of that physical heritage which it is our duty and our privilege to preserve.

Although evidence of human occupation of our island goes back some 9,000 years, our earliest extant structures date from about 5,000 B.C. Even in the Stone Age, Ireland had a very sophisticated culture, which manifested itself in engineering feats and artistic decoration of the houses of the dead, coupled with an acute observation of the movements of celestial bodies. The most striking instance of this is Newgrange, a Stone-Age grave which dominates the river Boyne—and which is older than the pyramids. The spiral-decorated stone in front of the tomb must surely be described as one of the most superbly executed pieces of stone carving in the whole of prehistoric Europe. Passage to the tomb is aligned to a point on the horizon from whence the rising sun can shine into the

innermost recesses of the tomb—but only for a few brief minutes on the shortest day of the year.

The Celts were, and indeed still are, an enormously strong influence in shaping Ireland's history. They had already reached Ireland long before the time of Christ and defended their new-won interests in great stone forts such as Dun Aengus.

It was these same Celts whom St. Patrick christianised so smoothly in the fifth century of our era. Within a few hundred years, myriad monasteries sprang up, whose missionaries were to bring the gospel to a strife-torn European continent. The ascetic nature of the monk's life is nowhere better brought home to us than in the simple, timeless beehive huts on the island of Skellig Michael. Their simplicity stands in such total contrast to the richness of the heritage which Ireland's monasteries produced-the metal marvels displayed in the recently discovered chalice from Derrynaflan, or the labyrinthine intricacies of a manuscript like the Book of Kells. The most lasting visual symbols of these monasteries surviving in situ are the Round Towers and the great High Crosses of stone. The Round Towers served primarily as bell towers (like the Muslim minarets) to call the faithful to prayer. The High Crosses, with their typical yet somewhat mysterious ring around the centre, were carved as a pictorial aid to piety by illustrating a selection of the Gospel stories. It is these two types of monuments more than any other which have been seen as the most typical symbol of our Irish culture the world

The Celts were followed to Ireland by the Vikings—and then by their descendants, the Normans, who fortified themselves

in great bastions which still dominate the countryside, and which call to mind the more troubled side of Ireland's earlier history. One such castle that weathered many a siege is the fine example at Cahir in County Tipperary. By contrast a few dozen miles away in the same county is a splendid example of a fifteenth-century house of God—Holycross Abbey.

The darkness of the medieval period was followed by the lightness and the brightness of the neo-classical house. There is no better example of the brilliance of this eighteenth-century style than the Casino at Marino near Dublin, which the Irish government has recently restored. What more eloquent testimony to Irish workmanship and taste than this little gem of a building, built not as a gambling den—as the modern connotation of the name might suggest—but as the rural retreat of an enlightened gentry.

The protection and preservation of this heritage of stone buildings is cared for by the Irish government, through the Commissioners of Public Works, of which I have the honour to be one. But the number of monuments is too vast for the state to be able to physically watch over their preservation day and night. Hitherto, the inherent respect of the Irish farmer for the earthworks on his land has helped greatly in their automatic survival. The relatively low concentration of tillage ensured that there was little threat to these rural earthworks from intensive ploughing. But in recent years the pattern has been changing. The advent of mechanised farming and the appearance of the bulldozer in clearing fields has resulted within recent decades in the destruction of a horrifyingly high proportion of field monuments. The passive preservation of rural earthworks through an innate respect for their builders can no longer be taken for granted. Sadly, massive modern machinery has seen to that. What it was unnecessary to protect thirty years ago is now coming closer to the threat of extinction.

The National Monuments Acts of 1930 and 1954 (Amendment) provide the legal framework for the protection and preservation of monuments in the Republic of Ireland. Under these acts the Commissioners may become the owners or guardians of monuments whose preservation is considered to be a matter of national importance. Ownership and guardianship carry with them the statutory obligation of maintenance. The Commissioners can give legal protection to monuments either by ''listing'' them in the official gazette or by making them the subject of a Preservation Order. There are some 700 national monuments in full state care, while approximately 3,000 others have statutory protection. As a further safeguard, the Commissioners are the sole licensing authority for archeological excavations. Conservation of the 700 or so monuments in full state care allows the Commissioners to recreate to a limited extent the splendour of these monuments at the height of their glory. The work of conservation and restoration is a highly scientific process requiring research, great technical detail, and skilled craftsmanship. The

stock of monuments in full state care is for the most part well maintained by teams of directly employed craftsmen with the same skills and virtually the same type of tools as used by the original builders. Up until recently, our monuments were spared the ravages of industrial pollution in the form of acid rain, which is causing such widespread problems in Europe and elsewhere. In the near future acid rain may be the single greatest threat to the survival of our stone monuments. However, I will not attempt to deal with that problem in this paper.

To enable the Commissioners to formulate a comprehensive policy for the protection and preservation of national monuments and as an aid towards historical studies, a survey of all twenty-six counties in the state was initiated in the 1960s. The survey was in two parts, first an inventory of all monuments of every period, and second, a scientific survey of each monument depending on its state of preservation. The National Survey is complemented by local, regional, and specialised surveys which are undertaken from time to time. A full survey of County Donegal, for the most part funded by the state, has been completed and published.

The large-scale maps of the Ordnance Survey (OS), the first editions of which were made early in the last century, provide detailed information about the numbers of ancient monuments then existing throughout the country. The results of the National Survey in the counties where it has been completed, together with recent regional surveys, demonstrate a level of monument destruction which gives cause for great concern. In most counties about one third of all known monuments have been destroyed. In some areas the proportion of specific sites destroyed, e.g., earthworks, is as high as 50 percent.

As I mentioned, in the last thirty years or so the use of the spade and the horse-plough have given way to mechanised farming. Earthworks which had little to fear in the days of the horse-plough now disappear in seconds before the bulldozer. The expansion of cities and towns into the countryside has also swallowed up monuments, often destroying them without a trace. The development of high-rise buildings in city centres frequently results in the destruction of medieval layers and of historic buildings and streetscapes. Road widening and similar public works like the laying of pipelines, forestry plantations, quarrying, and gravel digging have frequently led to the destruction of monuments. Finally, changed patterns of land ownership have seen the farmers' traditional respect for field monuments give way to the utilitarian approach of commercial interests. It became clear to the Commissioners at the beginning of the eighties that if they were to be successful in ensuring the survival of our heritage of monuments and sites, a new approach was required in the matter of surveys, legislation, planning and development, interpretation, and direct contact with the public.

The National Survey was concerned with surveying in detail,

and while some seven counties had been completed, nothing had been published. It was obvious that the results of these surveys should be published immediately before further fieldwork was undertaken. Accordingly, with government approval, the National Survey switched to publication of a basic Sites and Monuments Record (SMR) for the seven counties already surveyed, to be followed by an inventory in due course. The SMR consists of a numbered list of monuments for each six-inch OS sheet, accompanied by a corresponding set of annotated OS maps. The SMR for County Louth was released earlier this year and SMRs for the six other counties will be available by the end of 1988. SMRs are prepared as a basic planning aid for agencies concerned with environmental change. In the form in which they are produced, they are of limited benefit or assistance to the general public or persons concerned with historical studies. To meet their needs, inventories of sites and monuments are also being prepared in the case of those counties where fieldwork has been completed. An inventory consists of a classified list of sites and monuments with a brief description of each accompanied by a set of distribution maps (one inch to the mile). By 1988 the National Survey will have published SMRs and inventories for seven counties. To further speed up the survey work, the archeology departments of University Colleges Cork and Galway were employed on contract to carry out preliminary surveys in Counties Cork and Galway respectively. The County Galway survey will be completed this year and an SMR and inventory should be ready in 1985. The County Cork survey will be completed next year and the SMR and inventory for this county will be ready in 1986.

To provide partial coverage for the rest of the country until the National Survey recommences fieldwork in 1989, government approval has recently been received for the preparation of SMRs on a "paper survey" basis for the remaining counties. The paper survey consists of a) the examination of the current six-foot OS maps which show 70 to 80 percent of all monuments, and b) the research of archeological journals, earlier editions of OS maps, estate maps, and other published material relevant to the region being surveyed. A period of four years is allowed for this paper survey which can be upgraded in due course as fieldwork recommences. Thus by 1988 survey material in one form or another will be available for the entire country. The ultimate aim of the National Survey is, of course, to publish full illustrated texts of all counties, but this will have to wait until the SMRs and inventories are published.

Existing legislation begins from the position of respecting private property and entitling the owners to do virtually what they like with structures on their property, unless restrained by some positive action of the Commissioners. It has always been our hope that we would reach the position of Sweden where national monuments are regarded as having national rights exceeding those of private ownership and have absolute

protection from interference, except where permission to interfere has been granted by an authorised body. Our attitudes toward private property are, of course, buried deep in the struggles of generations of our forebears to become the owners of the land they worked as tenant farmers while paying exorbitant rents in many cases to absentee landlords. The rights of private property are emphasised in the Irish Constitution and it appeared for awhile that this very constitution would prevent us from giving the blanket protection to our monuments which is badly needed in today's world. Thankfully a recent Supreme Court decision found our powers to make preservation orders not inconsistent with the constitution, thus opening the way for the introduction of amending legislation to give the blanket coverage. I am hopeful that this legislation will be introduced this autumn. While on the subject, I might add that the amending legislation will attempt to deal with the problems of metal detectors and the preservation of wrecks as well as substantially increase the penalties for any breach of the acts.

There are many government and semi-state agencies directly concerned with, or having a controlling interest in, the area of environmental change. The SMRs are aimed specifically at these. Planning authorities, local government authorities, the Farm Development Service, and the Forestry Service, by being aware of the existence of monuments in areas scheduled for development, can in consultation with the Commissioners make provision for their preservation.

We have recently agreed upon revised arrangements with the Farm Development Service of the Department of Agriculture regarding the protection of monuments on lands which are the subject of improvements under their Farm Modernisation Scheme. These arrangements include "listing" or making a Preservation Order in respect of all monuments on the holding of an applicant for a grant, as well as linking the payment of any grant to an undertaking from the grantees that any monuments on their lands will not be interfered with without our consent. Talks by our archeologists to local agricultural inspectors on how to recognise field monuments are now a regular feature of seminars and training courses run by the Department of Agriculture for its inspectorial staff. In order to clarify further for them and for the farmers with whom they deal what is or is not a monument, a booklet on "Recognising Irish Antiquities" is in an advanced stage of production. Links have been established with the Council for Development in Agriculture (ACOT), as this body is the first to be contacted by the landowner when advice is required on land improvement. It is our experience that most farmers are not aware of the significance of the monuments on their land and that most landowners are positively in favour of preservation as soon as the historical importance is explained.

Long-standing arrangements exist between planning authorities and ourselves where planning applications are received for development at or close to a visible monument.

Where it is less obvious that a site is archeologically important, development can get beyond the point of no return before the full significance of the impact of that development becomes clear. To meet this challenge and attempt to reconcile renewal and development in archeologically sensitive areas with the need to protect urban archeology, we have commissioned a major survey of Ireland's medieval and plantation towns. This Urban Survey is well in hand and is scheduled for completion next year. Knowledge of where the sensitive areas are will allow ourselves, the planners, and the property developers to deal more positively and in good time with the protection of this aspect of our heritage. In anticipation of the results of the survey, planning authorities are already working on an agreed formula in the case of planning applications for developments in known areas of archeological significance. It has become the practice to consult our office before outline planning permission is given and to build into such permission any conditions which we stipulate regarding trial excavations and so forth. We are treating archeology in such cases as a development cost, no different from other site investigations and a cost to be borne by the developer. The climate for a consensus approach between ourselves, the planning authorities, and developers is improving all the time.

Traditionally interest in national monuments has been shown mainly by academics and learned bodies; business with them could be conducted by the Commissioners through leisurely correspondence. Recent changes in society have dictated a more dynamic approach to the business of preservation. Faced with the challenge of an ever-increasing rate of destruction of monuments and sites, the Commissioners decided to bring the fight to the public arena. This is being done in a number of ways:

1. Publicity: The Commissioners' full-time Information Officer avails of every opportunity in the press, radio, and television to publicise the Commissioners' activities in the protection and preservation of monuments. I must say that he has

had an encouraging response by the media. A major publicity campaign to coincide with the enactment of the new legislation is also being planned.

- 2. Interpretation: Some twenty national monuments of major significance were selected some time ago for special presentation to the public. At these sites through the use of guided tours, audiovisual shows, and information literature, the visiting public (in excess of 600,000 visitors a year) is introduced to the richness of their built heritage. A key element in interpretation is the need for preservation of the resource, and no effort is spared to bring home to the visitor that each of our monuments is an important historical document which, once destroyed, can never be replaced.
- 3. Farming Organisation: We have made firm contacts with a number of farming organisations such as Macra na Feirme and the National Youth Development Organisation. Through these contacts articles have appeared in the farming press explaining the significance of field monuments. Talks have been given at open days and interpretive literature and other assistance provided for groups undertaking projects on the built heritage.
- 4. As already mentioned, a booklet entitled "Recognising Irish Antiquities" for general release to the farming community, developers, schools, and others is in an advanced stage of production.

In conclusion, the protection and preservation of our built heritage is an enormous responsibility. The burden of safeguarding and passing it on intact to the next generation cannot be set aside with claims of lack of resources or economic expediency. The task is ours now. The completion of the SMRs for the country as a whole, the blanket protection of monuments in new legislation, close liaison with planning and development agencies, and direct contact with the public are measures which are within our immediate control. I am confident that we will not fail our responsibilities.



During the 1920s and 1930s, the number of visitors to Mesa Verde increased dramatically, and emphasis shifted from archeological research to making the excavated ruins accessible to the public. Park employees constructed roads, a visitor's center, a museum, and other facilities to accommodate tourists.

The development of tourism dates from the end of the nineteenth century and since that time has greatly accelerated, especially after World War II. In 1983 Yugoslavia registered more than 20 million tourists, totaling about 100 million tourist days. Parallel with tourism development, incentives were provided for the protection of nature and natural rarities. In 1945 the Law on Protection of Cultural Monuments and Natural Rarities of the Democratic Federation of Yugoslavia was enacted, the first law relating to protection of natural and cultural values.

The rapid development of industry, a network of roads, land reclamations, and demographic movements have put a great deal of pressure on nature and its amenities which tourism is trying to utilize in the best possible way in its development and economic interests. The question is how to reconcile such oppositions, that is, to allow for a normal and necessary industrial development and rising standards of living along with the aggressive development of a tourist economy which is increasingly attracted to scenic spots, while at the same time preserving this nature and its attractiveness. An example of a successful realization of this aim is represented by the National Park of the Plitvice Lakes in Yugoslavia.

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El desarrollo del turismo data del final del siglo XIX y ha demostrado desde entonces una tendencia rápida, especialmente después de la segunda Guerra Munidal. En el 1983, más de 20 millones de turistas fueron anotados en Yugoslavia sumando cerca de 100 millones de jornadas de turismo. Paralelamente al desarrollo del turismo, una incitación fue hecha a las actividades de protección de la naturaleza y de las rarezas naturales. En el 1945, la Ley sobre la Protección de Monumentos Culturales y de las Rarezas Naturales (Law on Protection of Cultural Monuments and Natural Rarities) de la Federación Democrática Yugoslavia fue comprobada como la primera ley particular en el dominio de la protección de valores naturales y culturales.

El desarrollo rápido de la industrialización, de la red de carreteras, de la valorización de tierras tanto como los movimien-

tos demográficos, han creado una presión considerable sobre la naturaleza y sus encantos que el turismo se esfuerza de utilizar lo mejor posible en su desarrollo y de someterlos a sus intereses económicos. La cuestión es de saber como reconciliar tales oposiciones, es decir, de permitir un desarrollo normal y necesario de industrias, de la calidad de la vida y un desarrollo agresivo de la economía turística que es más que nunca atraída por los lugares pintorescos por una parte, y de preservar la naturaleza y sus encantos por otra parte. El Parque Nacional de los Lagos Plitvice (*National Park of the Plitvice Lakes*) en Yugoslavia representa un ejemplo de realización lograda.

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Le développement du tourisme date de la fin du XIXème siècle et a démontré depuis une tendance rapide, spécialement après la deuxième Guerre Mondiale. En 1983, plus de 20 millions de touristes furent enregistrés en Yougoslavie totalisant environ 100 millions de journées de tourisme. Parallèlement au développement du tourisme, une incitation fut donnée aux activités de protection de la nature et des raretés naturelles. En 1945, la Loi sur la Protection des Monuments Culturels et des Raretés Naturelles (*Law on Protection of Cultural Monuments and Natural Rarities*) de la Fédération Démocratique Yougoslave fut passée comme la première loi particulière dans le domaine de la protection de valeurs naturelles et culturelles.

Le développement rapide de l'industrialisation, du réseau routier, de la mise en valeur de terres ainsi que les mouvements démographiques, ont créé une pression considérable sur la nature et ses charmes que le tourisme s'efforce d'utiliser au mieux dans son développement et de les soumettre à ses intérêts économiques. La question est de savoir comment réconcilier de telles oppositions, c'est-à-dire de permettre un développement normal et nécessaire d'industries, de la qualité de la vie et un développement aggressif de l'économie touristique qui est plus que jamais attirée par des endroits pittoresques d'une part, et de préserver la nature et ses charmes d'autre part. Le Parc National des lacs Plitvice (National Park of the Plitvice Lakes) en Yougoslavie représente un exemple de réalisation réussie.

Parks in the Function of Tourist Economic Development

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The beginning of tourist economic development in Yugoslavia dates to the year 1882, when the first hotel in Opatija was built. The next year, 1883, Opatija had 1,412 tourists from foreign countries and by the end of the century, i.e., in 1899, the number had increased to 15,000, with 333,000 tourist days. Along with increasing numbers of guests grew accommodation capacities and tourism soon spread to neighbouring cities and the future large tourist centres—Dubrovnik in 1893 and on the Plitvice Lakes with the building of the first hotel in 1896.

Tourism advance in Opatija is linked primarily to its climate; in Dubrovnik to cultural and historical features and climatic conditions; in the Plitvice Lakes to their natural beauty. Such a growth trend in the above-mentioned centres has been going on for about 100 years, ranking them among the most-developed tourist places in Yugoslavia.

Parallel with the progress of tourism, some organized cultural activities were restored, in an attempt to preserve vital parts of the living and nonliving nature and to regulate man's relationship to nature and prevent permanent exploitation of its resources for aesthetic, scientific, and economic purposes. The activities of some enthusiastic nature lovers assumed the character of an organized movement for nature protection in the second half of the nineteenth century and thus societies for nature protection were founded. One of the oldest and most successful was The Society for the Organization and Beautification of the Plitvice Lakes and Its Surroundings, founded in Zagreb in 1893. In the same year the songbirds were protected by a hunting act.

On the one hand, tourism as an economic branch has been developing more rapidly than anticipated while on the other,

the movement for preservation of a healthy natural environment is growing, particularly for preserving those natural beauties that are the most exposed to tourist impact. The problem now is how to coordinate tourist wishes and needs for discovering scenic spots and natural values and their full utilization with the protection of such beauties and values.

Development of Tourism

As pointed out above, more than 100 years have passed since the beginning of Yugoslavia's tourist economic development. From a modest start at the end of the past century, the tourist capacities of the country increased up to 47,676 beds in 1938, but fell in 1945 by 6,000 after World War II. Since then, swift growth has been registered, flourishing most fully between 1966 and 1977. In that period the increase in tourist beds was 20,000 per year and in 1971, investment in tourism amounted to 5.4 percent of the total investments made in the country.

The following table shows tourist development in Yugoslavia compared with tourist visits worldwide over the period from 1950 to 1980, by decades:

Number of Tourists (in 000)

In the World	In Yugoslavia	
	Domestic	Foreign
25,500	2,320	41
71,200	4,315	873
169,000	7,112	4,748
285,000	12,125	6,616
	25,500 71,200 169,000	Domestic 25,500 2,320 71,200 4,315 169,000 7,112

According to the above data, the number of tourists in Yugoslavia, as well as throughout the world, shows a contant progression of about 7 percent per year. It indicates that in the year 2000, the number of tourists visiting another country will be about 700 million, while in Yugoslavia the number of foreign tourists comprise about 16 million, or 2.2 percent of the total number. Of course, the consequences of particular short-term crises, such as an economic crisis, tends to decrease the number of tourists. Globally, however, tourism has shown a constant and continuous increase.

Based on polls taken in 1975 as to the reasons for visiting Yugoslavia, 66.3 percent came because of natural beauties; 5.9 percent appreciate our cultural and historical features; and 12.3 percent came to get acquainted with the people and for other reasons. The elementary motivation is for rest and recreation (about 96 percent). The most significant tourism is on the Adriatic Sea, accounting for 68 percent, or 86 percent if we speak of international tourism only. The Adriatic, having a well-indented coast (6,116 kilometres in length plus 725 islands and islets) and a rich submarine world, offers versatile possibilities for tourism promotion. The Adriatic is a very transparent sea with an average temperature of about 16° Celsius while for approximately 120 days per year the average temperature is more than 20° C.

The influence of tourism on social and economic trends can be demonstrated in the following ways:

- 1. An accelerated economic development of tourist regions, above all the coastal zone;
- 2. A great importance in decreasing the balance-of-payments deficit;
- 3. A positive effect on the standard of living of the local population (employment opportunities, etc.);
- 4. A negative impact on the environment, particularly evident in places where a system of protection against the impacts of a project has not been carried out;
- 5. The growth of economic potential and a rising standard of living can have a negative effect on the people (who search for easier jobs, illegal means of making a fortune, commit criminal offences).

In the light of experiences so far, we can conclude that tourism plays an important role in the stabilization of the country, becomes more and more important considering the energy crisis and increasing inflation, and is an important source of foreign currency. To obtain the maximum effects from tourism, it is necessary:

- 1. To concentrate efforts, supported by additional financing, on publicity in foreign markets, so as to intensify the promotion of foreign tourism;
- 2. To collaborate more fully with other tourist countries, particularly neighbouring Mediterranean countries;
- 3. To offer high-quality services and provide enough labor, especially qualified labor;
 - 4. To pay particular attention to landscaping work;

- 5. To improve those tourist industry branches not being sufficiently developed, such as nautical tourism, winter tourism, tourism in alternation (e.g., sea-mountain);
- 6. To develop better interaction with other economic branches with the goal of attaining a united economic complex.

All this is to be achieved with full attention and care for the protection and improvement of the natural and cultural values, giving thus a solid foundation for a further development of the tourist economy.

Development of Protection of Nature

Through the activity of The Society for the Organization and Beautification of the Plitvice Lakes, aided by the forestry offices, the Plitvice Lakes, Bijele Stijene, Stirovaca and Paklenica were proclaimed national parks in 1928-29. Due to uncoordinated legal regulations, the existence of national parks was called into question, but nonetheless it was a significant step forward in nature protection development.

The natural resources have been protected by various laws, such as the aforementioned Hunting Act of 1893, the Cave Protection Act of 1910, the Hunting Act of 1931 (138 species of protected birds), and the Statute on National Parks of 1938. Those legal provisions related to particular segments of nature protection; however, there was no legal basis for uniform protection.

The first uniform law on the protection of nature was enacted in 1945 under the title "The Cultural Monument and Natural Rarities Protection Act." A comprehension of the benefits of protecting Yugoslavia's natural and cultural values was spreading very quickly. By later legal provisions relating to the protection of nature only, such protection was regulated as an activity of a particular social interest. It provided a rational utilization of nature and its resources while creating no principal damage or deformation to its segments and as little disturbance to the balance of its elements as possible. It prevented the harmful intervention of man as a consequence of industrialization and urbanization of the country and other activities and provided more favourable conditions, maintenance, and the free development of nature. It put the living and nonliving nature components under special protection and provided the best conditions for their care and development corresponding to their significance and properties.

Today, fifty-five years after the first proclamation of protection of an area by reason of its natural value, we have twenty national parks under protection with a total surface of approximately 380,000 hectares, or 1.5 percent of the surface of Yugoslavia (256,000 square kilometers). In addition, we have other protected territories (strict preserves, parks of nature, special preserves, park-forests, parks, protected landscapes) with a total surface of about 700,000 hectares, or 3 percent of the country's total area. In total, the protected surface in Yugoslavia comes to over 10,000 square kilometres, or over

4 percent of the country's surface.

Besides the above, many plant and animal species, horticultural monuments, etc., are protected. We intend, of course, to protect many more areas and localities, with a goal of 10 percent of the country's territory. Naturally, formal legal protection is only one in a series of steps toward achieving real protection and we are far from satisfied with conditions in all parks, preserves, and monuments.

It is worth mentioning that to date three natural regions of Yugoslavia have been placed by the UNESCO program on the World Heritage List. These are Plitvice Lakes National Park (Croatia), Durmitor National Park (Montenegro), and Ohrid Lake Preserve (Macedonia). In the network of world biosphere preserves, the mountain of Velebit in Croatia and the Tara River Canyon in Montenegro are included.

National Parks

According to the Nature Protection Law,

the national park is a spacious area of a particular natural, cultural, scientific, pedagogical, educational, esthetical, tourist and recreative value and includes one or more preserved or slightly changed ecological systems. The activities allowed in a national park are those that do not endanger the originality of the plant and animal world, as well as the hydrographical, geomorphological, geological and landscape values of the national park, and the activities for maintaining or reinstating a natural balance.

For national parks, which represent the highest degree of protection, the law establishes a separate management and/or independent work organization. The management of a national park can develop and extend its activity to other fields within or outside the park in addition to protection, landscaping, improvement, and utilization, by evaluating the natural and cultural values of the park.

As an example of a national park development, let us take the oldest and most developed park, the Plitvice Lakes National Park. The park was founded in 1949 by law. It covers a surface of 19,200 hectares, of which 14,500 hectares are woods, 200 hectares lakes, and the rest meadows and agricultural land. The park contains sixteen lakes overflowing one into the other over tufa barriers consisting of travertine limestones. The highest waterfall is 73 meters. The lakes are encircled with beech, fir, and spruce woods.

At the time the park was established, 1,100 inhabitants lived in the area; today the park management alone has 1,600 employees. There has been rapid economic growth, particularly in catering-tourist activities, spurred by the construction of a road through the park. The rapid economic success and increased financial power have allowed more funds to be set

aside to concentrate on protection of the whole park. Thus, according to the most recent plans, the main tourist transversal road will be relocated outside the park on its margin. At the northern end of the park and the new road, an entrance building with a reception area, a camp, and other facilities are under construction. In addition, in the range of 200 meters from the water, all structural elements will be gradually removed, all paid for through the work organization's funds.

To monitor development, the national park provides considerable financial means for scientific and research work. On the basis of the results obtained and the experts' opinions, the work organization has undertaken various activities for the protection and arrangement of the park itself. The national park provides schooling for all its staff in nearby schools and has a very good and qualified personnel.

The income sources of the national park are:

- 1. entrance tickets (US \$2-4) that cover touring by car or boat and parking;
- 2. boat, coach, or bike rental;
- 3. special guided tours;
- 4. one-day fishing permits (trout are angled in the Gacka River);
- 5. scientific and cultural meetings;
- 6. economic-tourist activities (hotels and camps), which cover mainly their own costs;
- 7. souvenir and other shops;
- 8. income from forestry, which is small since generally only a sanitary felling is allowed;
- agricultural activity on its own account, or in cooperation with the farmers (mainly for hotel and restaurant needs);
- 10. economic-hunting activity organized outside the park. The organization of the protection, landscaping, improvement, and utilization of the Plitvice Lakes National Park shows that the balance between the protection of natural resources and an independent economic growth of the park can be put into practice and maintained very successfully.

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Archeological resources found on the bottom of oceans, lakes, and rivers present a special challenge to park managers. In this presentation, methods developed by the U.S. National Park Service for protecting, interpreting, and researching shipwrecks and other cultural remains on submerged lands are addressed.

The National Park Service has placed emphasis on managing submerged sites in place through nondestructive site research and utilization of local park staffs and volunteer sport divers to accomplish routine site monitoring and maintenance functions. The Service also retains a small team of professionals that specializes in surveying, monitoring, and protecting underwater archeological sites. Since there are additional reasons for having rangers as divers, such as body recovery, natural resources management, and facility maintenance, the Service maintains an active collateral duty diving force. A major added benefit to this generalist approach is that local park staff members become directly familiar with submerged lands for which they are responsible. The physical presence of rangers on dive sites has helped greatly in extending the park preservation ethic in the visitor's mind from the land to the underwater environment. The largest problem in submerged sites management is the comparatively low profile it still holds in traditional accountability frameworks for park managers.

Los recursos arqueológicos encontrados en el fondo de los océanos, de los lagos y de los ríos, son un desafío especial para los directores de los parques. Esta ponencia presentará los métodos desarrollados por el Servicio de Parques Nacionales (*National Park Service*) de los Estados Unidos para proteger, interpretar e investigar los restos y los otros vestigios culturales en las tierras sumergidas.

El Servicio de los Parques Nacionales a puesto el acento en la gestión sobre el terreno de los sitios sumergidos a manera de investigación no destructiva de sitios, y por la utilización de empleados de los parques locales y de buceadores voluntarios para efectuar el control de rutina del sitio y las funciones de mantenimiento. El Servicio conserva igualmente un equipo reducido de profesionales que se especializa en el inventario, el control y la protección de los sitios arqeológicos sumergidos. Como existen otras razones para tener los Guardabosques como buceadores, tales como la recuperación de cadáveres,

la gestión de los recursos naturales y el mantenimiento de los locales, el Servicio mantiene un equipo paralelo activo de servicio de buceo. Una ventaja mayor suplementaria de este acercamiento generalista es que los miembros del parque local se familiarizen directamente con las tierras sumergidas de la cual ellos son responsables. La presencia física de los Guardabosques en los sitios de buceo ha ayudado considerablemente a extender, en el espíritu de los visitantes, la ética de preservación de parque del ambiente terreste al ambiente sumergido. El problema más importante en la gestión de los sitios sumergidos es la imagen, comparativamente más restrictiva, que ella guarda todavía dentro de los límites tradicionales de responsabilidad, para los directores de los parques.

Les ressources archéologiques trouvées au fond des océans, des lacs et des fleuves, sont un défi spécial pour les directeurs des parcs. Cet exposé présentera les méthodes développées par le Service des Parcs Nationaux (*National Park Service*) des Etats-Unis pour protéger, interpréter et rechercher les épaves et les autres vestiges culturels dans les terres immergées.

Le Service des Parcs Nationaux a mis l'accent sur la gestion sur place des sites immergés au moyen de recherche non destructive de sites, et par l'utilisation d'employés des parcs locaux et de plongeurs volontaires pour accomplir le contrôle de routine du site et les fonctions de maintenance. Le Service conserve également une équipe réduite de professionnels qui se spécialise dans l'inventaire, le contrôle et la protection de sites archéologiques immergés. Comme il existe d'autres raisons pour avoir des Rangers comme plongeurs, telles que la récupération de corps, la gestion des ressources naturelles et la maintenance des locaux, le Service maintient une équipe parallèle active de service de plongée. Un avantage majeur supplémentaire de cette approche généraliste est que les membres du parc local se familiarisent directement avec les terres immergées dont ils ont la responsabilité. La présence physique de Rangers sur les sites de plongée a considérablement aidé à étendre, dans l'esprit des visiteurs, l'éthique de préservation de parc de l'environnement terrestre à l'environnement immergé. Le problème le plus important dans la gestion des sites immergés est l'image, comparartivement plus restreinte, qu'elle garde encore dans les cadres traditionaux de responsabilité, pour les directeurs des parcs.

Managing Shipwrecks in Parks and Preserves

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It should be clear from other papers presented at this conference that the issue of submerged sites preservation is not unique to a few of the larger seaboard nations. Even landlocked nations may have significant underwater archeological sites in rivers, lakes, and submerged sinkholes and caves.

At Mesa Verde it would seem as if one were a world away from any concerns for underwater archeology. In fact, there is an intact shipwreck site within 150 miles of this podium within the confines of a national park. There are also several hundred prehistoric underwater archeological sites contemporary with the cliff dwellings that surround us in this room within less than a hundred miles of where you are sitting. These, too, are found in a national park.

Over the past fifteen years a consciousness has slowly developed among various park managers that resource management responsibilities do not stop at the water's edge, either at the seacoast or in the desert. A brief survey of the 335 areas of the U.S. National Park System shows that at least 60 of them have significant submerged cultural resources. This figure includes only federal parks and does not take into account state parks or the holdings of other federal agencies.

As park officials in the United States have become increasingly aware of the scope and importance of submerged sites management, so too have their counterparts in other nations. In addition to the work in Canada and Israel reported on at this conference, many other nations, including Great Britain, Australia, New Zealand, Greece, Turkey, the Federated States of Micronesia, and several Caribbean nations, have begun to deal actively with their underwater sites.

Sport divers have become an important visitor use group

in many parks, and they are beginning to expect that their visits to underwater cultural attractions, such as shipwrecks, be met with the same attention by park officials that is accorded their visit to Mesa Verde. Park visitors, be they divers or non-divers, respond well to programs in which submerged archeological sites are protected and interpreted for their benefit. Higher-level officials in the U.S. National Park System have demonstrated by their actions that they are committed to meeting these expectations by instituting an ongoing program of management-oriented research on submerged sites. The objectives of this research are to: 1) identify significant historic and prehistoric resources that are present on submerged lands under the jurisdiction of the National Park Service; 2) develop strategies for protecting these sites from attrition by vandalism and for interpreting them to the diving and nondiving public.

Shipwrecks in particular have been emphasized. They are considered the most threatened type of underwater site because well-financed treasure-hunting organizations are actively searching for wrecks, using highly destructive methods. The remains of sunken vessels often represent an international heritage since they may be carrying vestiges of the material record of other nations. Ignoring the wanton destruction of a colonial-period shipwreck has implications beyond a nation's own political borders. In addition to their historic value and their value as recreational diving attractions to park visitors, shipwreck sites have a social-scientific value that is only beginning to be understood. They bear signatures of prior human behavior that anthropologists are just now developing the capabilities for appreciating in terms of theoretical and methodological research models.

Consider for a moment what happens when a ship carrying supplies from a European nation to one of the colonies in the New World founders and sinks in a storm. A crosssection of all the material culture needed to support everyday activities in a particular environment is deposited in a clearly defined unit on the sea bottom. Barring the chance occasion of another vessel sinking on top of it, there is no confusion with earlier or later cultural activity. The wreck site becomes a discrete snapshot of human behavior at a point in time. This phenomenon has been described by others as a "time capsule" effect, but no matter what it is called, the implication is the same. When properly researched, these sites can tell much about how and why our forebears did particular things. A great deal of the knowledge gleaned from studying shipwreck sites cannot be replicated in any other contextarcheological or archival.

In addition to shipwrecks, there are a wide variety of other underwater archeological sites in parks and preserves. As a result of localized tectonic factors or eustatic sea-level changes, the remains of prehistoric human activity are often present in a marine environment. Consequently, significant portions of the archeological record of many areas in the National Park System are now underwater. This phenomenon occurs at inland sites too, such as in limestone-solution caves and water-filled sinkholes where piezometric levels have mirrored sealevel changes. Cave systems and riverways which have been incorporated into the National Park System for natural resource preservation purposes have been found to have significant cultural resources present in underwater contexts.

Reservoirs offer an interesting variation on this theme. It has become clear that man-made modifications to rivers, such as dams, have side effects which those involved in park management should be aware of. Formerly dry river drainage systems which were the major focus of human activity for millennia become inundated along with all extant archeological sites. These sites often comprise the last discernible residues of the behavior of whole cultural horizons. How a park manager or district engineer deals with the remains of hundreds of archeological sites in a reservoir recreation area under his control was the focus of a major study carried out by U.S. National Park Service archeologists. The results of this research, published in the two-volume National Reservoir Inundation Study, is available free of charge to interested persons through the Service's Washington or Southwest regional offices.

What is the strategy used by the U.S. National Park Service to meet the management objectives for identifying, protecting, and interpreting submerged cultural resources for the benefit of future generations? It is a dual approach which utilizes a small catalyst group of submerged cultural resources specialists but depends largely on the field skills of the generalist in park management—the park ranger. This works because of the existence of a large collateral duty diving program in the National Park Service that serves other park needs. Diving is used

in the U.S. National Park System as a management tool for protection (body recovery and crime-scene investigation), natural resources management (e.g., biological inventory or monitoring), and facility maintenance.

Concerns for cultural resources underwater were comparatively easy to integrate within this overall context. The emphasis has been placed on managing submerged archeological sites in place. A small team of professional underwater archeologists (the Submerged Cultural Resources Unit) is expected to conduct surveys, inventory known sites, and then turn the long-term follow-through activity over to park staffs. This team may also be called on by park managers to deal with specific problems and to train local park rangers in techniques for monitoring and protecting submerged sites under their jurisdiction. Of added interest to managers are the many techniques used in submerged archeological sites documentation that can be used in the criminal investigation and recovery of evidence from underwater contexts. These methods work well also for collecting and interpreting the raw data associated with a diving fatality, plane wreck, etc.

Perhaps the greatest benefit of this predominantly generalist approach is that local staff workers become directly familiar with submerged lands for which they are responsible. The physical presence of protection personnel on dive sites has helped greatly in extending the park preservation ethic in the visitor's mind from the terrestrial to the underwater environment. Some examples of specific parks in which submerged cultural resources research has utilized this approach include Isle Royale National Park in Lake Superior, Point Reyes National Seashore in California, Biscayne National Monument in Florida, Channel Islands National Park in California, Apostle Islands National Lakeshore in Wisconsin, and USS Arizona Memorial in Hawaii.

At Isle Royale National Park the entire known shipwreck population of the park has been nominated to the National Register of Historic Places under a thematic group nomination. The era of developmental steam technology is considered as important as that of sail for archeological research and park interpretation. Many of the later industrial wrecks at Isle Royale are prime visitor attractions. Since they are largely intact, they are being treated both as archeological sites and underwater historic structures. Thus, issues of carrying capacity, on-site interpretation, underwater trails, and visitor safety must be addressed in the same manner as with historic structures on land. The fact that park staff have become familiar with these largely intact vessels has also proved helpful in dealing with the three diving fatalities and one crippling injury that have occurred at the park.

At Point Reyes National Seashore the emphasis has been placed upon survey activities. Through cooperation with the National Oceanographic and Atmospheric Administration and the U.S. Coast Guard, the National Park Service has been able to conduct intensive electronically positioned underwater

remote sensing studies that have pinpointed four shipwrecks and the probable location of several others. It will be necessary to follow up on this phase 1 remote sensing survey with extensive test excavations of those areas where heavy sediment hides the source of magnetic anomalies located during the survey.

At Biscayne National Monument, George Fischer of the Service's Southeast Archeological Center has conducted site-specific studies of several wrecks and obtained the assistance of the Submerged Cultural Resources Unit in locating a ship-wreck that was contested in court by treasure hunters. In all of these cases, the use of park rangers as a major component of the research dive team has been an important aspect of the methodology.

At Apostle Islands National Lakeshore, the USS Arizona Memorial, and War in the Pacific National Historical Park in Guam, another element is being worked into the equation which increases productivity and cost effectiveness—the use of volunteer sport divers. Local diving buffs who are often instructors or highly experienced avocational divers have been encouraged to participate as volunteers in conducting submerged sites inventories. They are covered under the Service's Volunteers-in-Parks Program which provides certain benefits in case of injury on the job and permits paying minor job-incurred personal expenses.

In the mid-Atlantic region, the parallels in problem-solving approaches shared by archeology and the forensic sciences have become the basis for a cooperative program with the Virginia State Police, initiated by the National Park Service Regional Archeologist and Regional Dive Officer. State troopers who are active members of their own organization's dive team participate in joint training efforts and fieldwork with National Park rangers from parks in that region. Both agencies can now utilize each other's personnel for documenting archeological sites or accident scenes.

The examples given here are heavily concentrated on the U.S. National Park System, but other nations have taken great strides in management of submerged archeological sites on public lands. Parks Canada has a well-established underwater archeological capability which has focused on excavation of a Basque whaling ship in Red Bay, Labrador. Fathom Five Provincial Park in Tobermory, Ontario, has been the testing ground for a comprehensive management approach to shipwreck sites. In addition, the West Australia Museum has ex-

perimented successfully with underwater monuments designating shipwreck heritage sites.

While submerged cultural sites management in parks and preserves is definitely coming into its own in many parts of the world, there are still many problems. Even in those nations where the issue has achieved greater visibility, a double standard often exists in the minds of park managers. The tendency is to look at submerged archeological sites as the second priority after the land resources have been taken care of. Degree of wetness, however, is a poor criterion for assessing cultural resources management priorities. This situation will probably not be corrected until there is increased accountability for the consequences of decisions made concerning the disposition of submerged sites. A park superintendent usually does not have his or her performance evaluated on the basis of what has been done or not done with shipwrecks, an element of the resource base one's superiors will probably never see firsthand. Fortunately for the resources, it is from the ranks of park superintendents themselves that much of the new awareness and sensitivity to submerged sites has been generated. The career ladder to higher management in most park systems tends to be traditional, i.e., drawing from the ranks of long-time field protection and resource management personnel. It is hoped that continued strong support of a collateral duty diving program will result eventually in a greater number of people in leadership roles who have had first-hand experience with submerged sites.

Submerged cultural resources awareness in the U.S. National Park System is following a path of development which parallels that of many other new thrusts in agencies all over the world. What started as an exotic aspect of cultural resources management defended by certain advocates among agency archeologists and senior field staff in the parks has become accepted as a legitimate concern of any custodian of water-based resources. The major problem now is the backlog in survey and assessment that has accrued for decades because of the lack of appropriate technology to extend conventional methods of archeological inventory to the underwater environment. The threat to submerged cultural resources by those who traffic in antiquities is greater than to terrestrial sites because of a romantic notion that archeological residues from shipwrecks are often "treasures" of high intrinsic value. Now, more than ever, managers should begin thoughtful assessment and management of their underwater resources.

Caesarea Maritima, a seaport and capital city founded by Herod the Great c. 10 B.C., had a rich millenial history as a crossroads between eastern and western culture. Its archeological monuments, particularly those now submerged beneath the Mediterranean Sea, are an important part of the world's cultural heritage. But because of its location between Tel Aviv and Haifa along Israel's rapidly developing coastline, this national park and world archeological site is under siege. Recent and planned industrial and business activities threaten the integrity of a unique testimony to the achievements of ancient man. This report will present the problems, pressures, successes, and failures of various agencies to preserve an international cultural resource in the face of the exigencies of the present.

Caesarea Marítima, puerto marítimo y ciudad fundada por Herodes el Grande c. 10 a. de J.C., tenía una rica historia milenaria como encrucijada entre las culturas del este y del poniente. Sus monumentos arqueológicos, particularmente los ya sumergidos bajo el mar Mediterráneo, forman parte importante del patrimonio cultural del mundo. Mas por causa de su posición entre Tel Aviv y Haifa a lo largo de la costa de Israel que se desarrolla rápidamente, este parque nacional y

paraje arqueológico mundial esta bajo sitio. Las actividades recienes y planificadas de negocios e industrias amenazan la integridad de un testimonio único a los logros del hombre antiguo. Este reporte presentará los problemas, las presiones, los éxitos y fracasos de varias agencias para conservar un recurso cultural internacional frente a las exigencias del presente.

Caesara Maritima, port maritime et ville capitale fondée par Hérode le Grand au 10ème siècle av. J.C., possèdait une riche histoire millénaire comme carrefour entre les cultures de l'Est et de l'Ouest. Ses monuments archéologiques, en particulier ceux qui sont actuellement submergés par la Mer Méditerranée, représentent une part importante du patrimoine culturel mondial. Mais en raison de sa localisation entre Tel Aviv et Haifa, le long du littoral d'Israël, qui connait une croissance rapide, ce parc national et site archéologique mondial est en état de siège. Les récentes activités industrielles et commerciales menacent l'intégrité d'un témoignage unique des accomplissements de l'homme antique. Ce rapport présentera les problèmes, les pressions, les succès et les échecs des diverses agences pour préserver une ressource culturelle internationale face aux exigences du présent.

Caesarea Maritima, Israel: A National Park and an International Archeological Monument Under Siege

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Caesarea Maritima, a national park of Israel and an international monument of unique importance, is currently under siege. Modern encroachment and development threaten its existence and integrity as an important cultural resource. In this regard, Caesarea hardly stands alone. Throughout the world, sites like Caesarea are in jeopardy as society seeks to balance the needs of the present with a responsibility to conserve our common heritage for the future.

As an archeologist and historian, I am not qualified to offer new insights to our shared concerns for preserving the legacy of our past. My goal today is simply to alert you, a colloquium of concerned experts on cultural resource and parks management, to a site of international importance that is in danger. Perhaps you, and the wider audience the proceedings of this congress will reach, can help to avert a potential tragedy of enormous consequences. In this regard, it might even be appropriate to suggest that Caesarea Maritima be considered as a possible addition to the World Heritage List as a positive step toward meeting the challenges which it faces.

Almost 2,000 years ago, a magnificent metropolis arose from the sand dunes of the Palestinian coast. Beginning about 22 B.C., Herod the Great, King of Judaea, started construction of an international port city with a huge harbor facility in the northern sector of his kingdom, at a point that today is approximately midway between Tel Aviv and Haifa. The location he selected was distinguished by the ruins of an earlier Hellenistic settlement called Strato's Tower. City walls and a partially silted harbor basin that cut into the coast were the only significant remains of this relatively unimportant coastal station.

Apart from these man-made remnants, there were no special natural features to recommend the site. The coast itself was unstable, devoid of protected anchorages and dangerous to mariners. Offshore vermetid platforms posed serious threats to navigation, a strong south-to-north current ran parallel to the shore, and this section of the Levantine littoral was buffeted by severe storms in the winter and frequently by high seas even in the summer during the ancient sailing season. Finally, there was no readily available surface source of potable water in the immediate vicinity.

None of these considerations deterred Herod. In fact, the very challenges imposed by this difficult site may have appealed to the king's building megalomania.² The creator of Masada, the Temple in Jerusalem, the summer palace at Jericho, Samaria-Sebaste, Herodium, and a score of lesser sites was not easily dissuaded. His new city would stand where none had ever stood before. It would be the crown jewel in his vast construction program and would be resplendent with the full complement of public and private buildings that adorned the major urban centers of his day.

Building proceeded rapidly. In little more than a decade, his dream had been realized. By about 12 or 10 B.C., a new city of immediate international prominence had been carved from the sandy coast of Palestine. Marble adorned Caesarea's many public buildings. Statuary, temples, fountains, baths, a theater, an amphitheater, a hippodrome, and a forum were all part of Herod's building program. All the engineering problems posed by the site were met on a grand scale. No expense was spared. By the time of its dedication, Caesarea was a grandiose physical testimony of Herod's loyalty to Augustus Caesar,

his political patron in Rome. Josephus, the ancient historian who wrote about Caesarea, speaks in extravagant prose of its opulence and grandeur.³ It was worthy of its name, Caesarea Maritima.

Perhaps its most impressive architecture, at least according to Josephus, was the colossal harbor. It was named Sebastos, the Greek equivalent of Augustus, to further honor Herod's imperial patron. Josephus states that this facility was equal in size to Piraeus, the harbor of Athens. Although he tells us how the engineers working for the king had to overcome incredible obstacles to complete their work, Josephus was unaware of the truly pioneer nature of their accomplishments. Sebastos was the first artificial harbor constructed on such a grand scale out into the open sea from a sandy coastline bereft of natural anchorages. To build this engineering wonder of the ancient world, Herod's engineers used a new building material, hydraulic concrete, on a massive scale. This substance could be poured into the open sea in a liquid state where it hardened underwater.

From the moment of its birth until its death as a major city in A.D. 639/640, when it fell to the Arabs, Caesarea Maritima served as the political center of Palestine and was a major intellectual, religious, and economic center of the eastern Mediterranean. As the nucleus of a region that itself served as a crossroads of east and west, its importance cannot be overstated. A catalog of individuals who contributed to the history and life of this city reads like a "who was who in antiquity."

The tempo of life slowed during the Arab occupation when Caesarea became an important agricultural center on the fringes of a desert kingdom. With the advent of the Crusader era in A.D. 1095, the city, with its harbor now in a ruinous state, again attracted the interest of the west. The city was taken by Frankish knights in A.D. 1101 and revived to serve as a major military harbor and an important pilgrim landfall until its final destruction in A.D. 1291 at the hands of the Mamluks.

Quickly nature reclaimed what man had constructed. Except for occasional Bedouin encampments and miscellaneous squatters, the site remained abandoned until late in the nineteenth century. As the Ottoman Turks began to retrench in the Balkans, a small group of Bosnian Moslems were relocated within the confines of the ancient city. These Bosnians built a small village and lived among the ruins of the Crusader fortifications until the creation of the state of Israel in 1948. A mosque and restored Bosnian buildings which now contain numerous seaside shops are reminders in the national park itself of this unexpected chapter of the site's history.

The site of Caesarea Maritima is an archeologist's dream. Its importance as a major cultural center for various civilizations along a primary east-west communication system is well-documented in the surviving literary sources. Only a small portion of the ancient city has been investigated to date, but

even these limited explorations confirm the impression of the extant texts.⁵ Caesarea is clearly an archeological monument of international importance.⁶ Of equal importance is the site's accessibility for archeological research. Until the last decade, development of this section of the Israeli coast was limited. Much of the area of interest is still unoccupied.

Under the sea, the situation is much the same. The nowsubmerged remains of one of antiquity's largest and most sophisticated harbor facilities extend for several kilometers.⁷ Josephus was quite accurate in his praise and description of Sebastos. This underwater site is unique in its size and design and no other major ancient harbor is so readily available to scientific explorations. Modern use of this section of coast is limited to some small-scale fishing operations and occasional recreational activity. There are no industrial installations or maritime commerce on a large scale to hamper archeological investigations.

Fortunately the land and underwater remains are afforded some protection by the Israeli government. A portion of ancient Caesarea has been preserved as a cultural park and an archeological zone, and is presumably in no immediate danger. The Department of Antiquities controls much of the area and has permitted archeological investigations by Israeli and foreign scholars since the 1950s. Much more work is planned for this vast archeological zone.

The National Parks and Monuments Authority also exercises jurisdiction over portions of the ancient site. The Roman theater was restored in the mid-1960s by this agency, and it now serves as an important center for cultural activities in the summer months. The Crusader fortifications have also been restored, sections of the ancient city have been excavated and exposed for public viewing, and several Bosnian buildings within the Crusader walls have been renovated to provide basic tourist services. A small bathing beach amidst the ruins and numerous fine restaurants on the waterfront of the ancient city help to make this cultural park one of Israel's most popular tourist attractions.

Yet the future of Caesarea is cloudy. Archeologists are not the only individuals interested in Caesarea, and after centuries of neglect the ancient site and its immediate environs once again bustle with building and life. As at so many cultural sites in Israel and elsewhere in the world, the demands of the present threaten the legacy of the past. The Caesarea coastline is one of the most beautiful areas of Israel and the most attractive for modern business interests. Political and economic pressures on the government to allow further development are intense and mounting. The revival of the region has begun and is accelerating rapidly, abated only by Israel's current economic crisis. Thus, an international monument of extraordinary importance is under siege, and the survival and recovery of an important chapter of western civilization which lies beneath the sand dunes of Caesarea is threatened by the needs of a modern industrial society.

In 1940 Kibbutz Sdot Yam was founded within the confines of the urban precincts of the ancient city. It has grown and prospered and its fields of bananas, cotton, barley, and citrus, which now cover large sections of what had been Caesarea, are expanding yearly. This agricultural success has been at the expense of some of the archeological remains of the ancient city in that cultivation has destroyed a portion of the artifactual record of the past. Other areas of prime archeological concern are no longer available for investigation for the same reason.

The kibbutz also manufactures ceramic tiles. Effluent from this activity is discharged into the sea south of the site and carried north by the prevailing current, adversely affecting the public beaches along the Caesarea coastline.

In the last decade, an extensive colony of modern villas has arisen north of Caesarea's urban center precisely where the Roman rulers had their seaside estates. In some cases, segments of the ancient buildings have been incorporated into the modern structures. Too often the remains of the Roman and Byzantine villas have been destroyed to make way for new ones. Along with elegant homes and private swimming pools, various support services such as a supermarket, a riding stable, and a hotel with golf course have been built, all to the detriment of the ancient ruins on which they have been constructed. This growth continues today and will intensify as Israel's economic difficulties subside.

To the south of Caesarea, the Israel Electric Company is now completing one of the largest generating installations in the country. The construction of this plant required building a 1,000-meter-long breakwater into the sea to accommodate tankers bringing coal for the facility's generators. This breakwater has disturbed the natural processes along this section of littoral and has contributed to coastal erosion at the site of the ancient city. Numerous other monuments along the coast are also now threatened, most notably the aqueducts that brought water to the ancient city from Mount Carmel. Another potential problem may be pollutants from the two huge smokestacks of this generating facility, although it is too early to predict what effect, if any, these emissions will have on the exposed ruins.

The Caesarea Development Corporation, a private business group with extensive financial commitments in Caesarea, is attempting to build an international yachting marina along the coast. The National Parks and Monuments Authority and the Department of Antiquities are challenging this proposal. Current Israeli law does not recognize submerged terrestrial sites as distinct archeological zones, which makes the struggle for their preservation and protection that much more difficult. The fate of this project is now in the hands of the Israeli courts.

The pressures on the site mount daily. Other individuals and groups await the outcome of the current litigation over the yacht basin. The future will see more efforts to remove some of Israel's most valuable seaside from the protective

covenants of the state's archeological laws and to open the lands around the park to unauthorized, hasty, or insensitive commercial development.

Certainly in this regard Caesarea is not unique. Throughout Israel and the world, other cultural parks face the same forces of siege. But I am sanguine regarding this site's future. Given Israel's regard for its past and parks, I know Caesarea will survive. Some areas of the ancient city may be lost every year to other purposes, but the core section of the ancient city will be preserved for future archeological investigations. Monuments already uncovered will be conserved and restored. The park will eventually be developed more fully as an Israeli and international cultural resource.

Still, more could and should be done. A creative leadership by concerned governmental agencies acting cooperatively rather than reacting to individual assaults might permit Caesarea to become a model for other cultural sites both in Israel and around the world. So much of the ancient city has not yet been developed that the opportunities for innovative efforts to satisfy all interest groups are still possible.

It is most important that Caesarea's underwater archeological remains be preserved or explored thoroughly before modern development begins. Submerged coastal sites like this one are not generally covered by specific archeological laws and therefore are especially vulnerable. The underwater harbor facilities now under exploration are a unique laboratory for marine archeology. Excavations to date have provided information about ancient technology unavailable anywhere else in the Mediterranean. This opportunity to increase our knowledge of a dimly understood segment of the ancient world should not be lost through ignorance or indifference.

Herod's city faced many vicissitudes in its long history. Today's challenges are no less serious than those of the past. Caesarea will endure in some fashion, but with an international concern for the survival of this cultural resource, creative leadership on the part of involved Israeli government agencies, and a public awareness of Caesarea's importance, the siege of the ancient city might end altogether. Bureaucrats, scholars, businesspeople, and Kibbutz Sdot Yam can still work together to achieve common ends.

The past cannot be permitted to tyrannize the present. A society must make collective decisions regarding the often-conflicting need to preserve its past while building its future. But on the other hand, the past cannot be ignored or forgotten. Caesarea's future must represent such a compromise.

Notes

1. The best recent histories of Caesarea Maritima are: J. Ringel, Cesaree de Palestine (Paris: Editions Ophrys, 1975); L. I. Levine, Caesarea under Roman Rule (Leiden: Brill, 1975); and Roman Caesarea, Monographs of the Institute of Archaeology, Hebrew University 2 (Jerusalem: Hebrew University, 1975).

These accounts cover only the history and some of the archeological investigations at the ancient site. They do not discuss Caesarea's development or role as an Israeli national park. To the best of my knowledge, no such statement exists in either English or Hebrew.

- 2. For observations regarding possible political and economic reasons for building Caesarea, see A. Raban and R.L. Hohlfelder, "The Ancient Harbors of Caesarea Maritima," *Archaeology* 34 (1981): 56-60.
 - 3. Josephus, Jewish War 1: 408-14; Jewish Antiquities 15: 331-41.
- 4. For an account of the pouring of this concrete, see L. Vann, "Herod's Harbor Construction Recovered Underwater," Biblical Archaeology Review 9 (1983): 10-14. A more detailed study is by J. P. Oleson in Mediterranean Harbours of Antiquity, ed. A. Raban, in press in the B.A.R. series (Oxford) with publication scheduled for 1985.
- 5. The most complete report of any excavation to date is by A. Frova, *Scavi di Caesarea Maritima* (Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 1966). A more recent popular account of the excavations conducted by the Joint Expedition to Caesarea is by R.J. Bull, "Caesarea Maritima: The Search for Herod's City," *Biblical Archaeology Review* 8 (1982): 24-40. This account should be read with caution for it contains numerous errors.
- 6. An interesting note announcing the formation of a private group called the Caesarea World Monument appeared in *Biblical Archaeology Review* 8 (1982): 41. This organization was affiliated in some way with Professor Bull's excavation (see note 5). Its program for Caesarea was an ambitious one. It included plans to restore the hippodrome, which is now under banana cultivation, for world-class track and equestrian events,

and to raise columns along one of Caesarea's north-south streets (incorrectly called the *Cardo Maximus*). Three columns were actually restored and repositioned in 1982. No other activities have taken place at the site since that date. The group's status today is uncertain.

- 7. It appears that sections of the coastline have subsided since ancient times. This subsidence may be due to the liquefaction of sediment beneath the artificial breakwaters that formed the ancient harbor or to slumping caused by the presence of a geological fault or faults offshore. See N.C. Flemming, A. Raban, and C. Goetschel, "Tectonic and Eustatic Changes on the Mediterranean Coast of Israel in the Last 9000 Years," *Progress in Underwater Science* (London: Pentech Press, 1978), 33-93, esp. 59-65.
- 8. The most recent account of the underwater explorations is J.P. Oleson, R.L. Hohlfelder, A. Raban, and R.L. Vann, "The Caesarea Ancient Harbor Excavation Project (CAHEP): Preliminary Report on the 1980-1983 Seasons," Journal of Field Archaeology 11 (1984): 281-305. CAHEP is a tri-national consortium of universities (Haifa, Colorado, Maryland, and Victoria) that operates under the aegis of the Center for Maritime Studies of the University of Haifa, the American Schools of Oriental Research, and the Israeli Department of Antiquities. Explorations have been generously funded by the National Geographic Society, the National Endowment for the Humanities, the Social Science and Humanities Research Council of Canada, the Caesarea Development Corporation, the four institutional members, and numerous private donors. The author serves as codirector of CAHEP.



The round tower in Cliff Palace is not a common construction in the cliff dwellings and why this one was built is unknown. From its location it could not have served effectively as a lookout nor has any ceremonial nature been uncovered.

Precis

There is a growing interest in submerged heritage resources that is manifested in a tendency to designate and preserve cultural ruins. A number of considerations accompany the creation of submerged parks, among them an appropriate geographical location, adequate protective legislation and appropriate enforcement, and interpretive programs for visitors and the diving community. Other important elements are security of both the cultural remains and the visitors, access to the park and to the sites, the projected objectives or justification for the park, and of course the budgetary constraints.

Progress in the development of these parks is most rapid and more common in British Columbia, on Canada's west coast. However, the leading submerged park is Fathom Five Provincial Park in Ontario. Societies of amateur submarine archeologists and diving clubs have played an active role in the study, protection, and control of the sites. They have also been responsible for the recognition and classification of cultural remains as heritage sites.

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Existe un interés creciente por los recursos sumergidos de patrimonio, que se manifiesta por una tendencia hacia la designación y la preservación de ruinas culturales. Numerosos consideraciones acompañan la creación de parques sumergidos. Entre ellos, se encuentra una localización geográfica apropiada, una legislación adecuada para la protección de los parques y acción de cumplimiento apropiada, y programas de interpretación están en contacto con los visitantes y la comunidad de buceo. Otros elementos importantes son la seguridad—de ambos los restos culturales y los visitantes, el acceso al parque y a los sitios, los objetivos proyectados o el propósito del parque y, por supuesto, los apremios presupuestarios.

Los progresos en el desarrollo de los parques son muy

rápidos y muy generales en Columbia Británica, en la costa occidental del Canadá. Sin embargo, el primer parque sumergido es el Parque Provincial de Fathom Five (Fathom Five Provincial Park) en Ontario. Las sociedades de aficionados en la arqueología submarina y los clubs de buceo han desempeñado un papel activo en el estudio, la protección y el control de los sitios. Ellos igualmente han sido responsables por el reconocimiento y por la clasificación de restos culturales como sitios de patrimonio.

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Il existe un intérêt croissant pour les ressources immergées du patrimoine, qui se manifeste par une tendance vers la désignation et la préservation des ruines culturelles. De nombreuses considérations accompagnent la création des parcs immergés. Parmi elles, nous trouvons une localisation géographique appropriée, une législation adéquate pour la protection des parcs et sa mise en vigueur appropriée, des programmes d'interprétation pour entrer en contact avec les visiteurs et la communauté de plongée. D'autres éléments importants sont la sécurité—à la fois des ruines culturelles et des visiteurs—l'accès au parc et aux sites, les objectifs projetés ou la raison d'être du parc et, bien entendu, les contraintes budgétaires.

Les progrès dans le développement du parc sont plus rapides et plus généraux en Colombie Britannique, sur la côte ouest du Canada. Néanmoins, le premier parc immergé est le Parc Provincial de Fathom Five dans l'Ontario (Fathom Five Provincial Park). Des sociétés d'amateurs en archéologie sousmarine et des clubs de plongée ont joué un rôle actif dans l'étude, la protection et le contrôle des sites. Ils ont également été responsables de la reconnaissance et de la classification de ruines culturelles en tant que sites du patrimoine.

Heritage Resources: Underwater Parks in Canada

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Introduction

Canada was settled from the sea, and now with its frontier being pushed to the Arctic Ocean, attention is again turning, although somewhat belatedly, to the marine environment, its heritage resources, and the management of both (Marsh 1980, 3). The concept of marine parks was first publicised on the international level in 1962, at the First World Conference on National Parks. There, the governments of nations with associated marine environments were invited to "examine as a matter of urgency the possibility of creating marine parks or reserves to defend underwater areas of significance from all forms of human interference and further recommends the extension of existing national parks and environmental reserves with shorelines, into the water to the ten fathom depth or the territorial limit or some other appropriate boundary" (U.S. Department of the Interior 1962).

Canada endorsed this concept, and between 1969 and 1972 established four coastal national parks. Unfortunately of these only one, Pacific Rim National Park on the west coast of Vancouver Island, is actually marine-oriented. In other parks, the term ''marine'' may be used to indicate anything from proximity to, but not including, water to even freshwater areas.

It is at the provincial level where the greatest action has been taken to establish marine and freshwater underwater park and preserve areas. Most of these were created with the natural environment in mind, but there is an increasing trend toward the designation and preservation of cultural remains.

Planning and Management

A brief summary of planning and management considerations

is a prerequisite to the examination of specific parks and the means by which these areas deal with management problems. First, there is the term "park." This, as opposed to "preserve," connotes a relationship to recreation, interpretation, and environmental education. A park is intended for public use and enjoyment while still offering protection to the resource(s) for which it was initially created.

This raises a number of needs and problems. Successful management of submerged heritage resources involves, at the most basic level, an appropriate geographic location, adequate protective legislation, a means to enforce the latter, and a comprehensive program of interpretation in conjunction with visitor liaison activities. Each of these offers a wide range of alternatives. For example, with respect to location, before an underwater park can be established in the Province of British Columbia, no fewer than two federal and eight provincial acts must be satisfied—including such issues as the assurance of noninterference with navigation and commercial fisheries.

Related considerations are transportation or access to the area and proximity to safety facilities (such as decompression chambers and hospitals). Clearly, these are crucial for underwater parks where visitors cannot always be closely monitored.

Legislation is less of a problem since once an area has been accepted for designation, the protective mechanisms are usually already extant and only have to be brought into force. There is, however, the problem of enforcement. Boat patrols are not always feasible either from a financial or a practical standpoint. They are also not very effective unless divers are actually caught in the act of bringing objects to the surface. Diving patrols have not been attempted as they are not viable from

the perspective of cost and efficiency. The most practical answer lies in the cultivation of good relations—a "social contract" with the diving community at large.

Most diving clubs are conscientious and provide an effective self-policing service. In fact, in Canada many groups of divers have organised into societies for site preservation; some on the west coast have been instrumental in the creation of most of the extant underwater parks and designated submerged heritage sites. In the Province of Ontario, Save Our Shipwrecks (SOS) and Protect our Wrecks (POW) play active roles in training, lecturing, and even offering advice on preventing attacks of VD (Vandalising Divers).

One means of establishing a good rapport with diving visitors is through interpretive programs. In areas where visitors have to rely on public or park transportation for access to a dive area, they constitute a "captive" audience for safety advice, orientation pointers, park regulation lectures, and explanations of the park's resources.

Such a situation does not apply to local divers who probably have their own boats. These people could be reached by established local liaison activities. Also, despite the loss of control over entry to the park where local visitors are concerned, some of the user impact would be more evenly distributed.

In implementing an interpretive program for an underwater park, it is most important to bear in mind the following: the goals of the park (preservation versus recreation); the type of visitor (age range, local versus nonlocal, degree of skill required for access to various areas); the attributes of the resource(s) featured in the park; the park's capacity to handle visitors adequately (special needs of divers, facilities for nondivers); the form of access to the park (road versus boat, private versus public); and most important, the budget (both initial and sustaining, and its source). These elements determine what is required for sufficient preservation and interpretation of resources. Examples include land-based displays, displays mounted on dive rafts anchored over cultural remains, plaques and maps on the sites, guided or self-guided underwater tours, floating moors for dive boats, and glass-bottomed boats or viewing ports for nondivers.

The degree of development or commercialization of an area depends largely, but not exclusively, on the stated purpose of the park. Certainly some have been established in already heavily populated or popular areas where a good deal of development cannot be avoided. Canadian underwater parks tend to avoid commercialism as much as possible, but some do use cultural materials to create purely recreational dive parks.

Underwater Parks

The following is a brief survey of what has been done in underwater park and preserve areas, focusing on cultural remains and moving across Canada from west to east.

The diving community of British Columbia has done the

most to draw government attention to the heritage resources in its waters. Their persistence is illustrated by an instance near Whytecliff in West Vancouver where the divers felt that sea life was being threatened. When appeals for park status became embroiled in red tape, the divers put up a sign proclaiming the area a park and enforced their own "honour system" until official designation came through. This is only one example of several such occurrences.

Two other areas, Indian Arm and Porteau Cave, have since been officially designated Underwater Provincial Parks. Indian Arm includes three islands and has mainly a natural focus. There is a possibility that it may become a national park. Porteau Cove contains three deliberately submerged vessels to act as dive destinations and an artificial reef to attract sea life for recreational viewing.

Most active of the dive groups is the Underwater Archaeological Society of British Columbia (UASBC) which has produced films and numerous publications to augment public awareness of cultural resources. They have also worked for the British Columbia Heritage Conservation Branch in conducting comprehensive surveys, and have been responsible for the official designation of four vessels as heritage sites, around which there are protective zones; more are pending. The society has placed plaques on these vessels describing the ship and requesting divers to respect the integrity of the site. Mooring floats have also been installed above heritage wrecks to minimize damage from dive boat anchors. Although the society continues to monitor the designated sites and report to the Heritage Conservation Branch, it feels that little is being done by the government to curb vandalism.

Moving to Alberta, in which there *is* water contrary to popular opinion, there are three areas, all situated in national parks, where research into submerged heritage resources is taking place. These locations automatically offer blanket protection to the sites, in spite of the fact that the National Parks Act was drafted in 1930, prior to the adoption of SCUBA. Ironically, these sites would be offered more stringent protection if not within park confines by the very strict Alberta Historical Resources Act.

Diving is not expressly permitted in these parks although it is tolerated. The main concern is safety, as the lakes are very deep and the nearest decompression facilities are in Vancouver; flying a stricken diver over the mountains would complicate most diving ailments.

Examples of the types of submerged cultural remains in these parks include a World War II vessel prototype in Patricia Lake, Jasper; two townsites, a bridge, several piers, and two dams in Lake Minnewanka, and a sternwheel steamboat and a lumber mill in Waterton Lakes. Other remains are also known to exist but many have not yet been located.

It is interesting to note that nowhere in Canada is there an underwater cultural park focusing on prehistoric remains. The closest contenders are probably Lake Minnewanka, where 10,000-year-old Clovis points have been found at and below water level and for which an interpretive display was recommended (MacIntyre and Reeves 1975), and Fathom Five Provincial Park in Ontario.

Fathom Five is the only freshwater underwater park in the world. Located at the tip of the Bruce Peninsula in southern Ontario, it was officially opened in 1972 and received a land base in 1979. It has sixteen known wrecks and another six are suspected to be within the park's boundaries. Ongoing survey and recording projects offer further interpretation possibilities. This park has a very high potential for prehistoric cultural remains and also offers extremely varied geological and living natural resources. As on the west coast, mooring buoys are provided, and interpretation and safety play major roles. Divers are required to register at the visitors' centre where they receive maps and data about the wrecks. Earlier plans for underwater walkways have been discarded in favour of viewing ports for landlubbers. Fathom Five is the only provincial park with patrol boats. It is also the only park where a conviction has been obtained for theft of submerged heritage

A final example, although not a government-sponsored park, is Morrison's Quarry, Quebec. It is a privately owned, water-filled limestone quarry with a spiral road around the perimetre. It contains several deliberately submerged sites, such as an eight-seat aircraft and an old wooden boat, for the purpose of providing purely recreational diving with objects to act as goals. The road allows divers to seek a depth with which they are comfortable.

Conclusions

It is in discussing such "created" parks that disagreement arises between divers who prefer "real" sites, as opposed to those who feel that it is the sport that matters. The former feel that deliberate wrecks and "prepared" parks have no worth, while the latter believe that such recreational dive parks take the pressure off genuinely significant sites. Obviously, there is no one correct answer; different types of parks suit different types of divers. What is needed is a system of parks which offers a variety of experiences, from aesthetic appreciation of wrecks and/or underwater wilderness to guided tours. One park simply cannot offer everything to everyone and should not be expected to do so. Conflicts between user groups must be avoided, such as snorkelers versus water skiers, spear

fishermen versus boat fishermen, and very advanced versus novice divers.

There will always be a small percentage of people who in seeking their version of "adventure" are going to be safety hazards since they will see any regulation of their activities in the parks as a threat to their "freedom." It is these people to whom interpretive programs must be directed. Fortunately in Canada positive peer pressure is quite strong and wellguided; however, some problems still remain. As David Griffiths, President of the Underwater Archaeological Society of British Columbia commented, if plaques are placed on significant vessel remains, they increase the monetary worth of stolen items because the objects have been given background and authenticity; but if the vessels are not marked, other divers see them as free pickings. What is to be done—mark the unimportant wrecks?

We are left with the problem of what can be done in the interim while interpretive programs are trying to convince more members of the diving community to leave the cultural sites intact. At this point there are no guaranteed solutions. One possibility might be more stringent penalties for infractions of heritage legislation, especially if support from the courts is stronger.

Acknowledgments

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Precis

The first zone designated for the preservation of natural and cultural properties in New Zealand was Tongariro National Park. This took place in 1887, when the Maori chief Te Heuheu Tukino gave the volcanic region of Tongariro to the nation on the condition that it could never be sold, desecrated, or exploited. Recently new regions of cultural importance have applied to the state for protection. These zones include the Bay of Islands Maritime and Historic Park and the Otago Goldfields Park.

New Zealand has taken an active part in the preservation of natural and cultural resources of other countries. Among the countries helped are Samoa, Papua New Guinea, Burma, Fiji, Peru, and Nepal. In Nepal, New Zealand lent its support to the establishment of Sagamartha National Park which includes the highest mountain in the world, Mount Everest (Sagamartha).

In addition to sending experienced personnel to help other countries, New Zealand has also trained foreign personnel. The training school in the center of the North Island has trained people from diverse nationalities in the areas of cultural management, conservation, planning, forestry, construction and restoration of buildings, interpretation, and medical aid.

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La primera zona designado para la preservación de las cualidades naturales y culturales en Nueva Zelanda fue el Parque Nacional de Tongariro (*Tongariro National Park*). Esto tomó lugar en 1887, cuando el jefe Maori, Te Heuheu Tukino, hizo un regalo de la región volcánica de Tongariro a la nación para que no se pusiera jamás en venta, profanara o explotara. Recientemente las nuevas regiones de importancia cultural han recurrido al estado para protección. Estas zonas incluyen el Parque Histórico y Marítimo de la Bahía de las Islas (*Bay of Islands Maritime and Historic Park*) y el Parque de los Campos Auríferos de Otago (*Otago Goldfields Park*).

La Nueva Zelanda ha tomado parte activa en la preservación de los recursos naturales y culturales de otros países. Entre los países ayudados se encuentran las islas Samoa, la Papú Nueva Guinea, Birmania, las islas Fiji, el Perú y Nepal. En Nepal, la Nueva Zelanda aporta su ayuda para establecer el Parque Nacional de Sagamartha (Sagamartha National Park) que incluye la montaña de más elevación del mundo, la Montaña Everest (Sagamartha).

La Nueva Zelanda, además de enviar personal experimentado para ayudar a los otros países, ha aceptado formar los personales extranjeros. La escuela de Formación de Turangi, en el centro de la Isla del Norte, ha formado personas de diversas nacionalidades en el dominio de la gestión cultural y de la conservación, de la planificación, de la silvicultura, de la construcción y de la restauración de edificios, de la interpretación y de la ayuda médica.

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La première zone désignée pour la préservation de les qualités naturelles et culturelles de la Nouvelle-Zélande fut le Parc National de Tongariro (*Tongariro National Park*). Cet événement prit place en 1887, lorsque le chef Maori, Te Heuheu Tukino, fit don de la région volcanique de Tongariro à la nation pour qu'elle ne puisse jamais être vendue, profanée ou exploitée. Récemment de nouvelles régions d'importance culturelle ont reçu le statut de zones protégées. Ces zones incluent le Parc Historique et Maritime de la Bay of Islands (*Bay of Islands Maritime and Historic Park*) et le Parc des Champs Aurifères de Otago (*Otago Goldfields Park*).

La Nouvelle-Zélande aide de façon active à la préservation des ressources naturelles et culturelles d'autres pays. Parmi les pays aidés se trouvent les îles Samoa, la Papouasie Nouvelle-Guinée, la Birmanie, les îles Fidji, le Pérou et le Népal. Au Népal, la Nouvelle-Zélande apporta son aide pour établir le Parc National de Sagamartha (Sagamartha National Park) qui comprend la montagne la plus élevée du monde: le Mont Everest (Sagamartha).

La Nouvelle-Zélande, outre l'envoi de personnel expérimenté pour aider les autres pays, a accepté de former des personnels étrangers. L'école de Formation de Turangi, dans le centre de l'Île du Nord, a formé des personnes de diverses nationalités dans le domaine de la gestion culturelle et de la conservation, de la planification, de la sylviculture, de la construction et de la restauration de bâtiment, de l'interprétation et de l'aide médicale.

Cultural Sites and Tourism: A Regional Perspective from the South Pacific

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Introduction

Except for Antarctica, New Zealand was the last region on earth to be inhabited by human beings, and since Antarctica's cultural history has hardly begun, New Zealand has the briefest cultural history of any country. In contrast, the country's eighty million years of geographic isolation have allowed a remarkable assemblage of flora and fauna to evolve, much of which is still intact. In New Zealand, then, land has usually been reserved for the protection of fauna and flora rather than culture.

To give an idea of what cultural heritage we do have, when it began, and what influenced its development, I will provide a sketch of New Zealand's cultural history. Following that I will outline some of the influences we have had on several developing countries in the Pacific and the East.

Cultural History of New Zealand

The first human beings to set foot on the rain-forested islands of New Zealand were Polynesians. They came in small boats, perhaps as early as 400 A.D., via islands of the South Pacific to the northeast of New Zealand. For nearly 1,000 years the Polynesian settlers had only themselves to contend with. However, in 1642, they encountered the first of a variety of European nationalities who were to sail into New Zealand's waters—the Dutch navigator Abel Tasman. He was followed over a century later, in 1769, by a Yorkshireman, James Cook, on the first of his expeditions to the South Pacific islands. Cook circumnavigated New Zealand, proving there were two islands, and returned twice more, carefully recording what he saw of the inhabitants' way of life. In Fiordland National Park

stumps nearly 200 years old still stand—left after Cook's men cleared the forest so that a temporary observatory could be set up.

Tasman and Cook were the forerunners of a succession of explorers, sealers, whalers, and missionaries, many of whom came to settle permanently. The first whaling ship arrived not much more than twenty years after Captain Cook's discovery. The whaling business was largely dominated by enterprising Americans; in the mid-1840s over 700 whaling ships operated out of famous American ports like New Bedford, Nantucket, Salem, Sag Harbour, and New London. But there were also British ships and a large number of French ships. A French whaler bought 30,000 hectares of land for the establishment of a French settlement on the east coast of the South Island. The small town of Akaroa today evidences the French presence. Meanwhile, in the North Island the Bay of Islands had become so populated with wild characters from the seas that it was labeled "Hell" by missionaries who were trying to establish a missionary settlement there. The number of ships visiting the Bay continued to increase and liquor became a tremendous problem. The natives, after having been remarkably resistant to alcohol, began to develop a weakness for it. Anglican and Wesleyan missionaries also tried to bring peace to the warring tribes; however, now that muskets and powder were available, intertribal wars became even bloodier.

The natives described themselves as "Maori," which means "usual" or "ordinary," as opposed to the "Pakeha," or "different," European settlers arriving in New Zealand. In 1840 the Treaty of Waitangi was signed by the Maori and the British, and New Zealand became a British colony. The terms of this

treaty have been a source of controversy ever since, particularly recently.

The first major influx of British settlers was led by Arthur Wakefield, whose aim was to transplant a civilized "vertical slice" of British society in New Zealand. However, the majority of those who could be persuaded to come were artisans, farm workers, labourers, and domestic servants. There was great interest in the South Island when, at the beginning of the 1860s, gold was discovered in the riverbeds and valleys of Otago in the centre of the island. Miners, storekeepers, clerks, and publicans from all over New Zealand, Victoria, Australia, and California flocked to Otago. Then discoveries were made on the west coast of the South Island. Many moved north, crowding into previously unsettled territory. As was typical of gold rushes, the boom period was frenzied and short. However, the dwindling numbers of European fortune-seekers brought yet another cultural group to New Zealand. These were the Chinese, who diligently scoured the abandoned claims for any remaining specks of gold. Their conduct was excellent, frustrating the remaining fortune-seekers.

By the end of the 1860s, almost all the gold had been worked out and the heady prosperity of the earlier years gave way to dull stagnation. In an attempt to lift New Zealand out of this recession, the government embarked on a programme of development through public works and settlement. Assisted passage was given to emigrants, the majority from England, Scotland, and Ireland, but also thousands of Germans and Scandinavians and smaller numbers of French and Italians.

In 1874, the year of the highest net migration to New Zealand, nearly 44,000 immigrants arrived in the country. A multicultural society was developed although the strongest element was British. Among the Europeans who have emigrated since are Yugoslavs, Rumanians, Poles, and Dutch, bringing skills and cultural accomplishments which have broadened the minds of the generations born and raised in New Zealand.

Although originally Polynesian, Maori culture too developed its own distinguishing characteristics throughout 1,000 years of isolation. However, fresh Polynesian blood has been infused in New Zealand society. After World War II, a growing sense of responsibility for, and involvement with, the Pacific region led to a loosening of the Undesirable Immigrants Exclusion Act of 1919. The result was an upsurge in Polynesian population numbers and today Auckland, in the north of the North Island, houses the world's largest group of Polynesian people. However, with a scarcity of job opportunities the government has tightened its welcome and the influx of permanent immigrants has waned.

What Is Being Done to Preserve the Culture of These Nationalities in New Zealand?

The Maori culture, which has enjoyed the longest history in New Zealand and had time to become much more than a transplanted culture, should receive the most attention. Because evidence of its cultural history is dispersed throughout the country and not only in the urban areas, the responsibility for its preservation lies to a large extent in the hands of the Department of Lands and Survey.

Over the last few decades concern has reawakened over the preservation of Maori culture, which has been encouraged by groups of both Pakeha and Maori. Pakeha in general are becoming increasingly aware of Maori history and spiritual values as a part of the national culture. It is now widely recognized that if the Maori culture is not kept alive in New Zealand, its confinement to glass display cabinets would amount to international death of its cultural identity.

The Maori culture is receiving considerable international exposure. One of the many benefits has been a resurgence in carving. More Maori carving is being done today than at any time in Maori history. The same could be said for the building of the large carved Maori houses, especially urban meeting houses.

Generally the government has reacted positively to these moves to stimulate interest in the preservation of Maori culture. A couple of months ago the Department of Lands and Survey organized the first national workshop for people actively involved with the national parks and other protected areas. Participants at the workshop included members of the public and representatives from the two major land administration government departments and the Historic Places Trust. One of the most important findings was the need for more liaison between the organizations represented at the meeting and the greater involvement of Maori leaders or spokesmen for the tribes.

Department of Lands and Survey rangers attended the workshop and it was evident that in many of their projects Maori support was very important. At this stage I should point out how our first national park, Tongariro, was established. In 1887 Te Heuheu Tukino, the hereditary Maori chief of the Ngati-Tuwharetoa tribe, gave Tongariro to the Crown "as a sacred place of the Crown and a gift for ever from me and my people." The land was a "gift," i.e., it could not be sold or bartered, and it was "given for ever" so that it could never be sold, desecrated, exploited, polluted, etc. The Maori contributed the tapu concept to the national parks—a concept similar to what the North American Indian chief Seattle meant when he used the phrase "sacred and apart," but much stronger. The Maori element is present in New Zealand's national parks in the form of ancient settlements or trails with Maori myths that poetically and dramatically explain scientific phenomena.

The workshop discussed the controversy surrounding a Maori cultural site in Fiordland National Park concerning the seated skeleton of a Maori woman on Mary Island in Lake Hauroko. Concessionaires operating within the park feature this as a tourist attraction, which the Maori people consider

an insensitive intrusion into a sacred area. The park is accordingly changing its management plans to prevent commercial viewing and further publicising of the site.

In the Bay of Islands Maritime and Historic Park, consultation with Maori advisors has contributed to the success of onsite interpretation. The park management had always concentrated on protection of its sites (which are predominantly Maori), followed where necessary by their interpretation. The historic reserves which make up the park are part of the 200 reserves which are spread throughout the country. Management planning for every historic reserve gives priority to historical value preservation. Yet even if not classified as historic, a reserve's cultural, archeological, and other historical features are managed and protected to the extent compatible with the primary purpose of the reserve.

The most recent development in preservation management is the Wanganui National Park proposal. The Wanganui, the longest New Zealand river navigable throughout its entire length, like the Mississippi has a low gradient which provided an easy route through thickly forested hinterland. It was used by both the early Maori and Europeans for the transport of goods, until construction of the main railway through the centre of North Island led to the death of riverboat transport. One of the boats has been preserved at the small riverside township of Pipiriki.

For decades the river has served as a recreational resource. Many people raft and canoe the river, a form of river transportation which contrasts not only with the steamboat races of bygone days but also the powerboating of the mid-1970s which declined in the wake of dramatic fuel cost escalation. Accommodations were provided on the houseboat *Makere* and in the Pipiriki Hotel until they were destroyed by fire. Since then, tourist use patterns have changed considerably, today often taking the form of wilderness tours offered by concessionaires. There is a growing need for tourist information, and appropriate services are located at several spots along the river. The most interesting of these is riverboat captain Anderson's house at Pipiriki which has been restored as an information centre and ranger station.

To meet the 1980 National Park Act's requirement of maximum consultation with the general public, representatives from Maori groups have been involved in the park proposal. The Maori people of the area will be represented on the park's decision-making board, and the three Maori tribal groups living along the river will be asked to elect a committee of nine to advise the board on all matters of concern to the Maori people.

New Zealand's Aid to Other Countries

New Zealand has also been active in assisting in the preservation of the natural and cultural heritage in other countries. Examples include Samoa, Papua New Guinea, Indonesia, Burma, Fiji, Malaysia, Peru, and Nepal.

In Nepal

The story of New Zealand's assistance in the development of Sagamartha National Park in Nepal began when the New Zealander Sir Edmund Hillary, the first conqueror of Mount Everest (Sagamartha), returned to New Zealand with the idea of this national park. New Zealand agreed to help fund the development of the park and assist the Nepalese in devising a management plan.

A major problem concerned the negative aspects of tourism. Annual visitors to Sagamartha National Park outnumber Sherpas two to one. Were it not for the rush to build hotels and resthouses and to satisfy the demands of the trekkers, the Sherpas' need for grazing land and firewood would have changed little over the years, and still be in better balance with the region's ecology.

Despite their invulnerable appearance, the Himalayas are a fragile environment. The demand for firewood has left some slopes deforested and exposed to erosion in a climate in which forest regeneration is slow. Yet the local inhabitants receive 50 rupees (about \$4) a porter-load and selling firewood is big business. Therefore, the regulation against cutting green wood in the park is hard to enforce.

At the time of New Zealand's involvement, many Nepalese resented the prohibition on cutting green timber and were cynical about the park in general. Park officials realized that to enforce this prohibition, they would have to supply alternative means for producing energy. The management plan called for limited use of solar energy for communications and for heating water at Kunde Hospital, and eventual construction of a series of small hydroelectric plants.

The New Zealanders' reforestation programme was left in the optimistic hands of Mingma Norbu Sherpa, one of the two Nepalese who took over management of the park. His attitude toward forest conservation was very positive. Also, knowing how important religion was to the Nepalese, Mingma planned to restore the Buddhist temples within the park with the \$10,000 Nepal received from the World Heritage Fund, hiring Sherpas for the work to get them as involved as possible.

Public relations was one of Mingma's main concerns—not only information for the tourists but in trying to win the Sherpas over to the park concept. The National Park Visitor Centre is situated on a hilltop above the village of Namche Bazar. More than 80 percent of the households in the village benefit from money spent by mountaineers and trekkers.

In Western Samoa

In the South Pacific, New Zealand has been particularly active in Western Samoa, which in the 1970s had a government interested in national parks, reserves, and conservation. The Samoan staff attended training sessions and regular staff meetings and three of the Samoan supervisors undertook study trips to see New Zealand's parks and reserves system. This proved most successful and prepared them for future advanced training.

Planning the visitor centre for the national park was handled primarily by the local staff. The design is that of a traditional Samoan house—a *fale*. The interpretive displays are scientific in content in addition to supplying information about the park and reserves and their regulations. Most of the displays are pictorial with simple texts in both English and Samoan. Accompanying pamphlets are also written in both languages.

Problems encountered with the local population included agricultural encroachment and their desire to shoot birds and cut vegetation (for firewood, canoes, *fale* poles, etc.).

Increased tourism will inevitably lead to the expansion of concessionaire operations which should be closely controlled to avoid misleading information and distasteful souvenirs. Visitors should be able to purchase good local products and observe activities which reveal the authentic culture of the Samoans and not simply their reactions to a new western market.

In New Zealand

In addition to sending our experienced staff out to help other countries, we have provided training in courses of various length in New Zealand. The training school in the centre of the North Island has helped a variety of nationalities acquire such skills as management planning and forestry, building construction, interpretation, and medical aid. Our teachers emphasize that New Zealand does not necessarily have all the answers and the students' knowledge of their own local conditions can sometimes make our solutions impractical.

New Zealand may seem an unlikely country as a training ground. Its successes in the conservation field seem comparatively easily won in contrast to poor developing countries where the concept of conservation can be hard to accept and cause friction between the local people and the park staff. New Zealand has a relatively high standard of living and is extremely fortunate in having large areas of government-owned land that can be set aside for the purpose of conservation. However, the New Zealand pace of life and the character of its people, together with the opportunitites for involvement in practical aspects of park management, seem to make the educational experience we offer attractive to the trainees.

Oceania

In conclusion, I will speak collectively of the islands of the South Pacific as Oceania. Albert Wendt, the internationally famous creative writer and educator from the University of the Pacific in Western Samoa, remarked that before any realistic policies concerning cultural conservation in Oceania can be formulated, we should try to find answers to the following questions: What is "traditional" culture? What period in the growth of a culture is to be called "traditional"? Should there be one sanctified official, sacred interpretation of one's culture, and who should do this interpreting? "Cultural dependency is even more soul-destroying than economic dependency." It is "pride, self-respect and self-reliance [that] will help [Oceania] to cope so much more creatively with what is passing or to come."



A William H. Jackson photograph of Cliff Palace, looking out from under the cave. The renowned nineteenth-century western photographer photographed many of the ruins and helped to give the public its first glimpse of Anasazi dwellings.

Precis

Of six historic preservation projects performed in the U.S. Trust Territories of the Pacific under provisions of the 1982 Jobs Act, three are considered as examples of varying degrees of success and an additional one (which was never performed) as a failure. In each case, the goal was to rehabilitate an important archeological or cultural resource in such a way as to provide local jobs and job training, involve governmental authorities in the historic preservation process, promote economic development through increased tourism, and increase local pride in and consciousness of cultural traditions. Cases that were successful were those where local support and interest were most actively engaged at the local governmental and village level and where infrastructures provided for continuity after the project's termination.

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De seis proyectos de conservación histórica realizados en los Territorios del Pacífico bajo le tutela de los Estados Unidos, bajo las provisiones del Acto de Trabajo (Jobs Act) de 1982, tres se consideran como ejemplos de éxito en grados variables, y un proyecto (que jamás se realizó) se considera como un fracaso. En cada uno de los casos, la meta era de rehabilitar un recurso arqueológico o culturalmente importante, de manera de crear una formación profesional y de empleos locales, para asociar las autoridades gubernamentales a los procesos de conservación histórica, para promover el desarrollo

económico gracias a un crecimiento de turismo, y para aumentar el orgullo y la toma de consciencia locales de las tradiciones culturales. Los proyectos que se realizaron con éxito fueron esos donde el interés y el apoyo local se dieron de manera muy activa al nivel del gobierno local y del pueblo, y donde las infraestructuras ofrecieron la posibilidad de una continuación después de terminar el proyecto.

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Des six projets de préservation historique réalisés dans les Territoires du Pacifique sous la Tutelle des Etats-Unis, aux termes du de l'Acte de Travail (Jobs Act) de 1982, trois sont considérés comme des exemples de succès à des degrés variables, et un autre projet (qui n'a jamais été réalisé) est considéré comme un échec. Dans chacun des cas, l'objectif à atteindre était de réhabiliter une ressource archéologique ou culturelle importante, de manière à créer une formation professionnelle et des emplois locaux, à associer les autorités gouvernementales au processus de préservation historique, à promouvoir le développement économique grâce à un accroissement du tourisme, et à augmenter la fierté et la prise de conscience locales des traditions culturelles. Les projets qui ont été réalisés avec succès furent ceux où l'intérêt et le soutien locaux ont été donnés de façon très active au niveau du gouvernement local et du village, et où les infrastructures en place offraient la possibilité d'une continuité après la fin du projet.

Ingredients of Success and Failure in Several Historic Preservation Projects in Micronesia

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Where Is Micronesia?

In our present complex geopolitical situation, it is not entirely surprising if even those who devote considerable time to the affairs of developing nations find themselves unfamiliar with these tiny island groups lying just north of the equator and consisting broadly of the Caroline and Marshall Islands. Known presently but temporarily as the Trust Territories of the Pacific Islands, these island groups are presently emerging into independence as The Republic of Palau, the Federated States of Micronesia, and the Republic of the Marshall Islands. They cover some 3 million square miles of the Western Pacific (the distance from Palau on the west to Kosrae on the east is approximately that from San Francisco to New York) and comprise about 500 square miles of land (or roughly the area of Rhode Island).

To a greater or lesser degree, each of the islands within Micronesia has been occupied by a succession of foreign powers since the first contact with the western world. Spanish, German, Japanese, and finally Americans have all imposed their influence on the populations and traditions of the Islands. While many traditions have survived, characteristics of all these colonial powers linger in the day-to-day lives of the native populations. One Micronesian characteristic that has survived is a strong sense of independence and self-sufficiency that is gaining momentum as the new nations of Micronesia emerge. The projects that are the subject of this presentation were designed to foster this attitude.

Early last year, I was asked to assist the government of the Trust Territories in management of funds that were made available under the United States Emergency Jobs Act, an act designed to create jobs in construction with a specific set-aside for jobs in historic preservation. My tasks under this job were to identify the appropriate projects, prepare proposals to the National Park Service that met required standards, prepare National Register nominations where necessary, manage the several projects to completion within strict and inflexible deadlines, oversee and deliver project completion reports, and finally to correlate and deliver to the governments of the Trust Territories auditable financial packages for each project. In every case, the success or failure of a project was directly linked to involvement and participation at all levels by local native managers, workers, and specialists.

While the goals of the Jobs Act were to create jobs in construction, we saw an opportunity and indeed an obligation to use these funds in ways that would have significant impact on the governments in question from both an economic and a cultural standpoint. Thus our additional goals were to demonstrate to the various governments that historic preservation is a good thing economically (generating tourism), to train young people in traditional skills that are being lost, to develop markets for these skills once the project was over, and to revive a sense of pride in traditional skills and values in the local population.

Palau

The westernmost island in this group, Palau is known to visitors for its "Rock Islands," as well as its rich and beautiful reefs, which draw divers from all over the world. Potential projects ranged from archeological sites isolated deep in the jungle to sites of traditional meetinghouses no longer existing.

In conference with the Palauan Division of Cultural Affairs, local leaders, and other locally concerned individuals, we settled on the Bai-ra-Irrai, the last remaining traditional chiefs' meetinghouse in Palau. It met all the criteria of the program: it was easily accessible to tourists, desperately in need of repair, the repairs would require the training of village young people in traditional skills, and the trained youth would be available to meet the increasing demand for traditional meetinghouses at other villages. All in all, it was an ideal situation.

As the project proceeded under the supervision of the Palau Historic Preservation Officer (who is also the chief of the Division of Cultural Affairs) and village chiefs, local elders trained young men in thatching, woodworking, and other aspects of the rehabilitation of the Bai. The project had high local visibility among both the general population and members of the government. At the dedication, government officials praised the project and demonstrated a new attitude toward historic preservation.

During the course of the project, local officials prepared the infrastructure necessary to support the needs of tourists, and as the project ended we had in place a rehabilitated "national treasure," individuals and facilities necessary to control and enhance the visitor experience, young men with diplomas demonstrating their competence in traditional skills, and a government recognizing the importance of historic preservation in its own self-interest. All of this was accomplished (aside from some long-distance technical and managerial guidance) by local managers, technical, and administrative staff.

Yap

Four hundred fifty-four kilometers northeast of Palau lies Yap, the "Isle of Stone Money." Like Palau, Yap has a number of sites that could benefit from the funds available. One site stood out, however, as the one that would meet and possibly exceed all our goals for this program. The site, Bechiel Village Cultural Center, had been a high priority for the Yapese government and had received some minor funding for several years. The buildings had suffered deterioration and several key components had not been completed or indeed started. The principal reason for the decision to select this site was the fact that Yap's foremost architect, and one of the very few left on Yap with all the traditional knowledge necessary for a job like this, was the chief of Bechiel Village.

The work consisted of rehabilitating the elders' meetinghouse from an empty shell to a magnificent structure with decorated gable ends and a spacious, carved, and painted interior. Also rehabilitated was the traditional thatched dwelling house with its inviting triangular "porches." In addition, a canoe house was constructed to house the canoe that had been built prior to this project and until now had lain unprotected in the jungle, and traditional, arrow-shaped fishtrap on the reef flat, which would not only improve the village's

economic base but provide examples of traditional foods for visitors. Last, but by no means least, was the cleaning and clearing of the entire center, which had been extensively invaded by jungle growth.

Nineteen people were employed and trained for approximately six months to create not only a tourist attraction but a center for training Yapese in such traditional skills as sailing, dancing, and the art of intricate tying, which is not only uniquely Yapese but a superb engineering technique for defending buildings from the high winds of a typhoon. As the project came to completion, local leaders were forming an advisory board to assist in program development as well as preparing the villagers for increased visitation by tourists. A guidebook to the site was prepared. Besides explaining the site to the visitor, the guidebook informed the visitor of appropriate behavior for demonstrating respect toward the village as a living cultural community. The governor of Yap demonstrated strong support for historic preservation as did a number of legislators. In short, the project was a catalyst for a strong program of recapturing a cultural identity while dealing with the day-to-day needs of the twentieth century.

Nan Madol

While technically successful, our project at Nan Madol on Ponape, some 1,800 kilometers east of Yap, was less effective than those on Palau and Yap because the strong local project infrastructure that supported the former projects was lacking. The project here was to clear and map a number of the over ninety islands in the site to allow access for tourists and to provide interpretive and future development information about the site and individual islands.

Since Nan Madol is an important archeological site supporting impressive megalithic remains, the project supervisor selected was an archeologist who met the training and experience requirements of the Park Service to oversee such a job. Since the clearing activity had the potential for disturbing features or artifact distributions, and it and the mapping were subject to tight archeological specifications, archeological skills were clearly required. The principal problem was that there are no Ponapeans trained in archeology. A native Ponapean is presently studying in the United States, but will not have finished his training and be back on Ponape for several years. Work proposals from a number of qualified archeologists were presented to the Ponape Historic Preservation Committee. The selection went to a Hawaii-based archeologist whose proposal involved an all-Ponapean crew, in contrast to other proposals that used a number of graduate students. After a number of months of intense work, twenty-five of the over ninety islets were cleared and mapped.

A major component of the project was not only the training of local individuals in appropriate clearing techniques that would result in their employment as maintenance personnel at the site, but the training of guides to the site. It was in this area that the lack of strong local involvement on a day-to-day basis resulted in minimal if any follow-through. Although at the beginning of the project local leaders agreed to the need for trained guides to enhance the visitor experience and to reduce vandalism and debris, as well as to the importance of continued funding for maintenance personnel to control destructive new growth, the lack of committed local support personnel resulted in an ad hoc training of local hotel guides, the training of maintenance personnel with no future funding, and an absence of strong governmental commitment to historic preservation. The project did, however, have enough local visibility that the Historic Preservation Committee was asked to sit in on budget hearings, and new legislation may well provide the necessary funding to maintain the site.

Thus, while the project did meet the technical goals of the grant, as well as some of the goals of the program manager, it fell short of complete success due to a lack of direct local involvement at the managerial level and a failure to obtain a government commitment to support the project after it was over, which could only have been accomplished by local leaders and not outside specialists.

These three examples lead me to the conclusion that while funds may be made available to perform some project or other, its benefit to the local community, regardless of its technical merits, will not be realized without full participation by local legislators, managers, workers, and administrators. A program manager must be sensitive to not only the letter and spirit of grant funds but to the aspirations and goals of those who will be most affected. Three other projects in this program had stories somewhat similar to those already told.

Truk

While we can demonstrate six projects that were successful (to varying degrees) from one end of Micronesia to the other, we must admit one abject failure. Among the projects initially formulated and reviewed were two from Truk state. These projects had been conceived several years before. Their development had included full participation by the affected villages and had the complete support of the village chiefs and others in authority. We naively thought that these would be the easiest projects of all in Micronesia to implement and manage, especially since the proposed project manager was the formulator of the original proposals and had social and cultural ties to one of the villages. Our visit to Truk during the project development stage included meeting with village leaders to confirm their commitment to the project as well as meeting with a governor's assistant who supported the proposed project (the governor was not available during this visit and to our everlasting regret was never directly contacted until it was too late). As the project planning proceeded, storm warnings began to be noticed. The governor was strongly opposed to any project that he did not have direct control over and which involved anyone from outside Truk in supervisory positions. All this would have been all right had there been anyone on Truk qualified to direct and manage a combination archeological and construction project, but there was not. After numerous phone calls, personal visits, and even a \$400 telegram, the project died. The fact that the governor was politically at odds with the chief of one village clearly was not factored into our planning equation, nor was his general antipathy toward historic preservation. Ironically, after the dust had settled over the defunct project, the governor was called to Washington to receive an award for historic preservation from the United States Department of Transportation. In retrospect, we had everything in place except the one person with the power to cancel the project. Thus the people of Truk were left out of what otherwise has been a series of highly successful projects in Micronesia.

Conclusions

In this program, over 150 people were trained in traditional or other skills that can be used after the program, every government but one that we dealt with recognizes the value of historic preservation, and whole communities of native peoples are taking pride in their past and the traditions and values of their ancestors. The lessons learned in the course of this program have not been learned in a vacuum. Before I worked on this program, I managed all the archeological research for the eight Massachusetts Heritage Parks, and I am presently preparing cultural-resource management, development, and interpretive plans for the entire forest and park system of Massachusetts. These experiences have shown me that the development of a park, regardless of its location, must intimately involve the local groups at all levels. Developing a cultural center in Yap is no different from developing an urban park. The local cultural environment will always be unfamiliar to the outside master planners. The more local expertise and other involvement, the more lasting will be the effects of the funds expended for the development itself. Without local guides at Nan Madol, graffiti and other forms of vandalism will continue to be a problem, just as they are in United States parks without management plans that recognize the problem. However, that will not occur in Palau and Yap, thanks to the direct involvement of the local population.

Thus I would like to leave you with two messages. The development of a park must incorporate into park planning, management, and interpretation the ideas and support of local people, whether they are Yapese reef fishermen or farmers from the valleys of Massachusetts. Otherwise, our money will be spent for nothing and all our great plans will go unrealized. Nor does planning and development of cultural parks require the intervention of "Big Brother" from top to bottom in a project. What is needed is technical support where necessary and encouragement throughout the project which will generate the self-confidence necessary to realize and use the knowledge, sensitivity, and skills that already exist and are the foundation of any successful project.

Precis

This paper describes the increasingly active management of historic sites in national parks, reserves and public lands in New Zealand. The nature of the resource, the agencies involved, their objectives (in terms of preservation, site interpretation, and tourism), and management problems are examined.

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Esta ponencia describe la gestión, sin cesar más activa, de los sitios históricos en los parques nacionales y los terrenos públicos en la Nueva Zelanda. Se examinan la naturaleza de

los recursos, las agencias envueltas, sus metas (en términos de preservación, de interpretación y de turismo) así como los problemas de gestión.

Cet exposé décrit la gestion, sans cesse plus active, des sites historiques dans les parcs nationaux et les terrains publics en Nouvelle-Zélande. La nature des ressources, les agences impliquées, leurs objectifs (en termes de préservation, d'interprétation et de tourisme) ainsi que les problèmes de gestion, sont examinés.

New Zealand's Historic Heritage: An Overview with Specific Discussion of Managing Resources in Cultural Parks

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Historical Background

Polynesian, European, and New World influences have all played a part in the development of historic resource management and preservation strategies in New Zealand. Old World concepts of setting aside land for "public use and enjoyment" were contained in Royal Instructions from Queen Victoria in 1840. These called on the colonial administration to reserve areas for a variety of public purposes, including convenience, utility, health, and enjoyment. In a young and relatively unmodified country, inevitably the early emphasis was on the establishment of parks and botanical gardens in the English tradition rather than preserving specific historic locations. However, it was not long before areas were being set aside for their scenic or historic values.

Polynesian influence was central to the establishment of New Zealand's first national park, Tongariro, with a gift to the nation in 1887 of the park's nucleus by the paramount chief of the Ngati Tuwharetoa people. Here, the Polynesian reverence for land was given statutory recognition through a New World concept drawn from the United States government's establishment fifteen years earlier of Yellowstone as the world's first national park. Tongariro (formally constituted in 1894) was to be the first of many gifts of land from Maori groups for scenic reserve purposes. These land parcels, together with a growing number of historic/scenic/recreational areas set aside by local authorities, e.g., One Tree Hill pa (Maungakiekie) in Auckland in 1871, evolved into a system of reserves and domains which complemented the national parks.

In 1892 the Lands and Survey Department was given responsibility to establish and manage a network of Crown land

reserves for the growth and preservation of timber, recreation, and the preservation of native fauna, thermal springs, "natural curiosities," and scenery considered to be "of national interest." Although the preservation of historic sites was not specifically mentioned, a number of sites located within the Crown reserves were brought under a form of "inadvertent protection." With the passing of the Scenery Preservation Act in 1903, the department was able to acquire privately owned land for reserve purposes.

Through the years Parliament continued to enact legislation to establish and manage protected areas, the principal interest still being directed towards preserving 'natural environments.' Historic sites remained the 'Cinderella component' of our parks. The threads were drawn together in the Public Reserves, Domains and National Parks Act of 1928 and the Lands Act of 1948. In the 1950s separate legislation was enacted with the passing of the National Parks Act (1952) and the Public Reserves Act (1953). The former (which unified the existing Park Boards under a central authority) remains in existence; the latter has been repealed and replaced by the Reserves Act of 1977.

The 1950s also saw the first real "historic places protection" legislation with the passing of the Historic Places Act (1954). However, this act was directed solely towards the preservation of historic buildings and provided little physical back-up to achieve that objective. Substantial advances in historic resource protection were not to be made until the 1970s when, following a series of major environmental controversies (e.g., Manapouri, the Beech Project), the New Zealand government passed a spate of resource protection and management legisla-

tion, bringing New Zealand into line with many other western countries. The legislation included:

- 1. The Antiquities Act (1975) which was designed to establish the ownership of Maori artifacts and control their sale and removal from New Zealand. (This act is presently being revised.)
- 2. The Historic Places Amendment Act (1975) which empowered the New Zealand Historic Places Trust to establish and maintain a system for recording, protecting, and preserving archeological sites. The act made it illegal to modify any site over 100 years old without an authority issued by the Trust, covered sites on both Crown and private land, and, significantly, was binding on the Crown.
- 3. The 1973 and 1976 amendments to the Forests Act (1949) which were designed to ensure the balanced use of state forest land by authorising the establishment of recreation and other special purpose areas within state forests in New Zealand. As a consequence, important historic areas are now identified in forest management plans and many sites have been developed and interpreted by the New Zealand Forest Service.
- 4. The Reserves Act (1977) considerably broadened the scope of reserve management and included authority to establish reserves solely for the preservation of historic and archeological resources. This legislation is now used regularly by the Lands and Survey Department for the acquisition, management, and development of historic sites throughout New Zealand.
- 5. The most recent piece of legislation, the Historic Places Act (1980), resulted from the revamping of the outmoded Historic Places Act (1954 and its many amendments). This act was designed "to protect the historic heritage of New Zealand" and gave the New Zealand Historic Places Trust considerable powers (but few resources) to attain its objectives. In addition to authorising the Trust to establish and maintain systems for recording and protecting historic buildings/structures and archeological sites, the act also gave the Trust authority to protect "traditional sites" (i.e., areas recognised as spiritually or historically significant to the various Maori peoples), authority to establish "historic areas" (i.e., areas which contain interrelated groups of prehistoric or historic sites which have historical value as group-entities even though some or all of the features may have little historic value individually), and the right to draw up "heritage covenants" with landowners for the preservation of historic values.
- 6. One other significant piece of legislation frequently impinges on historic sites, viz., the Town and Country Planning Act (1977). This act, designed to ensure the orderly development of towns and the subdivision of land, has often worked against the Trust's objectives. There have been several appeal rulings against the Trust in situations where the Trust desired the retention of a building against the owner's desire for its demolition. This difficulty exists because there is a lack of incentives (e.g., tax concessions) for an owner to retain or restore old buildings.

The Historic Resource in New Zealand

Despite the nation's short history of human occupation, New Zealand has a rich and varied historic resource. It can be broadly divided into six categories:

- 1. Pre-human, non-cultural deposits, notably deposits of the bones of the giant extinct ratite—the moa—and other extinct or very rare avifauna. (Incidentally, "natural deposits" are not afforded legal protection in New Zealand, a loophole in our legislative protection.)
- 2. Pre-European sites are those associated with the Polynesian settlement of New Zealand and span the period from c. 800 A.D. until the first effective European contact, that of Captain James Cook in 1769. These sites include fortifications (pas), storage pits, ovens, middens, occupation sites, and rock art.
- 3. Traditional sites, i.e., a site or place that is important by reason of its historical, spiritual, or emotional association with the Maori people, or any section thereof.
- 4. Historic sites, buildings, and locations, dating from Cook's first visit in 1769 to the present, but only those sites which are over 100 years old have legal protection under the Historic Places Act of 1980.
- 5. Industrial sites, buildings and structures. Whilst these structures are essentially "historic sites," there has been a growing awareness of and demand for the preservation of obsolete industrial sites and machinery, many of which are considerably less than 100 years old and consequently have no legal protection at present.
- 6. Shipwrecks over 100 years old are covered by the same provisions of the Historic Places Act as terrestrial sites.

The Agencies Involved in Historic Heritage Management

As outlined in the historical background section, there are three principal agencies involved in historic resource management in New Zealand—the New Zealand Historic Places Trust, the Lands and Survey Department, and the New Zealand Forest Service (NZFS). In addition, many local authorities and groups such as regional museum committees maintain buildings or sites of historic significance.

The Historic Places Trust is the smallest of the three agencies in terms of resources, yet in theory it has the biggest job, being charged with "preserving the historic heritage of New Zealand" and ensuring compliance with the provisions of the Historic Places Act (1980). Despite the pivotal role in site protection, its activities, particularly in the area of site acquisition and development, are severely limited because successive New Zealand governments have consistently refused to allocate the Trust more funding and personnel. The Trust is compelled to do its job with less than forty full-time staff nationwide. Although the Trust owns and manages about forty historic buildings and their surrounds, it has largely been obliged to abdicate responsibility in those areas which involve considerable financial or labour resources (e.g., the development and interpretation of archeological sites) to the larger

land-managing agencies which have an established regional infrastructure and greater resources.

To maintain protective surveillance over the nation's historic buildings, the Trust's Buildings Section operates a classification scheme which presently incorporates some 4,000 buildings/structures including several hundred traditional Maori sites, e.g., marae and meetinghouse complexes, most of which are still used. The scheme relies heavily on voluntary regional committees who act as "eyes and ears" and advise the Trust's central office of threats to historic structures and assist in promoting the Trust's objectives.

The archeological section of the Trust maintains a siterecording system which presently holds records on close to 32,000 pre-European and historic archeological sites, and operates a system of issuing permits (for scientific excavations) and authorities (for modifications) to control the destruction of archeological sites. The Trust's authority extends over both private and Crown land and is binding on the Crown. Site surveillance and protection is achieved by collaboration with the relatively small archeological fraternity (particularly active members of the New Zealand Archaeological Association). The Trust's permanent archeological staff consists of seven personnel who are involved in research, site recording, site management, administration of the archeological provisions of the Historic Places Act, and directing excavations (the latter usually being responses to threat situations). Although the Trust is responsible for protecting shipwrecks in New Zealand waters, it has no qualified underwater archeologists and is dependent on the services of commercial divers. In spite of its resource constraints, the Trust maintains a national overview on the state of the historic resource, and its professional staff frequently work in an advisory role to the other agencies involved in historic resource protection.

The Lands and Survey Department is the main landmanaging agency of the New Zealand government. Through the National Parks Authority, the department presently manages eleven national parks, three maritime parks, and a historic park (the Otago Goldfields Park) totalling over 2.5 million hectares, plus over 2,000 reserves covering approximately half a million hectares. Until about 1970 the department was principally concerned with acquiring and managing areas for the maintenance of scenic, biological, and landscape values. However, since then the department has become increasingly involved in historic site preservation and interpretation. It now actively manages, by means of the Reserves Act (1977), a wide range of prehistoric and historic sites in parks and reserves throughout the country including the Otago Goldfields Park, which involves the unified management of a widely scattered network of significant nineteenthcentury gold mining sites in the province of Otago (based on North American precedents, e.g., the Klondike National Historic Park and the Nez Perce National Historic Park). To develop the park, the department also buys land containing sites or features of historic interest and enters into management covenants with owners of sites on private land.

Nationally, sites are managed and promoted through an established regional infrastructure in a fashion not dissimilar to that of the Park Service in the United States, but both the sites and the resources (financial and personnel) are generally smaller. The department also maintains a growing number of visitor information centres and has recently set up a Visual Production Unit for designing and constructing interpretive display material. Some areas under the department's jurisdiction, e.g., the Wanganui River valley (shortly to be declared a national park), the Fiordland National Park (prehistoric and early explorers' sites), the Bay of Islands, Hauraki Gulf, and Marlborough Sounds (prehistoric and historic sites), and Central Otago (nineteenth-century gold mining sites), are particularly rich in historic and archeological resources. Despite the extent of the historic resource under its management, the department has not employed any permanent archeological staff, instead employing archeologists on wages or inefficient short-term contracts.

The New Zealand Forest Service, which administers over four million hectares of state forest land through seven conservancies, is the other major land-managing agency in New Zealand. Its entry into the field of historic resource management is a relatively recent event but it has made great advances in terms of site recording, management, and interpretation since it first became actively involved in the early 1970s. The Forest Service's heightened awareness and concern for historic resources was triggered by a number of significant events which occurred over the last decade. First, the advent of the Historic Places Amendment Act (1975) compelled forest managers (under pressure from archeologists) to be concerned about the destruction of sites in existing state forests, but in particular in the many areas which were being prepared for planting for the first time. In some regions, such as the west coast of the South Island, a tremendous amount of site recording was initiated as a result of mining interests wanting to mine forest land before it was planted.

The second major impetus resulted from a growing public concern and demand for the multi-use of natural resources including those in state forests. The Forests Act was amended in 1973 and again in 1976 to enable more balanced use of forest land. The amendments enabled managers to assess forest blocks and demarcate areas considered to have special values. As a consequence, increasing numbers of sites are being recorded, evaluated, withdrawn from forestry operations, and actively managed and interpreted. Like the Lands Department, the New Zealand Forest Service controls many areas which are very rich in terms of archeological and historic sites. They include the West Coast of the South Island (principally nineteenth-century mining sites), the Aupouri Peninsula in Northland (prehistoric and historic sites), and the Coromandel Peninsula—Rotorua area (prehistoric and mining sites). The

Forest Service has an extensive regional infrastructure too and the resources to develop and maintain the sites under its management. The New Zealand Forest Service was the first government department (outside the Trust) to employ archeologists (presently five, on variable-length contracts) and recently made a major advance by employing a full-time historian to document sawmilling and forestry history in New Zealand.

Management Objectives, Potentials, and Problems

Collectively the various acts of Parliament passed in the 1970s constitute a powerful set of site protection and preservation legislation, but its effectiveness is lessened, I believe, by the weakness (in terms of physical resources) of the New Zealand Historic Places Trust despite its government-vested pivotal role in site protection. The tripartite system (i.e., three-agency) of managing the resource also causes complications, but despite its deficiencies, a system of liaison and cooperation has developed, in part compelled by the need for all the agencies to comply with the provisions of the Historic Places Act (1980) which is administered by the Trust.

The land-managing agencies (New Zealand Forest Service and the Lands and Survey Department) are responsible for today's network of protected areas which has been built up over the years by successive governments putting aside public land, buying private land, and accepting gifts of land and sites. In addition to reserves and national parks, the Lands Department also administers vast tracts of Crown leasehold land. Despite severe "belt tightening" in recent years, both departments have the resources and are increasingly involved in the development, interpretation, and promotion of sites in the areas under their jurisdiction. Although neglected in the past, the development and interpretation of historic sites for tourism purposes (i.e., attracting tourists) is now a key tenet (and justification) of both departments' management policies. The sites located outside the landholdings of the Lands Department and the Forest Service are principally the concern of the Trust, but limited resources enable it to do relatively little development work.

Site development in relation to tourism (and employment) has tremendous potential in New Zealand. Despite rapid growth in recent years, it is still an underdeveloped area. A number of reasons can be suggested:

1. In a country of only 3.3 million people, there are inherent limitations on the amount of government income which can be spent on historic resource protection and promotion. However, in recent years a tremendous amount of finance has been injected into historic resource development through the provision of funds to enable unemployed people (through government employment schemes) to obtain jobs. The result has been the initiation of large numbers of often piecemeal, short-term contract jobs without knowing whether funding will be continued. Although much useful work has been

undertaken, frequently people employed under these schemes have just become familiar with the job or applied new skills when their employment has to be terminated. Over the same period the government has imposed a crippling "sinking lid" policy which has resulted in declining or static growth in permanent staff levels. There are critical shortages of skilled permanent staff in some areas, e.g., restoration specialists. As mentioned earlier, the Trust is hopelessly understaffed and has few regional offices, something for which there is a very real need if the Trust is to fully achieve its objectives.

- 2. The government has also been slow to accept or appreciate that site development and promotion brings financial returns to a community and the nation. This situation exists because in the past there has been little effort made to recover costs incurred in site management and development. Site development is expensive and perhaps it is time to adopt systems which at least recover part of the costs. Understandably, people would begrudge paying admission to a site that has easy public access or visibility, but they would be more inclined to pay for additional services or amenities, e.g., information, models or displays as provided in information centers (services which traditionally are provided free in New Zealand). In this way at least some costs can be recovered.
- 3. Until the large-scale inputs of the New Zealand Forest Service and the Lands Department in the mid-1970s, there was relatively little on-site interpretation (other than plaques) provided at archeological sites in New Zealand. Now there are many site complexes with self-guiding trails, interpretation facilities, and visitor centres but there is still considerable scope for development in this area. For example, there are no postexcavation (or ongoing-excavation) display situations, and reconstruction of features on archeological sites has been limited. However, a few notable restoration jobs are presently underway on industrial sites (e.g., the Trust's restoration projects on the Brunner coke ovens and the Maheno flour mill) and several pieces of mining equipment (notably stamper batteries) have been virtually reconstructed by the Lands and Survey Department and the New Zealand Forest Service. The country abounds with prehistoric and historic sites which have the potential for post-excavation reconstruction and interpretation, e.g., the fortified pas and European redoubts of the Maori Wars. The development of a few of these sites would be expensive but with proper planning the costs would be recoverable through admission charges.
- 4. There is a need for more coordinated regional strategies in relation to historic sites and their promotion in New Zealand. With three agencies involved in historic site management in most areas of the country, closer cooperation would benefit all in terms of site visitation numbers. There is a real need for maps depicting the sites in each region. Some of these exist at the moment, e.g., there is a very good map depicting the main historic attractions on the West Coast of the South Island, and the Otago Goldfields Park has useful brochures,

but elsewhere it is difficult for the public to obtain information except in individual sites. There is a need for more cooperation between the tourism industry and the agencies concerned with site development and preservation—for example, over the provision of accommodations and services.

5. I believe there has not been enough development of "star sites," particularly those outside the areas managed by the Forest Service and the Lands Department. The development of major sites, as has been shown in North America and elsewhere, acts as a nucleus—a drawcard—from where visitors can be directed to smaller satellite sites. Star sites should be determined, developed, and promoted within the framework of regional site networks. Too often in New Zealand, available resources are spread too thinly, so that there is little obvious development on individual sites.

6. There are a number of areas where specific site types could be developed. Perhaps the most overlooked are sites containing the remains of New Zealand's unique giant extinct bird, the moa. The moa is totally neglected in terms of its tourism potential. All visitors can see are a few assembled skeletons and the odd reconstruction in museums. A number of locations exist around the country where the remains of large numbers of moas have been recovered or still exist. With the right research, development, and interpretation (i.e., packaging and publicity) a "moa museum" could be established at one of these sites, in effect, an antipodean version of the world-famous Page Museum of extinct fauna in Los Angeles.

To conclude, despite severe limitations (in terms of finance and personnel), there has been a tremendous upsurge in the development and promotion of historic sites in New Zealand over the past decade. To some extent this trend parallels a growing public awareness and appreciation of "things historic." It is to be hoped that in the next few years the authorities concerned with managing the historic resource in New Zealand can convince the government that there is a direct return (in terms of preserving our heritage, providing worthwhile employment, and earning foreign exchange) from increased government expenditure on site management, development, interpretation, and promotion.

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Precis

The ancient city of Sukhothai is one of the sites of the ancient communities in the lower part of northern Thailand. The height of success came under the strong leadership of King Ram Khamhaeng, the warrior and establisher of Theravada Buddhism, and King Lithai, the patron of arts. Many ancient structures, numerous ponds, dams, reservoirs, and ancient kiln sites comprise the seventy square kilometers of Sukhothai. The action plan of the Sukhothai Historical Park Project was scheduled under the Fine Arts Department for excavation, restoration, landscape development, community development, and tourism development.

La ciudad antigua de Sukhothai es uno de los sitios de comunidades antiguas de la parte interior de Tailandia del norte. El apogeo del éxito fue alcanzado bajo la dirección firme del Rey Ram Kamhaeng, rey guerrero y fundador del Budismo Theravada, y del rey Lithai, patrón de las artes. Numerosas estructuras antiguas, de múltiples estancos, diques, depósitos de agua y sitios de hornos antiguos, cubren la superficie de

setenta kilómetros cuadrados de Sukhothai. El plan de acción para el proyecto de desarrollo del parque histórico de Sukhothai fue establecido por el Departamento de Bellas Artes para la excavación, la restauración, el mejoramiento del paisaje y el desarrollo de la comunidad y del turismo.

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La ville ancienne de Sukhothai est un des sites des communautés anciennes de la partie inférieure de la Thaïlande du nord. L'apogée du succès fut atteint sous la ferme direction du roi Ram Kamhaeng, roi guerrier et fondateur du Bouddhisme Theravada, et du roi Lithai, patron des arts. De nombreuses structures anciennes, de multiples étangs, barrages, réservoirs et sites de fours anciens, couvrent la superficie de soixante-dix kilomètres carrés de Sukhothai. Le plan d'action pour le projet de développement du parc historique de Sukhothai fut établi par le Département des Beaux-Arts pour l'excavation, la restauration, l'amélioration du paysage et le développement de la communauté et du tourisme.

The Sukhothai Historical Park

Nikom Musigakama Maneerat Thaumcharoen

Sukhothai Historical Park Project Tambon Muang Kao, Thailand

Thailand is a kingdom with an area of more than 500,000 square kilometers. In the lower part of the north lies the province of Sukhothai. In this province, there is an area of approximately 40 square kilometers which is of great significance to the entire nation. This area is known to the Thai people as ''Phranakhon-Sukhothai,'' an ancient capital of Thailand, which has long been recorded in Thai history as our earliest-known kingdom. The name ''Sukhothai'' itself means the Dawn of Happiness, which, to we Thai, really implies the dawn of our happiness in the Menam valley. Such belief gives strong impetus to us to revive our Sukhothai.

The restoration and preservation of Sukhothai has been entrusted to the Fine Arts Department of the Ministry of Education of Thailand. A master plan for this project was outlined, submitted to the UNESCO General Conference, and received strong support. Thus came the launching of the international campaign for the safeguarding of Sukhothai in 1979.

The objectives stated in the master plan for this project are as follows:

- 1. To legally control land use, particularly for construction purposes.
- 2. To survey, research, and restore archeological sites and remains.
- 3. To arrange the landscape of the inner city by growing plants and trees, especially those referred to in Ram Khamhaeng's stone inscription (dated 1292 A.D.) so as to enhance the historical and national attractiveness of the sites.
- 4. To develop the infrastructure of the inner city, especially the electricity, water supply, and roads joining important

monuments.

- 5. To divide the layout of the city into the monument and the community, which implies a careful resettlement scheme both inside and outside the city walls, together with a job-creating scheme.
- 6. To promote tourist centres by means of reviving annual festivals, folk customs, songs, and dances.

In order to achieve the above objectives, progress on the following aspects should be consecutively reviewed: a) technoarcheological aspects; b) landscaping development; c) infrastructure development; d) resettlement and handicraft promotion; and e) tourist promotion facilities.

Sukhothai

Many ancient structures, numerous ponds, dams, reservoirs, and ancient kiln sites comprise the seventy square kilometers of the Sukhothai Historical Park. Damage caused by nature and vandalism has threatened the existence of these monuments and sites.

In 1952, the Fine Arts Department began its excavation project and, through the Thailand National Commission for UNESCO, made a request to UNESCO for the preservation of Sukhothai. At the nineteenth session in 1976 in Nairobi, Kenya, the General Conference of UNESCO launched the International Campaign for the Preservation and Presentation of Sukhothai. The government of Thailand agreed, on their part, to include the Sukhothai project in their Culture Development Plan.

In 1977-78 a committee was set up to draft the master plan. It was composed of architects, archeologists, historians,

engineers, and technicians supervised by Mr. Sohiko Yamada, Prof. Eduard F. Sekler and Dr. Soekmono, who visited and investigated the sites through UNESCO aid. In June 1977, Mr. Amadou Mahtar M'Bow, Director General of UNESCO, personally visited Sukhothai.

On October 17, 1978, the government approved the master plan for the Sukhothai Historical Park which was scheduled for the ten-year period with a budget of 250.6 million Baht. The first five years of the plan (1978-1982) were scheduled for the excavation, restoration, and development of the landscape of the monuments inside the city wall; the second five years (1983-1987) are devoted to monuments outside the city wall.

Restoration

Sukhothai monuments, which are scattered inside and outside the ancient city walls, are comprised of the Buddha's images, stupas, atupas, prangs, mondops, dams, pools, reservoirs, and ancient roads. They were built mostly of earth and bricks; occasionally slate and a combination of brick and laterite were used. Some of the most important monuments have been restored twice in the past. The aim of the previous restoration was only to reinforce the structure of the buildings. Little was known of the chemical, physical, and biological actions that are involved with the deterioration of monuments.

Three restoration projects have been carried out. Excavations began between 1953 and 1955 with Wat Mahathat, Nuen-Prasart, the city pillar, Wat Sri Sawai, and Wat Sra Sri, while restoration began with Wat Sri Chun and proceeded to other minor temples. The total number of monuments involved was nineteen.

In 1964, the Fine Arts Department began to excavate and restore sites. The second project was aimed at rectifying faults created by the first project. Replacement parts were minimized as much as possible and only when evidences were clear or when it was needed to retain the structure. Although the additional parts were of present-day materials, they matched the old ones. In some monuments, for example Wat Mahathat, faulty parts that had been added were removed.

On December 20, 1976, the Committee for the National Social and Economic Development submitted a project to develop the Sukhothai Historical Park, comprising an area of 1,600 rais (1 rai = 2.5 acres), to the cabinet, which met with approval. In the following year the master plan was drafted which divided the restoration work into two periods. From 1978-81, the major work carried out was excavation. Excavations and restorations were carried out at monuments within the city walls and around Wat Prapailuang, in addition to those forty-two monuments already worked on. Vegetation which had spread over the monuments became one source of interest. Between 1982-87, excavations are expected to cover the remaining areas around the sites with work continuing on twenty-nine monuments already in progress and begun on forty-seven monuments.

For the fiscal year 1983 (October 1982 to September 1983), restoration work has been aimed at thirty-five monuments within the city walls, which can be detailed as follows:

- 1. Paving the floor with bricks of the same size for thirty-five monuments.
- 2. Restoring thirty-five monuments whose structure has already been strengthened.
- 3. Improving the environment of the monuments to match the landscaping development plan.
- 4. Experimenting on preserving monuments by applying the results of chemical researches, structural engineering researches, historical and archeological researches, and other related fields.

A third restoration is being carried out by the Sukhothai Historical Park Development Project. During the first phase of the project, the monument located within the city walls will be restored by appropriate techniques. The Venice Charter—a series of regulations concerned with the restoration of ancient structures—should be strictly adhered to. The building materials used in restoration should be original materials and reconstruction will not be done without firm evidence. In addition, new construction will be clearly evident and harmonious with the original. Modern technology, which was overlooked in the past, is now being utilized by scientists. These techniques include preserving the monuments and preventing further decay.

Science and the Restoration of Monuments

Science is a branch of knowledge which is closely related to many other fields of study. The restoration of Sukhothai monuments also requires scientific knowledge in solving many problems. Sukhothai monuments were constructed by using many kinds of building materials. Most of these monuments are comprised of earthen and laterite bricks and coated or decorated with plaster and stucco. Some of them were built of wood. These building materials have deteriorated according to natural weathering agents. Moisture plays a very important role in the weathering processes of building materials, whether from underground, rain, or the atmosphere. It causes physical damage through salt crystallization, hydration, and pulverization of the building materials. The following research would be carried out to assist in the restoration work:

- 1. Study the causes of deterioration.
- 2. Study the mechanisms and products of the deterioration processes.
- 3. Determine the appropriate intervention to prolong the life of the monuments.
- 4. Study the methods of consolidation and types of consolidating agents to be applied to the original building materials.
 - 5. Study the ancient technology.
 - 6. Determine the preventive measures to reduce or eliminate

the causes of deterioration or to slow down the rate of deterioration of the monuments.

This research would be carried out by a working group composed of scientists and specialists in various fields to accomplish the goals of the projects.

Archeological Excavation and Research

Archeological work concerned with the test pit excavation and monument excavation of the Sukhothai monuments has been carried out since 1977. The results of the excavation and interpretation of the evidence indicate the causes of collapse and other important clues needed for restoration of those monuments.

The archeological excavation and analysis reveals that the causes of collapse can be broken down into man-made and natural causes. Treasure hunters have dug into the inner parts of all monuments, producing large cavities and unsightly damage. Most monuments are in very serious condition. In addition, natural causes gradually deteriorate the monuments and over a long period of time cause them to collapse.

Landscaping Development

Sukhothai's landscape is composed of hills, canals, ponds, wells, and ancient archeological sites which are scattered both within and outside the ancient city walls. Visual obstructions in the ancient city are comprised of unsightly jungle growth, a number of poorly constructed houses and shops, sawmills, rice mills, and untidy electric poles. Souvenir shops within the compound of Ramkamhaeng's monument would have to be relocated.

The ponds which are scattered all around the ancient sites provided the main source of water supply for the ancient people, as well as the present inhabitants. The earthen city walls and surrounding moats are mostly covered by layers of earth and forest vegetation, making it impossible to see the whole wall structure from a distance.

After a thorough survey of the sites, the following plans were set forth:

- 1. A detailed master plan should be drawn up to coordinate all specialized work departments.
- 2. Each ancient site should be surveyed for its historic significance, present condition, and size.
- 3. Several houses within the vicinity of the ancient city should be relocated. Any new houses should be made of material that will blend in with the atmosphere of the ancient city.
- 4. Souvenir and food stalls set up for sightseers should be located well away from the ancient sites so as not to destroy the historic view.
- 5. Those highways and roads which cut across ancient sites should be rerouted.

A survey of the soil structure was undertaken from 100 to 120 centimeters beneath the ground. Seven test pits (dug

within a radius of 7,530 rai within and outside the city walls) revealed that 1,796 rai of land was well suited for farming, while another 709 rai was arable but contained from 10 to 26 percent brick and ceramic which will partially obstruct farming. In all, there are no major obstructions for growing trees and crops. A total of 2,520 rai of land can be used for this purpose.

So far there have not been any specific government regulations concerning the use of land within the historical park. Inhabitants who live both within and outside the city walls are mostly farmers and cattle herders. Conservation forests and farming areas lie outside the city walls. Most of the inhabitants who have settlers' rights live in the area to the east of the city.

Scattered all around the city both within and outside the city walls are 126 ancient sites. Interspersed among the historical structures are villages composed of houses which are grouped together in clusters and individual houses which are scattered arbitrarily around the city. Baan Neu, the most densely populated village, located to the north of the Charotvithithong Highway, and Baan Tai, located south of the highway, contain two-story, tin-roofed wooden houses. At another location along the highway are a cluster of one-story houses that have been built in a very disorderly fashion.

There are about 454 houses which are scattered all around the city in no particular plan, both within and outside the city walls. A survey revealed that many of the houses in this category are situated either right on top of or very close to the archeological sites. Because they are so far scattered about, it will be difficult to round up all the people and relocate them to specific areas.

Industry in the old city of Sukhothai is centered mainly around agriculture, including two relatively large rice mills located beside Wat Chang Lom and a sawmill beside the Charotvithithong Highway, which destroy the view of the ancient sites. Trucks hauling logs to and from the sawmill exert constant pressure on the adjacent historical areas and consequently speed up their destruction. About thirteen smaller mills of both varieties are located in several other villages.

The farming areas of Sukhothai city are situated in the north, south, and west of the old city (outside the ancient walls). Paddy fields make up the major part of the agricultural area; second to these are sugar-cane plantations. In the center of Sukhothai city are newly erected temples, schools, a museum (a branch of the Fine Arts Department included), government buildings such as the health centre, and a police station.

Apart from strengthening and rerouting existing roads, consideration will be given to parking facilities. The asphalt-paved Charotvithithong Highway, 2.95 kilometers long and 7 meters wide, is still in good condition although it will have to be rerouted as one part of it cuts across the ancient pond at the Wat Sra Sri complex, a major temple in Sukhothai times. Meandering dirt roads 4 meters wide and about 38.9 kilometers

long, connect the ancient sites together. Dusty in the dry season and soggy in the rainy season, these roads cannot survive for long. The only ancient site that has been connected by roads is situated on the hill slopes.

Ownership of land within the historical park area of seventy square kilometers (43,750 rai) includes 6,000 rai privately owned where the occupants have been issued land title deeds. Another 7,000 rai located to the north and west of the old city have been used by settlers for farming. Although the rest of the land is under the direct control of the Fine Arts Department, all the hilly areas have been designated as conservation forests and are under the control of the Forestry Department.

In short, the work concerning landscaping development has been carried out as follows:

- 1. Arranging for compensation for land and agricultural plantations.
 - 2. Clearing an area of 1,320 rai.
- 3. Conserving the skady bit trees, and the trees and plants in Ramkamhaeng's stele have been grown in the park.
- 4. Clearing waterways including city moats, ponds, canals, and wells.
 - 5. Renovating the city wall by clearing weeds.
- 6. Designing landscape, improving pathways, planting flowers, digging ponds, and general maintenance.

Renewal and Resettlement of Villages

Two hundred sixty families living in areas which visually block the ancient sites will be relocated in the area northwest of the city walls. The new settlement area will be divided into four separate villages, each one comprising fifty houses. Each house will have an area of 1.5 rai for kitchen gardening and/or tending animals.

Housing in the historical park has been classified into the following categories:

Houses that will be relocated: This includes those houses which block the pathway to and/or obstruct the view of the ancient sites. The new settlement area will be located both outside and inside the city walls. The villagers involved should be provided with adequate compensation.

Houses that will be redeveloped: Although the majority of these houses overlap the park development area, they do not have to be relocated. They should, however, be redeveloped to improve the living environment. The present building materials should be substituted with those that existed in ancient times.

Houses that can be left alone: Those houses do not need to be renewed or relocated because they do not block any sites and their appearance does not clash with the atmosphere of the ancient city.

The new settlement area will be situated beside paddy fields and some already established villages. A sufficient water supply system must be provided. Small lanes should connect every house to the main roads. A primary school, a health center, and a cooperative store should be provided.

As to village renewal and resettlement work components, this program involved:

- 1. Registering the number of persons in each family and prohibiting further settlement in the historical park area.
 - 2. Issuing official orders to relocate those families involved.
- 3. Providing all the villagers, whether or not they need to be relocated or renewed, with more public facilities while at the same time improving the existing ones.
- 4. Taking measures to prepare for a possible increase in the population among the present inhabitants.

Tourist Development

In ancient times the city of Sukhothai was an important destination for both local and foreign travelers. Today it ranks behind in popularity to Thailand's other ancient cities, namely Ayudhya, Pimai, and Lopburi. However, recent developments for easier traveling, such as the building of new routes like the Kampaeng Phet-Phitsanulok, Tak-Uttradit, and Phitsanulok-Khonkaen highways have encouraged more people to visit ancient Sukhothai. Before, in order to reach Sukhothai one had to travel by train or plane to Phitsanulok and from there by bus. The establishment of air-conditioned bus service to and from Sukhothai in 1973 and tourist programs in the Sukhothai, Phitsanulok, Kampaeng Phet, and Sri-Satchanalai areas have greatly increased the number of visitors.

A poll taken at the Ramkamhaeng National Museum in 1977 reveals that approximately 350 local tourists visit the city daily; the number rises on weekends and national holidays. During festivals at the end of the year there are about 2,000 to 3,000 visitors per day. The majority of Thai sightseers visit Sukhothai while passing through to other destinations and spend only about two to three hours at a few ancient sites. From this estimate, it does not appear that Sukhothai is a very popular tourist spot among Thais.

Most of the foreign tourists come in tour groups arranged by local and international tour companies. Single tour groups of thirty to forty persons, most of whom are elderly, visit the ancient sites daily. Eighty out of 100 tourists are of French and German nationality. Younger people prefer to come on their own in small groups of two or three. Measures for tourist development include the following:

- 1. The erection of more signposts for roads with clear indications of where particular ancient sites are located.
- 2. The establishment of a larger police force to provide protection for tourists particularly in areas that are not populated, as thieves and highwaymen are a constant threat.
- 3. More private investment in hotel construction, particularly in the new city of Sukhothai. There are five second-class hotels with a total of 200 rooms which are not up to any standards in terms of sanitation. Phitsanulok, an hour's drive from Sukhothai, has the only first-class hotel in the region; however,

hotel guests have found that traveling between Sukhothai and Phitsanulok is very time-consuming.

4. The revival of ancient festivals in the ancient city, a coordination of the Fine Arts Department and the Tourism Authority of Thailand (TAT). Unfortunately this has only temporari-

ly boosted the number of visitors. The construction of a highway from Bangkok to Chiangmai which will bypass Sukhothai could prove to be a permanent booster; that is, once the government raises enough money.



Throughout his tenure at Mesa Verde, Jesse Fewkes devoted particular attention to excavating those ruins abundant in religious symbolism. He diligently worked to ensure that the ever-increasing and ever-curious public viewed the archeological preserve as a special place of wonder.

Theme 2

The impacts of national consciousness on approaches to the management of cultural parks; interpretation of cultural parks; the economics of attracting, supporting, and profiting from tourism; and visitor impact on cultural resources.

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Los impactos de la conciencia nacional en las aproximaciones a la dirección de parques culturales; interpretación de parques culturales; la economía de atraer, apoyar, y sacar provecho del turismo; y el impacto de los visitantes en los recursos culturales.

Les impacts de la conscience nationale sur les approches de la gestion des Parcs Culturels, l'interprétation des Parcs Culturels, l'économie de l'attraction du tourisme, son soutien et les profits qui en résultent ainsi que l'impact du visiteur sur les ressources culturelles.

Tourism and Use Theme Summary

The papers considered many topics outside the stated theme boundaries. Issues ranged from the use of oral history in helping to define proper management of cultural parks to the creation of parks and cultural centers to enhance the quality of life in cities. The participants also addressed the need for protection of natural resources and discussed the economic benefits of tourism. The presentations proved to be diverse in the approaches taken as well, some being directed at management concerns, others at the populations of tourism-impacted areas, others at resource protection.

Yet there were concerns common to all the papers. The keynote address defined the creative tension that exists between exploitation and protection of cultural resources and historic properties that serve as the basis of tourism. The speakers echoed the keynote address, and frequently alluded to the exploitative, often destructive, use of historic sites associated with tourism development and provided suggestions to alleviate the problem. These solutions varied, but focused on the need for careful and precise planningplanning, for example, to ensure that development of tourism facilities does not introduce disruption into the lives and cultures of native populations and local residents, which is a real danger for both developed and underdeveloped nations. Planning to protect the visual integrity of historic objects and sites and to minimize the impact of tourist facilities on those sites formed a recurring theme. While measures to limit or

prevent physical damage to cultural resources by tourism included numerous administrative and design solutions, they did not emphasize limiting public access to sites, a concept that once enjoyed considerable popularity and still has many adherents.

The papers shared other concepts as well. Prime among them was a general agreement that protection must be afforded to historic sites and parks which, by the very nature of being the focus of tourism, were threatened with consumptive use and damage by visitation impacts. Consumptive uses, the authors agree, must not prevail. Likewise, the presentations stressed the need for local control by local residents and emphasized that they must benefit from that tourism and ensure that tourism development be an enhancement, and not a degradation, of the local quality of life. At the very least, regional and national plans and policies must reflect the unique qualities of local cultures and address local needs and concerns. Only sensitive facilities development, blending the needs of visitors, the historic resources, and the local residents, will enrich the lives of visitors and residents alike.

The papers embraced the concept of active promotion of tourism to cultural areas and historic sites and parks, yet recognized the dangers involved. Together, they suggest that a balance can be struck and that a creative solution for each historic site—balancing preservation, quality of life for the residents, and tourism promotion—can be found.

Precis

World tourism has grown dramatically in the past forty years, bringing problems and opportunities for countries which have chosen to use their cultural heritage for socio-economic gain. Regions whose primary and secondary industries were in decline or non-existent have realized the employment potential of tourism by presenting their cultural heritage as attractive to people of other countries. The facilitation of tourism has brought problems for some but benefits for many, and the balance to be struck between conservation and exploitation maintains the creative tension which has provided many successful examples of the intelligent management of supply and demand.

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El turismo mundial se ha aumentado dramáticamente a lo largo de los últimos cuarenta años, ocasionando una diversidad de problemas y oportunidades para aquellos países que se valieron de su patrimonio cultural para lograr el progreso socioeconómico. Varias regiones cuyas industrias primarias y secundarias se decaían o ya habían desaparecido aprovecharon el potencial del turismo como fuente de empleos al pregonar el atractivo de su patrimonio cultural antes otros pueblos. Aun-

que resulta problemático para algunos, el fomento turístico obra en beneficio de muchos más y la tensión creativa que surge al buscar el equilibrio entre la conservación y la explotación produce muchos ejemplos del manejo astuto de las fuerzas de la oferta y la demanda.

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Le tourisme mondial a connu une croissance extrême au cours des quarante dernières années, créant des problèmes et offrant des possibilités aux pays qui ont choisi d'utiliser leur patrimoine culturel pour obtenir un certain progrès socio-économique. Les régions, dont les industries primaires et secondaires étaient en déclin ou non-existantes, ont mis à profit le potentiel d'emploi offert par le tourisme en vantant l'attrait de leur patrimoine culturel auprès des autres pays. La promotion du tourisme a créé des problèmes pour certains mais aussi, a apporté des bénéfices pour beaucoup, et l'équilibre à atteindre entre la conservation et l'exploitation maintient une tension créative qui a produit de nombreux exemples de succès de gestion intelligente de l'offre et de la demande.

Tourism and Heritage: A Creative Tension

Lester Borley

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"History is bunk!", as Henry Ford so succinctly put it. What would he now make of the millions of tourists who visit his great magpie collection of the American way of life at Dearborn? For people are interested in the past, show an informed interest in their surroundings, and want to know more about their cultural and natural heritage. Of course, we all have our favourite caricature of tourists and can recognise the symptoms in others, but curiously never quite see ourselves in the same way.

Already in 1860, Thomas Starr King had commented acidly that summer travellers "bolt the scenery, as a man driven by work bolts his dinner . . . Sometimes they will gobble some of the superb views between two trains, with as little consciousness of any flavour or artistic relish as a turkey has in swallowing corn."

Succeeding centuries have produced many destinations and objectives for tourists. The Grand Tour of Europe was pursued by young men of good families in the eighteenth century. The historic houses of Britain are now in turn visited annually by millions who admire the good taste and collecting habits of previous generations who were influenced by the Grand Tour. The Romantic Movement which swept Europe in the nineteenth century opened eyes to the wonder of the natural environment. Landscape gardeners were commissioned to improve on nature, and sponsors of plant-hunting expeditions introduced exotic and unusual plants into conservatories and sheltered gardens, where they could simulate the micro-climates of far-flung tropics.

Europe's tourism potential would be far less significant were

it not for a heritage of man-made landscapes, historic buildings, and fine art treasures. In the face of sophisticated promotion and modern developments elsewhere, Europe has managed to bring forward an unrivalled composition of attractions. In Scotland we have no need to impersonate the best of other countries who attract tourists for their own unique cultures, but instead we work hard with others to foster our own heritage, which displays in itself a fascinating mixture of the influences of other cultures over the centuries. Trade and diplomacy, learning and religion, have eroded so many of the old natural boundaries. The sea has long been a means of communication, and far less of a barrier than the land mass. The castles of northeastern Scotland have a distinctive quality which owes more to direct trade with northern Europe through Aberdeen than to developments in England to the south. It is interesting to see the same sort of thing in the United States, where the hinterlands of Boston, New York, and Philadelphia each developed subtle differences in taste and decoration in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries as the result of direct trade with Europe.

According to Max Lerner: "it became part of the American tradition to be an amalgam of many traditions, even while there were pressures to select one of them (namely the British-Western European) as *the* American one. The shaping forces of American society, and of its outlook and thought, owe so much to successive cultural impacts. Each immigrant group contributed whatever elements of its tradition were absorbable by the American heritage, while in turn it absorbed the items it found."²

There is of course a growing public awareness of the need to conserve this heritage and to defend it from undesirable development. The establishment in 1891 of the Trustees of the Reservations of Massachusetts preceded that in 1895 of the National Trust for England and Wales, which led on to the National Trust for Scotland in 1931. The National Trust for Historic Preservation in the United States has made great strides in recent years to focus public attention on the issues facing influential people in both the public and private sectors. Alexander Hurd, chancellor of Vanderbilt University, speaking at the National Trust's annual meeting in 1982, emphasised the accomplishments of that Trust when he said, "you are in the business of preserving more than architecture, you are in the business of preserving the *United States*."

Or as Rudyard Kipling expressed it in "The Children's Song":

Father in Heaven, who lovest all, Oh help thy children when they call, That they may build from age to age An undefiled heritage.

Delegates to this conference come from many continents and countries, with quite different concepts of what constitutes the heritage. We are bound together as professionals or exponents of conservation and management. We will seek common understanding, but our personal experience will undoubtedly colour our contributions. I am mindful of what Bruce Catton has said:

Europe and Asia were old and slightly faded when the American continent was nameless and nearly empty. Renaissance, Reformation and counter Reformation, Da Vinci and Martin Luther and Ignatius Loyola—all of these had had their day before any man of European descent had seen the Shenandoah River or laid out a farm in the Mohawk Valley, or tried to take a wagon over the sandhills of Nebraska.³

The very choice of a World Heritage Site as the location for this conference is of course significant. It causes us to wonder about its past. How can we begin to comprehend the way that people lived in the Great or Classic Pueblo period at Mesa Verde? The terrible twenty-four-year drought which began in the San Juan and Colorado River basins about 1276 led to the evacuation of Mesa Verde. The Spaniard Escalante saw the ruins and named them Mesa Verde in 1776—a date of certain significance for the British elsewhere on the continent. But it was not until 1874 that a government surveying party located it, and in fact it was not until a snowy day in December 1888 that two cowboys, Wetherill and Mason, in search of lost cattle rediscovered and began to exploit the site.

Bruce Catton might well have had Mesa Verde in mind when he said, "when you go, you are not making an excursion into the present: you are going back into the past, and the lights and shadows that give the landscape of the past its due depth do not exist unless you yourself are ready to see them."

It is interesting for me to make comparisons between the time scale of Mesa Verde and that of Canterbury Cathedral which was a monastic settlement at the time Mesa Verde was flourishing. In 1170 Saint Thomas à Becket was martyred in the cathedral and Canterbury became a place of pilgrimage. In 1420 Canterbury is said to have welcomed 100,000 visitors attracted by the 250th anniversary celebrations of the martyrdom. We have no means of knowing quite how the authorities coped with the numbers, which were large in terms of the population, nor if anyone gave much thought to tourism's impact on the cultural heritage. Certainly, Geoffrey Chaucer's word pictures of the band of pilgrims creates an impression of bustle and laughter, awe and wonder, not too different from present-day tour groups. Certainly, the social mixture of modern tourism has precedents in Chaucer.

To be in the Medici Chapel in Florence in August is a stifling experience. To emerge from a car on the road to Delphi even in March is to understand the pressures that modern tourism has brought to an infrastructure which was fine for the gods of ancient times, but totally inadequate for the demands of the present day. No doubt this conference will concern itself with the balance to be struck between supply and demand, and draw conclusions for consideration by public bodies.

UNESCO, in promoting an international convention for the protection of the world cultural and natural heritage in 1972, made a significant innovation in linking together what were traditionally regarded as two quite different concepts: the protection of the cultural and the natural heritage. It introduced the specific notion of a "world heritage" whose importance transcends all political or geographical boundaries. Above all, it implied "that each nation holds in trust for the rest of mankind those parts of the world heritage that are found within its boundaries."

Having studied the list of World Heritage Sites so far accepted, I reached the conclusion that the vast majority are already much-used as a basis for tourism in their countries. It raises the interesting question of whether the World Heritage List is intended to be for promotion or protection. I imagine that we will return to that possible dilemma during the passage of this conference. There is no doubt that World Heritage listing is a most important concept, perfectly compatible with the nature of tourism, which as a force also transcends political and geographical boundaries.

Although tourism stagnated in 1981 and declined slightly in 1982 in response to economic recession, 1983 figures of the World Tourist Organization show that there were 286.5 million international tourist arrivals, 250 million generated within Europe and the Americas. That may seem an enormous movement, but in fact domestic tourism volumes are far greater. The total of all tourist arrivals in 1983 was between 3 and 3.5

billion, with a spending power of some \$96 billion U.S. Nine of the twelve generating countries, which account for two-thirds of all international arrivals, and some three-quarters of all international tourism receipts, are in Europe.

World tourism has grown dramatically in the past forty years, bringing problems and opportunities for countries which have chosen to use their cultural heritage for socioeconomic gain. Clearly circumstances exist for tension between those on the one hand who wish us to have a responsibility for the conservation of the cultural or natural heritage and those on the other hand who promote and develop tourism as perhaps the only real prospect for tertiary sector employment in their regions or countries.

In Europe there is already a good dialogue between tourist organisations and conservation bodies. The objectives of Europa Nostra and the European Travel Commission have often coincided, particularly in providing joint platforms for the consideration of tourism and heritage conflict. The European Architectural Year in 1975 gave both developers and conservationists the opportunity to work together. In my view, the designation of international years is of little value unless there is a continuing commitment on the part of governments to the principles thus established.

This condition of creative tension is one which I expect will occur throughout the second of our conference themes on Tourism and Use. An old Chinese proverb says: "Though two men may sleep on the same pillow, yet may they have quite different dreams." We could so easily have taken that as our text for the theme of Tourism and Use.

In the second conference theme we shall focus on the impacts of national consciousness on the management of cultural parks, and examine the interpretation of those parks to others. We shall also consider the economics of attracting, supporting, and profiting from tourism, and importantly, consider visitor impacts on cultural resources.

The scope of the papers within the Tourism and Use theme amply demonstrate the nature of experience and experiment in balancing the cultural resource against the tourism demand. They range from the modern-day interpretation which mitigates tourism impact at Luxor on the west bank of the Nile to the consideration of tourism management on the Island of Bali-"the garden island of God." We shall hear about the rapid urbanisation of Tunis which threatens the site of Carthage on the one hand, and a Massachusetts model for an urban heritage state park system which exemplifies the environment and economic revitalisation on the other. We shall consider how to raise the consciousness of residents to their natural heritage, and to consider the legal and political constraints on tourism and use. There are sixteen papers to be delivered, pondered, and discussed, all of which should focus our attention on real problems and real solutions.

The major value of examining relevant experience is to confirm how many trends in developments in tourism are in fact

common to North America and Europe and have lessons for other developing areas. There are of course dangers in accepting all external experience and solutions. An article on the cultural parks of Trinidad and Tobago in the Spring 1984 issue of *Parks* commented that

Culture, among other factors, undoubtedly influences recreational preferences and should also be reflected in management actions. Often this is not the case because North American or Western European planning and management models have to be superimposed on distinct cultural settings with mixed results. This is not a criticism of the models per se but an unfortunate trend in many small Third World nations where the cultural heritage is not preserved by incorporation at the time of park planning, development and management.⁵

It is not a problem only for developing countries in the Third World. The fundamental problem of a finite resource measured against a burgeoning demand remains, and I suppose the simple laissez-faire attitude which has pertained in the past can no longer suffice. Pressure arises from sheer weight of numbers. England and Wales already have a mean population density more than double that of India. Mobility and affluence have become no longer the prerequisite of the few but the expectation of the many. Curiosity about the past creates tourism and, if successfully managed, it can bring economic benefit to regions and countries with a rich heritage to share. The supply and demand must be balanced, and the tension which exists used for creative benefit.

Heritage is a compound of many treasures. They are natural and man-made and they occur all over the world. Access to them will benefit mankind not just physically but, more importantly, spiritually, enabling us perhaps better to understand the words of William Blake:

To see a World in a grain of sand And a heaven in a Wild Flower Hold Infinity in the Palm of your Hand And Eternity in an Hour.

This is our problem; but that is also our opportunity.

Notes

- 1. Thomas Starr King, The White Hills: Their Legends, Landscape and Poetry (New York: Hurd and Houghton, 1874), 17.
- 2. Max Lerner, *America as a Civilization*, vol. 1, *The Basic Frame* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1957), 22.
- 3. Bruce Catton, The American Heritage Book of Great Historic Places (New York: Simon and Schuster, Inc., 1957), 7.
 - 4. Ibid.
- 5. Richard A. Meganch and Bal S. Ramdial, "Trinidad and Tobago Cultural Parks: An Idea Whose Time Has Come," *Parks* (April/May/June 1984): 1-5.

Precis

The West Bank of the Nile at Luxor, Egypt, contains a wide range of monuments from the pharaonic era-tombs in the Valleys of the Kings, Queens, and Nobles, mortuary temples in various states of preservation, and the archeological remains of a workmen's village. As tourism to Egypt increases, these are attracting a rapidly increasing number of visitors. Many of these monuments, especially the smaller tombs, are extremely fragile and are already showing signs of deterioration. Among the basic conclusions of the study of tourism management in the area commissioned by the Ministry of Tourism in 1981 was that an improved system of information and interpretation could help reduce the impact of tourism on the resources in several ways. First, visitation now concentrated at a few well-known sites could be spread over a larger number of sites by providing visitors with a clear understanding of the variety available to them. Second, dwell time at the actual monuments could potentially be decreased somewhat and visitor comprehension of the sites and satisfaction with the total experience increased by providing off-site interpretation facilities. Third, unwitting damage could be reduced by educating visitors about the preservation problems of the monuments. In addition, such an interpretive program could reduce visitor frustration and improve the overall experience in Luxor by providing both short-term and longer-term visitors with the amount and type of information each needs at the point where it is needed.

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La orilla occidental del Nilo en Luxor, en Egipto, contiene un número de monumentos de la época de los faraones—tumbas en el Valle de los Reyes, las Reinas y de los Nobles, los templos mortuorios en las condiciones diversas de preservación, y los restos arqueológicos de un pueblo de artesanos. Con el desarrollo del turismo en Egipto, los monumentos atraen un número de visitantes que aumenta rápidamente. Muchos de estos monumentos, en particular las tumbas más pequeñas, son extremadamente frágiles y muestran ya signos de deterioración. Entre las conclusiones de base del estudio de la gestión del turismo en la región, comisionado por el Ministerio de Turismo en 1981, era preciso que un sistema elaborado de información y de interpretación podría ayudar a reducir, de diversas maneras, el impacto del turismo sobre los recursos. En primer lugar, los visitantes actualmente concentrados en unos pocos sitios bien conocidos, podría repartirse sobre un gran número de sitios al informar los visitantes de la variedad que les son accesibles. En segundo lugar, la duración de las visitas a los monumentos mismos podría acortarse. La comprensión de los sitios y la satisfacción de los visitantes, por la experiencia gobal, podría darse al ofrecer las posibilidades de interpretación fuera del sitio. En tercer lugar, la deterioración involuntaria podría reducirse al sensibilizar los visitantes de los problemas de la preservación de los monumentos. Además, un tal programa de interpretación podría reducir las frustraciones de los visitantes y mejor la experiencia global en Luxor al proveer a corto y a largo plazo, la cantidad y el tipo de información en el punto que se necesite.

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La rive ouest du Nil à Luxor, en Egypte, renferme de nombreux monuments de l'époque des pharaons-tombes dans la Vallée des Rois, des Reines et des Nobles, des temples mortuaires dans des conditions diverses de préservation, ainsi que les ruines archéologiques d'un village d'artisans. Avec le développement du tourisme en Egypte, ces monuments et lieux attirent un nombre de visiteurs qui augmente rapidement. Beaucoup de ces monuments, en particulier les plus petites tombes, sont extrêmement fragiles et montrent déjà des signes de détérioration. Parmi les conclusions de base de l'étude de la gestion du tourisme dans la région, commissionnée par le Ministère du Tourisme en 1981, il était précisé qu'un système élaboré d'information et d'interprétation pouvait aider à réduire, de diverses façons, l'impact du tourisme sur les ressources. En premier lieu, les visites actuellement concentrées sur quelques sites très connus, pourraient être réparties sur un plus grand nombre de sites en informant les visiteurs de la variété qui leur sont accessibles. En deuxième lieu, la durée des visites des monuments mêmes pourraient être écourtée. La compréhension des sites et la satisfaction des visiteurs, pour l'expérience globale, pourraient être accrues en leur offrant des possibilités d'interprétation préalables hors site. En troisième lieu, les détériorations involontaires pourraient être réduites en sensibilisant les visiteurs aux problèmes de la préservation des monuments. De plus, un tel programme d'interprétation pourrait réduire les frustrations des visiteurs et améliorer l'expérience globale à Luxor en leur fournissant, à court et à long terme, la quantité et le type d'informations dont chacun d'eux a besoin au moment où il en a besoin.

The Use of Interpretive Techniques to Increase Visitor Understanding and Reduce Pressure on Fragile Resources: The West Bank of the Nile at Luxor

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Background

The desolate cliffs on the West Bank of the Nile at Luxor, some 300 miles south of Cairo, contain one of the world's largest, best preserved, and most famous groupings of remains from an ancient civilization. The modern city of Luxor, on the East Bank, occupies the site of the ancient city of Thebes, capital of Egypt in the periods known as the Middle and New Kingdoms (c. 2000-1000 B.C.), and headquarters for the worship of the god Amun (see map, Figure 1). Luxor itself contains two of the largest and most spectacular temple complexes in Egypt: Luxor, in the southern part of the modern city; and Karnak, to the north of the city. In ancient days these temples were connected by the Avenue of the Sphinxes which, along with the remains of the Pharaonic city, still exists unexcavated under today's city.

Even more spectacular, however, are the remains of the Theban Necropolis on the West Bank—the City of the Dead across from the "City of the Living." Here, in the western hills, Pharaoh, the sungod/king, went to his eternal home when he departed the world of the living. In the remote and forbidding stone cliffs of the fabled Valley of the Kings, he had carved and embellished the tomb so essential for the security and comfort of his eternal life; and in the more accessible flat land nearby, he had built the mortuary temple essential to his passage into eternal life and the proper worship of his priests thereafter. Today, the remains of these funereal extravaganzas constitute some of the most famous and magnificent monuments of antiquity: the Valley of the Kings itself, with the tomb of the boy-king Tutankhamen, whose discovery by Howard Carter in the 1920s attracted

world-wide attention, and numerous others; the Valley of the Queens, where the Pharaohs' consorts were buried; the Colossi of Memnon, made famous in Greek legend and actually the only remains of the mortuary temple of Amenhotep III, one of Egypt's most powerful Pharaohs; the Remeseum, or mortuary temple of Rameses II, where lies the "shattered visage" of Ozymandias commemorated by the English poet Shelley; the spectacularly sited Temple of Queen Hatshepsut at Deir-el-Bahri. In addition, there are numerous monuments much less famous but scarcely less splendid or interesting: the mortuary temple of Rameses III at Medinet Habu; the Valley of the Nobles, where the rich and powerful who served Pharaoh built their tombs; the workmen's village at Deir-el-Medina where the artisans who built and decorated the tombs

Despite the difficulties of access, these sites have long drawn tourists to the area, a fact evidenced by graffiti in Greek and Latin as well as French, English, German, and Italian. (The instincts of tourists seem to be the same in every age.) Drawn by a variety of motives—conquest, trade, exploration, treasure hunting, scholarly interest, or simply curiosity—they have come from all parts of the world in nearly all ages. Indeed, there is evidence that ancient Egyptians themselves came as tourists to view the relics of previous dynasties.1 Since the "rediscovery" of ancient Egypt which followed Napoleon's expedition at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the city of Luxor has increasingly catered to the needs of tourists. In the late nineteenth century, the Winter Palace Hotel at Luxor was a mecca for wealthy European and American tourists eager to combine escape from the rigors of winter weather with viewing the wonders of antiquity.

The twentieth century, of course, has brought a steady increase in the number of tourists. Especially in the past decade, stimulated by a conscious promotion policy on the part of the government, the growth has been startling. Statistics for earlier periods are scanty, but by 1977 over a million visitors a year were coming to Egypt, and nearly 200,000 of these were making their way to Luxor. This year the figure will probably be well over 2 million for the country as a whole and close to half a million for Luxor.²

Tourism, of course, plays an important role in the local economy. Residents work as guides, bus and caleche drivers, and hotel staff; they provide foodstuffs to the hotels; they make and sell a wide variety of souvenirs and crafts to the tourists: textiles and clothing, jewelry, leather and brass goods, stone carvings. In a country with limited natural resources, cultural resources are indeed important economic resources. Small wonder that the Egyptian government seriously promotes tourism.

But tourism, as we all know, is not an unmixed blessing. It brings with it problems, especially as the numbers increase: disruption of local life, to the point in extreme cases of corrupting traditional cultural and economic patterns; damage to the natural and man-made environment; and deterioration of the very cultural resources the tourists come to see. These problems are exacerbated in the case of the West Bank at Luxor by special characteristics of climate and topography and of the monuments themselves.

For these reasons, which are in fact the major focus of this conference, the study of the promotion and management of tourism in the Luxor area commissioned in 1981 by the Egyptian Ministry of Tourism included major components focusing on ways to minimize the negative impacts of tourism on the monuments, on the people, and on the environment. This study was carried out by an international team headed by Arthur D. Little International, with the International Center for the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property (IC-CROM) handling technical preservation studies, and the author's firm, Boston Affiliates, Inc., handling the interpretive program. The team's recommendations, based on extensive on-site investigations, were presented in a final report in November 1983.3 This paper, based on the author's participation in that study, will discuss the uses of interpretive and informational programs in addressing these concerns and, more specifically, their uses in reducing pressure on the more vulnerable cultural resources themselves.

The Problems

The monuments on the West Bank vary greatly in size and nature, and thus in visitor capacity, as the table in Figure 2 shows. While the hourly rate shown in the left-hand column has been calculated on the basis of numerous variables too complex to discuss here, such as capacity of the parking area, number of available viewing locations, and typical dwell time

of each visitor, a cursory look at two or three examples should illustrate the salient differences. The Colossi of Memnon, for example—two enormous statues located in an open area in the agricultural land—can accommodate virtually limitless numbers of viewers, the only serious constraint being the lack of land for parking buses. (Remember that agricultural land is a scarce and vital commodity in Egypt.) The vast plateaus of Hatshepsut's temple can also absorb large numbers of visitors. Moreover, both of these monuments are relatively indestructible and thus able to withstand such heavy visitation with few ill effects. At the other extreme are numerous tiny tombs in the Valley of the Nobles, which not only are so small that they can hold only a few visitors at a time, but have fragile wall paintings which can be easily damaged by an inadvertent brush with a camera bag, or even by visitors' breath.

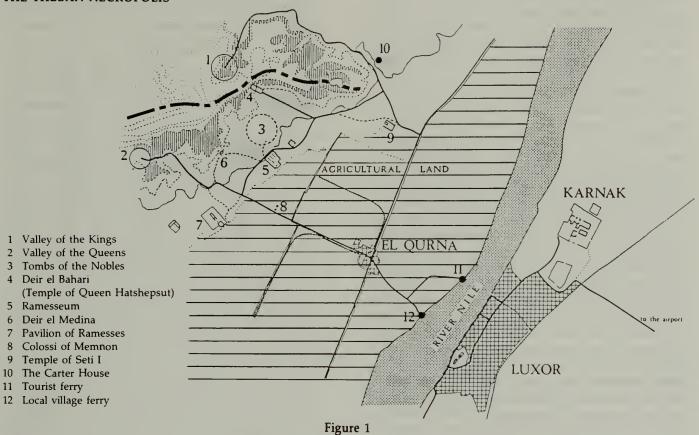
As the "demands" columns show, with daily requirements projected for 1985 and 1990, the number of visitors wishing to see a given site bears little relationship to its ability to accommodate them or withstand the onslaught. The worst discrepancy occurs at the tomb of Tutankhamen. Virtually everyone who comes to Luxor wants to see "King Tut's Tomb." Unfortunately, it is one of the smallest tombs in the Valley of the Kings, with an hourly capacity of only 300. As Figure 3 shows, the expected demand during the peak season will have outstripped the tomb's capacity in the traditional sixhour period when the monuments are open by 1985; and by 1990 demand is expected to exceed capacity even if the tomb were open for fifteen hours—probably a physical impossibility because of darkness. In other cases, such as the tombs of the nobles Menna and Nahkt, famous for their scenes of agriculture and hunting, heavy visitation causes excessive wear and tear on the fragile resources.

Deterioration of the monuments on the West Bank is not caused solely by tourism. Changing climatic conditions brought about by the damming of the Nile and the encroachment of irrigation canals and agricultural land take a serious toll. So do the human inhabitants of El Qurna who cannot be persuaded to leave their dwellings, which are in some cases literally on top of the tombs in the Valley of the Nobles. Some of them engage in the ancient occupation of tomb-robbing; the livestock owned by others causes inadvertent damage.

Whatever the other factors, increased visitation will bring with it increased deterioration, especially to the smaller and more fragile sites, unless that visitation can be carefully managed. And the demand for increased visitation exists, both among the tourist industry and the local population who desire its economic benefits, and among a growing international audience who desire to see some of the world's most famous antiquities.

If we look at a map of the necropolis (Figure 1), we see that a certain ability to control visitation exists naturally. The West Bank is conveniently accessible from Luxor only by ferry and limited roads through the agricultural land. There are only two

THE THEBAN NECROPOLIS



West Bank Sites

		CAPACITIES			DEMA			
DESTINATION	HOURLY RATE	6 Hrs	6 Hrs 10 Hrs 15 Hrs		TOTAL DAILY REQUIREMENT		PEAKING CHECK	
1 VK					1985	1990	1990	
Tutankhamen	300	1800	3000	4500	2590	4004	800	
5 units of 3 tombs	2000	12000	20000	30000	2590	4004	800	
2 VQ 3 units of 2 tombs	900	5400	9000	13500	2015	3114	622	
3 TOMBS OF NOBLES CircuitA	500	3000	5000	7500	576	890	90	
4 DEIR EL BAHARI	900	4800	8000	12000	2590	4004	800	
5 RAMESSEUM	900	5400	9000	13500	1151	1780	356	
6 DEIR EL MEDINA	500	3000	5000	7500	432	667	134	
7 MEDINET HABU	900	5400	9000	13500	720	1112	222	
8 COLOSSI	1800	10800	18000	27000	2159	3337	666	
9 SETLI	800	4800	8000	12000	288	445	89	

small hotels with rather primitive facilities on this side of the river, and the government controls future development tightly since nearly all the land is protected for either agriculture or antiquities. Thus, hours of ferry operation and site opening, timed tickets, and other management devices can, to a certain extent, control visitor flow.

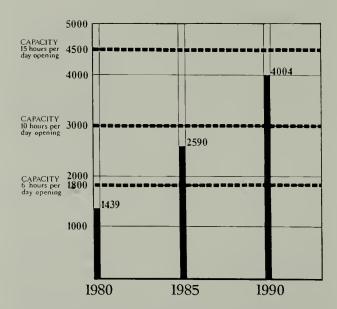
The problem still exists, however, of more demand for certain sites than those sites can accommodate. Most tourists come several thousand miles to Luxor and come only once in a lifetime. If tourism is to be successfully promoted, they cannot be arbitrarily excluded from the most popular sites.

If we look at Figure 4, we see that visitation is indeed spread very irregularly throughout the necropolis. The top priority for nearly all visitors is the tomb of Tutankhamen in the Valley of the Kings. The fact that 90 percent rather than 100 percent now visit the Valley probably reflects an already existing level of frustration at the one-to-two-hour wait in the hot sun at Tutankhamen in the peak season. The only other site now attracting this many tourists is the Temple of Hatshepsut at Deirel-Bahri. The Valley of the Queens comes close with 75 percent.

At the less-popular end of the spectrum, we find the Valley of the Nobles, the Rameseum, and the Temple at Medinet Habu tied at 10 percent, while Deir-el-Medina and the Temple of Seti I rate 5 percent each for an average of five minutes—barely enough time to get out of a bus or car and stand up straight. It is these sites at the lower end of the popularity scale which are interesting. If more visitation could be shifted here, it would reduce pressure on the more heavily impacted sites while accommodating an increasing number of tourists.

Why are these sites less visited? Are they intrinsically less interesting? Not necessarily. Medinet Habu, for example, is a well-preserved temple whose classic plan is easily grasped and whose decorations are vivid. Many tombs of the nobles have beautiful wall murals depicting scenes of ancient Egyptian life more comprehensible to the modern viewer than the Book of the Dead rituals depicted in the royal tombs. And Deirel-Medina is truly the hidden treasure of the West Bank. The only worker's village of Pharaonic times known to have survived to the present, it has been carefully excavated and documented by a French expedition over a fifty-year period. Here, if they knew about it, visitors could see the narrow streets and tiny, efficiently planned houses and courtyards where Egyptian artisans lived. Properly interpreted, it could add a whole new dimension to the tourist's understanding of ancient Egypt.

But few tourists ever find out that it exists. Nor do many who know Shelley's poem ever realize that the fallen colossus is at the Rameseum. And only slightly more are aware that the tombs of the nobles are not merely less-interesting copies of the royal tombs. All of which is a pity, for each of these sites is in its own way as interesting as the more well-known ones. Tutankhamen's tomb especially is less interesting, except for its associations, than most of the lesser-known sites.



Visitor Flows to Tomb of King Tutankhamen

Figure 3



Figure 4

Source for Figure 3 and Figure 4: Arthur D. Little International, Inc.

Clearly, if visitors had more knowledge and understanding about the sites, many would choose differently, and visitation could be distributed more evenly.

Interpretive and Informational Solutions

A carefully designed interpretive and informational program can provide such knowledge and at the same time raise visitor awareness of the fragility of the monuments and the necessary preservation measures being implemented, thus making them more responsible visitors. In addition to thus benefiting the monuments, such a program can benefit tourism by providing increased visitor satisfaction and encouraging longer stays.

Several aspects of the situation on the West Bank and in Luxor require special consideration in the design of an interpretive program. First, the environment of the sites raises difficulties. The utterly desolate landscape surrounding them is an important part of their character, and almost any modern addition to it-buildings, kiosks, etc.-becomes an intrusive element and diminishes their impact. Moreover, the micro-climatesuper-dry, with fierce sun, 120° F. temperatures, and winddriven dust—is hostile to most materials used for permanent interpretive installations. Second, the rigors of the climate and the separation of monuments and lodging facilities have produced patterns of tourist use of the area-West Bank visitation early in the day, mid-day respite at the hotel, leisurely East Bank exploration later in the day, and evenings free which must be considered (although the possibility of some alteration exists). Third, there is a well-developed network of local guides who should not be supplanted for cultural as well as economic reasons. The tradition of guiding and interpreting is one of the elements of continuum between ancient and modern Egypt. (No one, for example, would want to replace the system of shedding light on the tomb paintings by means of mirrors, which probably dates back to their creation.) Finally, the tourist population in Luxor is generally of two types: the short-stay visitor, usually on a package tour, usually not well-informed; and the longer-stay visitor, often not with a group, often well-informed, and seriously in pursuit of an in-depth experience.

Thus an effective interpretive program must:

- 1. Provide different levels of information to meet the needs of both groups of tourists without supplanting the local guide system.
- 2. Make information available where and when visiting patterns require it.
- 3. Intrude as little as possible upon the monuments themselves or their immediate environment.
- 4. Remain effective, attractive, and easily maintainable in a difficult climate.

The program proposed for Luxor was designed to meet these needs at three stages of the visitor's involvement:

1. To visitors upon arrival at their hotels, the program should provide brochures briefly covering all the attractions of the

Luxor area, hours of operation, basic maps, and general orientation.

- 2. To visitors before or after their visits to the West Bank Necropolis, the program should provide an in-depth interpretation program covering:
 - a. Perspectives—what ancient Thebes was, what remains of it (the sites), and how they relate to each other;
 - b. Chronology—how these sites relate to Egypt's history and other sites;
 - c. Forms—how to look at the monuments, hieroglyphics, and architecture;
 - d. Nature of the Monuments—purposes of mortuary and other temples, tombs, and workmen's village, and what to expect to see and experience at each kind of site (e.g., differences between nobles' and kings' tombs).
- 3. To visitors while on the West Bank, the program should provide a series of satellite information centers with orientation maps and identification of sites with brief descriptions. At each site, the program should provide identification panels. At the tomb of Tutankhamen, the study recommended a special interpretative display to be viewed while awaiting admittance.

To meet these needs, a three-tiered network was recommended, consisting of: 1) A central interpretive facility or Visitor Center; 2) information modules at or near the sites on the West Bank; and 3) orientation modules in the hotels.

1. Visitor Center

The centerpiece of the network would be a new interpretive complex housed in a Visitor Center. Its highlights would include a display area, a theater, and a library, with supportive workshops and offices.

Display Area. The display area—perhaps the lobby to the theater-would contain numerous display units consisting of three large, interrelated panels with captions in the major languages. These display units would convey three types of information: general information, specific information on all of the sites, and information on special topics to enhance understanding. First, a general information/interpretation display would include an information booth with brochure rack, a master map showing all sites, and a large-scale model of the tombs. Second, informational display units for each of the sites would contain a small duplicate of the master map highlighting the site; a large map showing details of the site; verbal and pictorial information as needed to explain the purpose, history, and characteristics of the site; and large attractive color pictures, keyed to the map, representing individual components of the site, with a brief description in several languages. These site displays would include the following groupings:

Valley of the Kings: 5 to 8 tombsValley of the Queens: 3 to 5 tombsTombs of the Nobles: 6 to 10 tombs

-Mortuary Temples: Rameseum, Habu, Hatshepsut

- —Deir-el-Medina: village, French headquarters, temple, tombs
 - -Seti I
 - -Karnak
 - -Luxor Temple
 - -Howard Carter's house

Finally, interpretive display units would present special topics verbally and pictorially. These would include a preservation unit showing problems and progress: "How to Look at Monuments"; religious and funerary practices; a brief history of 2,500 years of tourism in the area, and brief descriptions of current and recent archaeological projects with identification of sponsoring institutions.

Theater. A small 200-seat theater with state-of-the-art facilities, including multiple screens curving behind an electrically programmed large-scale model of ancient Thebes, a projection booth with slide projection and 16 and/or 35 mm film projection equipment, two separate sound systems including facilities for sound in multiple languages, and a programmed lighting system could be used in several modes to provide special interpretive experiences conveying complex information. These modes would include:

- 1. A twenty-minute multiscreen, multiprojector orientation slide show with spotlight programming of the Thebes model integrated into it (to show routes of funeral processions, festivals, etc.), with narration through the main speakers and in alternative languages through headphones;
- 2. Between shows, a push-button-operated program of interior light and sound on the model by which visitors could explore various aspects of the sites as they related to each other in ancient Thebes; and
- 3. An evening showing of commercial and documentary films of special interest to Luxor visitors.

Library. A small library was also recommended, designed to meet the needs of the visitor deeply interested in the monuments and to help visitors answer questions they may have after seeing the sites. Pleasant and informal with open bookshelves, comfortable chairs and sofas, and attractive decorations, it would contain a basic library of books and journals on Egyptology, archeology, and perhaps a few on Egypt today, in several languages. It might also provide a selection of fifteen-to-twenty-minute tapes—standard-technology cassettes for use with simple-to-use portable tape decks and headphones—on many aspects of ancient Egyptian life, such as Egyptian astronomy, agriculture, food, clothing, trade patterns, role of women, etc.

Brochures. A family of brochures was recommended as a primary means to disseminate information in printed form. In keeping with the character of the subject, all should be of high quality in terms of graphics, production, and editing. These would include:

1. A general brochure on Luxor and the West Bank, describing each site and the attractions of the area, using the same

list of sites as for the exhibit units, for distribution in great quantities internationally;

- 2. A brochure on the Visitor Center and its programs, for distribution in local hotels;
- 3. Brochures on each of the site groupings with maps, for visitors to use in planning itineraries and to take home; and
- 4. Brochures on many aspects of ancient Egyptian life—farming, hunting, funerary practices, mummification, etc.—which could be sold to interested tourists to help support production costs.

Incorporation of Guide Network. For the long-term success of the Luxor tourist program, tour guides must be included in the planning, development, and ongoing programs of the Visitor Center and the West Bank interpretive and information system. Their support and involvement are critical to preclude the development of dual but unrelated information systems—one stemming from the Visitor Center and the other from the guides who never go near it. Two uncoordinated information systems would only serve to frustrate and confuse the Luxor visitor. For these reasons the study recommended that considerable efforts be made to assure guides that the interpretive program and information system would be supportive of rather than competitive with their trade. It also recommended a series of specific ways to bring about guide participation in the planning stages and the establishment of an ongoing multifaceted guide liaison program.

Supportive Attractions. To promote use of the Visitor Center, help support its operations, and provide amenities for tourists, additional features were recommended, including a restaurant and specialty shops to be operated by commercial specialists. The restaurant would provide a needed alternative to hotel dining in the area while attracting visitors to the center and providing a relaxed, sociable, and lively ambiance. Certain types of shops, including a bookshop featuring a wide and authoritative selection of books on ancient Egypt, and a museum-reproduction shop offering authenticated top-quality reproductions of Theban artifacts and jewelry not only would not compete with existing local shops and street vendors, but would presumably stimulate improvement in the quality of local offerings.

2. West Bank Information Network

The network of information systems proposed for the West Bank includes several elements. All installations must be carefully designed and manufactured to withstand the rigors of the West Bank environment. They must also be simple so as to impinge on the sites as little as possible, and consistent, to aid in visitor recognition.

A series of small information modules, or information satellite centers, strategically located for guidance of visitors in the area, would each contain a map of the necropolis and a detailed map of the area with pictures and a brief identification of each site. A panel at the entrance to each tomb or site would identify the site and explain in one or two sentences

its chief characteristics. At the tomb of Tutankhamen, a series of photographic blowups of the Carter discovery, simply presented with brief captions, would reduce frustration during the visitor's wait, and enhance the brief stay inside.

3. Hotel Orientation Modules

The Visitor Center would provide each hotel with an attractive modular unit displaying information about the center, including a rack for brochures, hours of operation, and a changing board listing films and special events.

Opportunities for Future Interpretive Development

In addition to this three-tiered interpretive and informational network, the study identified two excellent opportunities for the future development of interpretive facilities which could both accommodate heavy visitorship and provide in-depth experiences for visitors. These are the workmen's village at Deirel-Medina and Howard Carter's house.

1. Deir-el-Medina

The workmen's village at Deir-el-Medina presents one of the greatest underutilized opportunities for interpretation in the entire area. No information now exists on it outside of scholarly circles; however, it has been thoroughly documented and the basic materials for interpretation already exist.

A phased approach to its development would include several steps which would increase in complexity and expense as visitation grows. The first simple step would be to provide brochures at the Visitor Center describing the village and what it tells us about the workers who built the tombs. The next step would be on-site interpretation, including floor plaques describing uses of rooms, panels with information on inhabitants, and pictures (reproduced from the many tomb paintings) of the crafts they practiced. Later development would include major undertakings: turning the French head-quarters into an interpretive center on the archeology of the site; and building a new museum near the site as a major interpretive center for the everyday life of the village.

2. Howard Carter's House

Howard Carter's house presents an excellent opportunity for interpreting the fascinating story of the discovery of the tomb of Tutankhamen, and thus for reducing the inordinate pressure on the tomb itself. Located at the edge of the necropolis area, it is currently used as a residence for Department of Antiquities officials. Again, a phased approach to developing this site as an attraction could be used, keyed to increased demand. This would involve first, locating the house on area maps and encouraging drive-by but not opening it to the public; and later, turning the house into a museum by restoring Carter's living quarters as a house museum and the office space as a historical exhibit concerning the explorations and discovery. This alternative opportunity for an ''inside look'' at the romantic discovery would allow reduction of visitor dwell-time in the tomb without increasing frustration.

Costs

What are the costs of such a program? Excluding the development of Deir-el-Medina and the museum at Carter's house, which are indeed major and long-range projects, the proposed interpretive program is still a major investment. The Visitor Center component is estimated to cost LE 2.3 million; interpretive and protective measures on the West Bank another LE 900,000, each phased over several years. But these costs seem small in comparison to the economic benefits to the area which the expected steady increase in tourism is bringing—and even smaller in comparison to the irreparable damage which will be done to the monuments by that increase if it is not managed appropriately.

Notes

- 1. Barbara Mertz, *Red Land*, *Black Hand* (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1976), 118.
 - 2. Egyptian Department of Tourism and Civil Aviation.
- 3. Arthur D. Little International, Inc., in association with Shaukland Cox Partnership, William R. Fothergill, Sherif M. El-Hakim and Associates, Final Report: Study on Visitor Management and Associated Investments on the West Bank of the Nile at Luxor (November 1983).
- 4. The Egyptian pound is now worth approximately \$1 American.

Precis

Tourism can dramatically improve the quality of life. It can serve not only as an economic stimulus for community development, but also as a catalyst to stimulate pride and commitment to community life. But this can only happen when it is done correctly. For tourism to work well, the setting, targeting the client audience, and access must be alluring, efficient, and memorable. Just as the difference between "fast food" and "junk food" is a mixture of impressions, advertising know-how, subtle ambiance, and positive reinforcement, the difference between a successful tourist economy and a badneighbor type is the product of serious planning and the lack of a public-private partnership approach which maximizes benefits to both tourists and local residents.

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El turismo puede mejorar mucho la calidad de la vida. Puede servir, no sólo de estímulo económico para el desarrollo de la comunidad, sino que también puede ser un catalisador para estimular el orgullo y el compromiso con respecto a la vida de la comunidad. Todo esto no puede tomar lugar a menos que las cosas sean hechas correctamente. Para que el turismo funcione bien, el sitio, teniendo como objetivo el público de los clientes y el acceso al sitio deben ser atractivos, eficaces y memorables. Justo como la diferencia entre el "fast food"

y "junk food" es un conjunto de impresiones, de buen manejo publicitario, de ambiente sutil y de refuerzo positivo, la diferencia entre una economía turística exitosa y una de tipo de mala vecindad es el resultado de una planificación seria y la falta de un acercamiento mixto, público y privado, que maximalice los beneficios para, a la vez, los turistas y los residentes locales.

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Le tourisme peut grandement améliorer la qualité de la vie. Il peut servir, non seulement de stimulation économique pour le développement de la communauté, mais il peut aussi être un catalyseur pour stimuler la fierté et l'engagement envers la vie de la communauté. Tout ceci ne peut prendre place que lorsque les choses sont faites correctement. Pour que le tourisme fonctionne bien, le site, ayant pour objectif le public des clients, et l'accès au site doivent être attirants, efficaces et mémorables. Tout comme la différence entre le "fast food" et le "junk food" est un mélange d'impressions, de savoirfaire publicitaire, d'ambiance subtile et de renforcement positif, la différence entre une économie touristique réussie et celle de type de mauvais voisinage est le résultat d'une planification sérieuse et l'absence d'une approche mixte, publique et privée, qui maximalise les bénéfices pour, à la fois, les touristes et les résidents locaux.

Utilizing Tourism, Both as an Economic Stimulus for Community Development and to Improve the Quality of Life for Residents

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Tourism is a code word for many things. It encompasses coordinated marketing, packaging, and knowing your audience. It means access, whether by plane, boat, automobile, or by walking—preferably all of them. It means a readily understandable showing of the cultural, athletic, and recreational magnets designed to draw tourists to an area—including interpretation, clear display, and, wherever possible, interaction between the visitor and the objects or places being viewed and experienced. It means comfortable ancillary facilities such as hotels, restaurants, trains, cabs, and pleasant guides who are proud of what they are explaining and extolling.

Tourism, however, is like the genie in the bottle in the fable of the Arabian Nights—it can be a force for good or evil depending on how it is employed. If approached wisely, it can both stimulate economic development and enhance the quality of life in a community. When it is undertaken carelessly or without sound planning and forethought, local residents complain about a ''bad neighbor,'' congestion, and degeneration in the quality of life. The difference between the Williamsburgtype tourism image and the ''bad neighbor'' type of tourism deplored by both tourist and local residents is the difference between the clean, wholesome environment created by the former and the careless short-term expediency of the latter.

As pervasive as tourism is, communities need to be concerned with how tourism can stimulate economic development as well as enhance the quality of life for the tourist and resident alike.

Tourism is big business. According to a recent report of the National Trust for Historic Preservation, tourism is predicted to be the world's leading industry by the year 2000, only 15

years from now. In the United States, tourism already is one of the largest retail industries, second only to food stores. U.S. and foreign travelers spent \$194 billion in the United States during 1982. Their expenditures generated four and one-half million jobs and produced \$20 billion in federal, state, and local tax revenues. One well-accepted multiplier effect of tourist dollars is that each tourist dollar generates seven dollars of economic activity. Further, the National Trust report found that tourism is heavily labor-intensive, employing large numbers of semiskilled and unskilled laborers, particularly minorities, youths, and older people.

The enhanced self-image that Los Angeles enjoys today, thanks to the 1984 Olympics, is incalculable. That extravaganza built on and utilized, for the major part of its setting, existing athletic/cultural facilities. Though the media focused on the games' overall dollar profit and the city's \$200,000 cash profit, the real economic impact was the myriad dollars spent by the many visitors and the participants' entourages. Such a colossal enterprise, joining regional and local interests, can be a model for whole nations. It shows how to proudly make use of and glory in the cultural patrimony, while profiting from it in the form of jobs, taxes, and prestige.

Tourism is such a vast and varied business because people who travel (i.e., have disposable income) seek exotic experiences different from what they find at home. In the United States, San Francisco appeals to New Yorkers and vice versa because both cities publicize, highlight, and emphasize those differences that are attractive to their opposite numbers. They do so with shrewd advertising, easy access, and comfortable ancillary facilities that stress the positive aspects of a visit to

their city. They are also internationally minded—not just towards Europe for New York and the Far East for San Francisco. Both cities try to lure visitors from the other's side of the world; Far Easterners visit New York and Europeans visit San Francisco. The ambiance of both cities is publicized on a world-wide scale. Multilingual facilities and linguists abound. And it is no accident that both have active visitor bureaus, uniting their private sectors with the local government and working hand in hand with the federal government.

Not only does tourism impact the economic area, but it can also have a direct and formative effect on the physical appearance of a community or region. At its best the physical demands of tourism can be integrated into a community's development by catering to the tourist without violating the essential heartbeat of the locality. At its worst, tourism can destroy the community's identity and leave it ultimately abandoned by both the tourist and the diminished resident population.

Clearly tourism is an industry that can improve the quality of life in communities where it is intelligently promoted. It can bring jobs, parks, recreational, and other facilities—not to mention pride in the local culture—as well as image-producing facilities such as museums, historic sites and buildings, and fishing and boating areas.

Knowledgeable planning and anticipation of the future effect of tourism on the community and region are vital to assure that the end result is in the best interests of all. The growth or non-growth of tourism cannot be left to haphazard development.

I am sure many of you see tourism as the lifeblood of Mesa Verde, Colorado, and a source of pride for residents. This is because tourism enhances both the city's image and the economic life of the surrounding area. How does a locality go about blending tourism and community development with the aim of improving the quality of life? There are five key steps that are prerequisites to an overall plan which creates a rational approach to tourism.

First, a tourism bureau or commission needs to be established which will work closely with local and national government and business needs. It must have representatives of the cultural constituencies, businesses, and the travel industry. It must include chambers of commerce. It must be adequately funded and given a clear charter to encourage tourism. It must inventory the area's assets and identify constraints.

Second, a local public/private partnership to promote intrastate, interstate, and international visitors' programs must be developed. The private sector can take the lead in develop-

ing a long-term visitor research and marketing program, stressing the cultural and entertainment aspects of the resources intended to draw tourists. Particularly with regard to historical and cultural resources, the assistance and input of universities and colleges should be solicited and used as a valuable input to decision-making.

Third, regional planning associations should be consulted and involved in any planning for tourism and its effects. A major involvement of transportation agencies and community development agencies is a must.

Fourth, legislation for hotel or tourism taxes should earmark a percentage for the ongoing planning effort and the maintenance of the resources that are the lure to the tourist. Some of these funds can be used to help the locality adjust to the increase in visitors that the overall program stimulates. A major impetus should come from the private sector, which must be willing to invest in tourism to gain an economic return or the entire edifice can tumble down from top-heavy government involvement.

Fifth, and most importantly, planning should be on an ongoing basis to use knowledge about what is actually happening to feed back into and update plans and prospects for the future. History, architecture, archeology, museums, ethnic areas, parks, and lakes and seashores are all magnets that draw tourists. Almost every nation and region has some such magnet on which to build. But it must be a conscious effort. Haphazard development will not do.

Tourism is an immense industry that must be rationalized and guided by sound planning principles to ensure that the quality of life is improved for both the tourists and local residents. This dual benefit is necessary or the undertaking will soon atrophy and turn into a problem rather than a solution.

Tourism must be cultivated as carefully as agricultural fields or else it too will wither and die. Agriculture needs fertilizer, careful tending by the farmer, vigilance against pests and disease, and an investment of capital and labor. Similarly, tourism needs public awareness, careful nurturing of the image through sound marketing, vigilance against encroachment and neglect, and an investment of capital and labor. Done well it can provide food for the spirit.

I remain optimistic that people such as those assembled here at Mesa Verde can be the catalyst to make tourism grow and be a good and helpful neighbor—serving to upgrade the poorer areas, providing jobs, and increasing both local pride and international knowledge among nations in a peaceful and mutually satisfying way.



Tourism has become one of the world's primary forms of economic activity and a chief source of income in many countries. It is a multi-billion-dollar business. Even so, successful development of tourism should conform with a nation's special history, traditions, and sense of identity. The quality of life for residents should be improved, not downgraded, by increased tourism activity. Otherwise, developing tourist-oriented environments will create dissension and tension.

In a discussion of important considerations in tourism development in the Caribbean, Micronesia, and two areas of the United States, the author says one of the main risks to avoid is overexploitation of a site. Roads, hotels, and transportation systems are necessary for recreation site development, but if they are not handled properly, the results can be disastrous for the environment and the industry. Proper management of land-use and transportation systems is essential.

Third World nations must be careful not to lose economic control or turn over decision-making power to outside interests whose expertise and financial backing are necessary to the project's success. Control must remain local and must include the residents of the area affected.

The paper emphasizes that tourism promoters should stress a region's self-image so tourists will adjust their perceptions of the places they visit. Countries should project their own best images and not try to imitate others.

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El turismo se ha transformado en una de las formas principales de actividad económica en el mundo y en una de las fuentes esenciales de ingresos para numerosos países. Es un asunto de varios billones. Aún siendo de este modo, el desarrollo logrado del turismo debería conformarse a la historia específica, a la tradición y al sentido de identidad de una nación. La calidad de la vida de los residentes debería ser mejorada y no reducida, por el crecimiento de la actividad turística. En el caso contrario, desarrollar los ambientes orientados hacia el turismo creará disensiones y tensiones.

Durante una discusión sobre las consideraciones importantes tocante al desarrollo del turismo en el Caribe, Micronesia y dos regiones de los Estados Unidos, el autor declara que uno de los riesgos principales que hay que evitar es la sobre explotación de un sitio. Las rutas, los hoteles y los medios de transporte son necesarios para el desarrollo de sitios de descanso, pero si son tratados de mala manera los resultados pueden ser desastrosos para el ambiente y la industria. Una gestión

apropiada de la utilización de los terrenos y de los medios de transporte es esencial.

Las naciones del tercer mundo deberán evitarse perder el control económico y restablecer el poder de decisión a intereses exteriores donde la pericia y el apoyo económico son necesarios al éxito del proyecto. El control debe quedar al nivel local y debe incluir a los residentes de las regiones concernientes.

La ponencia subraya el hecho de que los promovedores del turismo deberían valorizar la imagen que una región tiene de sí misma para que los turistas puedan adaptar sus percepciones de los lugares que visitan. Los países deberían proteger las mejores imágenes que les son propias y no tratar de imitar a otros países.

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Le tourisme est devenu l'une des formes principales d'activité économique dans le monde et l'une des sources essentielles de revenus pour de nombreux pays. C'est une affaire de plusieurs milliards. Même s'il en est ainsi, le développement réussi du tourisme devrait se conformer à l'histoire spécifique, à la tradition et au sens d'identité d'une nation. La qualité de la vie des résidents devrait être améliorée et non réduite, par la croissance de l'activité touristique. Dans le cas contraire, développer des environnements orientés vers le tourisme fera naître des dissensions et des tensions.

Lors d'une discussion sur des considérations importantes concernant le développement du tourisme dans les Caraïbes, la Micronésie, et deux régions des Etats-Unis, l'auteur déclare que l'un des principaux risques à éviter est la surexploitation d'un site. Les routes, les hôtels et les moyens de transport sont nécessaires au développement de sites de détente, mais s'ils sont traités de la mauvaise manière les résultats peuvent en être désastreux pour l'environnement et l'industrie. Une gestion appropriée de l'utilisation des terrains et des moyens de transports est essentielle.

Les nations du Tiers-Monde doivent se garder de perdre le contrôle économique et de remettre le pouvoir de décision à des intérêts extérieurs dont l'expertise et le support financier sont nécessaires au succès du projet. Le contrôle doit rester au niveau local et doit inclure les résidents des régions concernées.

L'exposé souligne le fait que les promoteurs du tourisme devraient faire valoir l'image qu'une région a d'elle-même pour que les touristes puissent adapter leurs perceptions des endroits qu'ils visitent. Les pays devraient protéger les meilleures images qui leur sont propres et ne pas essayer d'imiter d'autres pays.

Tourism Development and Cultural Conservation: Ways to Coordinate Heritage with Economic Development

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Travel and tourism have come a long way from the days when only aristocrats, messengers, and exiles left their immediate areas to venture into foreign countries. Today tourism has become one of the world's primary forms of economic activity. In fact, it now ranks second only to oil in international trade, and virtually all nations take tourism seriously as a source of income. Many Third World nations—particularly those in the Caribbean Basin and the South Pacific and Indian Oceans—are steadily augmenting their investments in tourism development and promotion, which they perceive as a means of obtaining both economic growth and political stability.

According to the 1983 edition of World Travel Overview, an annual summary of international tourism trends prepared for the American Express Corporation by Jeanne V. Beekhuis, the number of 1982 travelers worldwide totaled approximately three billion. (For perspective on the enormity of this figure, imagine that every person in the United States traveled 150 times during that single year, either domestically or abroad.) Given this frequency of travel and the distances involved, it is clear why tourism holds such excitement for economic development planners, especially in regions of the world where natural or scenic resources and clement weather abound.

The Concept of Cultural Tourism

In a sense, all tourism is "cultural." Locations help to determine the customs of their inhabitants, and people who travel for recreational purposes generally visit destinations that are to some degree unlike their own communities. The difference may be as subtle as a variety in stores or the presence of a

casino or a zoo, or it may be as great as another language, cuisine, and climate.

Curiosity about "exotic" places has lured adventuresome souls since long before Marco Polo. But it has been only in the last few decades that large numbers of individuals have been able to undertake travel as a major source of leisure activity. Because of advances in travel technology and higher standards of living in most of the industrialized world, we are now in an age of mass tourism, which accounts for the astounding travel figures already cited. This tremendous influx of activity into areas that were relatively isolated fifty years ago poses a serious threat to the cultures and traditions of the people who live in new-found tourist meccas. This danger is especially true in the small islands of the Caribbean and the Pacific and Indian oceans.

A major problem that seems to recur in these fragile environments is a lack of coordination among the various interest groups involved in tourism—including professionals from the fields of economic development, planning, tourism promotion, and the arts. Because these groups often operate in relative isolation, either from each other or from the community at large, the resulting hodgepodge of activities intended to attract and re-attract tourists is sometimes duplicative and dangerously dense. Anonymity and environmental destruction can be the unintended legacy of recreation sites designed with tourists, but not inhabitants, in mind.

When considering cultural tourism—tourism that builds on and enhances rather than threatens local heritage—a good operating rule is to consider not so much what *tourists* might want to see in a community as what *residents* would prefer to reveal about themselves. From successful case studies of cultural tourism in the United States and Europe, it appears that tourism growth can be a natural byproduct of a community's or a nation's increased pride and the recognition of its heritage and character. Countries or communities hoping to cash in on increased tourism first must assess their own identities, lifestyles, and environments before considering any blueprint drawn to the scale of another city or region. Naturally, there are numerous, time-saving lessons to be learned from the experiences of other communities, and adaptations are often possible. But fundamentally, each location must recognize its own potential as a tourist magnet by developing attractions based on its unique character. In this way, few will be excluded from partaking of the tourism pie. Equally important, if all goes well, the quality of life for the residents should improve. This improvement in turn is likely to provide a source of civic pride and involvement beyond previous levels.

The U.S. Experience

The United States is now more than 200 years old. It is the oldest democracy on the planet, and—thanks to the unprecedented proliferation of nations in the past forty years—it has assumed a still-unfamiliar role as elder to many of the world's smaller countries. Though a youngster by comparison with many of the nations on other continents, the United States' historical roots reach deep into the traditions of western civilization. In addition to a varied and complex cultural ancestry, the nation's size and varied terrain and climates have induced a regionalism that has both taxed the adaptability of individuals and governmental systems and bestowed special rewards in cultural richness. What other country could boast a book entitled *The Ethnic Almanac* that describes an Italian immigrant who, having made a fortune in Chinese food, was once proclaimed Minnesota's "Swede of the Year"?

The nation's oldest region—the American Northeast, where a strong European tradition combined with nineteenth-century industrialization to produce textile and steel mills—was perhaps the first to discover how to recapture a measure of its traditional prosperity by reclaiming and promoting its cultural and architectural heritage. In Paterson, New Jersey, for example, tourism and development planners collaborated on a plan for the city's revitalization that has included recycling abandoned mill buildings for artist housing and studios, and encouraging development of restaurants, shops, and cultural activities. Paterson's strategy aims to take advantage of its location twenty miles from New York City and its natural asset as the home of the Passaic River's Great Falls, the second-highest falls on the east coast.

This same sense of self-awareness as a unique city has infused and transformed the city of Lowell, Massachusetts. Lowell was founded in 1829 by a Bostonian who envisioned that the town would be a model for industrial progressiveness.

With a canal running through its center, mills on both sides, planned streets, and dormitories for the women who worked in its factories, Lowell won the admiration of such notable progressives as Charles Dickens. Planners from throughout the United States and abroad visited the city. Its product, calico cloth, brought prosperity. But in time immigrants replaced native workers as the town's principal labor force; management policies ceased to be as enlightened as previously; and the houses, factory buildings, and equipment aged. In the 1900s, the mills either closed or moved to southern states until Lowell ceased to exist as a textile producer, with subsequent high unemployment and a shrunken tax base.

Around 1970, however, the city began to organize for survival. Today much of the downtown is an urban cultural park, the first of its kind in the nation. The city's banking institutions have helped support a wide range of ongoing restoration and preservation efforts. A major American computer firm—Wang Laboratories—has located a training center in one of the old mills. With new walkways along the canal planned, a canal barge on the drawing boards, a large hotel in progress, an authentic period trolley system running, and a variety of shops, restaurants, and artists' facilities in place, Lowell is a bustling town once again.

These two examples illustrate the benefits of developing tourism activity that is based on the unique character of the location involved. To reiterate, successful development of tourism should conform with the existing population's special history, tradition, and sense of identity. This latter characteristic may not always be easy to recognize. In fact, resource allocation and sense of identity may be the two issues on which the greatest number of opinions conflict.

Appropriate resource allocation requires that the quality of life for residents be enhanced—not degraded—by increased tourism activity. Otherwise, the evolution of tourist-oriented environments, perceived by inhabitants as being non-rewarding or actually alien to their lifestyles, will create more dissension and tension than the financial rewards may justify.

The Napa Valley

The sensitivity required to balance the interests of local residents with the needs of a sophisticated tourism industry does not just happen. In the United States, one area facing this dilemma is the Napa Valley of northern California. This region has long been famous for its vineyards and wineries, but in recent years its rich history, television exposure, and immense physical beauty have made it a California tourist attraction second only to Disneyland. There has been a tremendous influx both of tourists and of seasonal residents who spend the majority of the year in San Francisco. Long-time residents of the valley resent the now-costly lifestyle and resort-like atmosphere of what is still basically an agricultural region.

Because of its Victorian-era architecture, picturesque land-

scapes, and other natural resources, the valley offers a setting of international attraction. But it faces enormous problems if the present situation continues unchecked. Its city dwellers are concerned that, with land locked in agriculture, the opportunities for expanding and using the region's amenities to lure new employment (especially high-technology employment) are limited. Young people who were born in the valley increasingly cannot afford to live there. Residents complain that affluent outsiders come to buy a second home or to enjoy a high-priced vacation while they, the natives, cannot afford the price of meals and lodgings in their own communities. These tensions and differing perspectives have produced a classic resource-allocation dilemma—how to promote and provide the attractions sought by tourists without destroying the area for its own inhabitants.

Tourism, obviously, is not an all-purpose keystone for every economic development effort. There are severe risks of overexploiting the very qualities of a site that give rise to tourist interest. Rushing to develop roads, hotels, and major transportation systems to accommodate a tourist population can compromise an environment. When this situation occurs—as it is in danger of doing in the Napa Valley—everyone loses. Tourism development then becomes not only counterproductive but self-destructive, by eradicating its own drawing power.

Enlightened cultural tourism, on the other hand, can satisfy the requirements of economic development without sacrificing environmental and cultural quality. Educational programs, tourism promotion, building design, and management of land use and transportation systems all can foster an understanding of the impact of tourism and minimize the adverse effects. Tourism investors and economic and political leaders can arrive at a genuine consensus on acceptable tourism impact and work toward that level.

The Caribbean

The still-developing nations of the world increasingly are tapping the potential economic development uses of tourism. For the Caribbean Islands, this process includes recognizing the region's great scenic advantages. As E. Anthony Abrahams, former regional director of tourism programs for the Organization of American States, and a native Jamaican, puts it:

Tourism can be the key to continued, broader economic growth and prosperity for the people of developing countries. In fact, it is often the most easily available key to that growth. For despite the very real certainties and uncertainties of a sensitive industry, not to mention a host of critical internal considerations like maintaining a unique and distinct identity against a tide of foreign visitors . . . tourism is quite possibly the most natural way for developing countries to evolve economically . . .

In the case of Jamaica, the natural as well as developed ingredients for successful tourism are already in place. Our

country was almost born for it . . . Our tourism is based not only on the distinct cultural feel of Jamaica, or on its historical interests, but on climatic considerations as well.

Abrahams bemoans the lack of scholarship on the field of tourism and accuses governmental policy support of the industry throughout the region of being substandard. Unless the industry adopts a philosophy of cost-effectiveness, Abrahams contends, there will be no understanding of the full potential of tourism for promoting economic development.

Jean S. Holder, secretary-general of the Caribbean Tourism Research and Development Centre in Barbados, cautions that current trends in the growth of Caribbean visitors jeopardizes local cultural institutions. In American Express's world travel report, Jeanne Beekhuis estimates that visitors to the Caribbean region in 1982 exceeded seven million people, with the Bahamas, Jamaica, Bermuda, and the U.S. Virgin Islands receiving the greatest share of the tourist traffic. While these countries are actively promoting their tourist industries through strong marketing campaigns, Caribbean governments also are striving to minimize the toll on the region's natural resources caused by resort development, human and industrial waste contamination of premium waterways and beaches, and extensive transportation systems.

In a 1980 article in *Focus* magazine (published by the American Geographical Society), geographer James R. McDonald noted that certain aspects of the tourism industry require particularly careful consideration by developing nations.

- 1. In the balance of trade, developing nations tend to be disadvantaged since the majority of commodities needed to sustain typical resort attractions (such as food, drink, construction materials, furnishings, and so on) are procured outside the host country. McDonald calls this loss of revenue ''leakage.''
- 2. Although the industry as a whole is labor-intensive, large amounts of capital investment still are required to build the hotels, install the transportation systems, and provide other major expenses associated with the industry. Thus, local control over tourism can be diminished or even relinquished to outside investors, thereby preempting local direction and priorities.
- 3. The contrast between tourist wealth and local disadvantaged conditions may present dangers to the tourist population in the form of harassment or crimes against person or property.

Most prominent Carribbean officials involved in promoting and marketing tourism remain optimistic that they can resolve these problems and allow tourism to evolve as an industry adapted to their special situation. According to Jean Holder of the Carribean Tourism Research and Development Centre:

It is possible and desirable for all the Caribbean countries to include cultural messages in their promotion literature. Many of them already do. They stress that the Caribbean is more than exotic destinations and excellent beaches. Visitors to the Caribbean should experience the people not only by social contact but also through sharing our food and music, our dance, our religions and other aspects of Caribbean life in the authentic form and places Caribbean people experience them.

In other words, an important aspect of developing future tourism in the Caribbean will be to offer tourists something different from the standard resorts, something more commensurate with what the local population will tolerate and sustain financially. It is important as well that these decisions be made within the region. According to Holder:

The Caribbean is right to be concerned about what kind of image is projected of it in the marketplace. Caribbean people have not always had a hand either in the Caribbean product development process or the strategy by which it was marketed . . . Our identity and our cultural forms are also in a state of development. The process can be rendered more intensive and more sophisticated, but it cannot and should not be hurried by, or in the interest of, tourism promoters. The development must be for the Caribbean people, and they must be involved in the process.

Micronesia

Micronesia is the collective name of a U.S. Trust Territory in the western Pacific composed of more than 2,000 small islands, including the Marianas, the Eastern and Western Carolines, and the Marshalls. Micronesia's total land mass is about 700 square miles—roughly equivalent to one-half the size of the state of Rhode Island—but its ocean area spans a territory slightly larger than the continental United States. All of these islands together, with the exception of Guam, are collectively referred to as the U.S. Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands.

This trust status is scheduled to end shortly. The United States and the Micronesians currently are involved in the final stages of negotiating near-autonomous political status. Compacts of Free Association with the Federated States of Micronesia, the Republic of Palau, and the Republic of the Marshall Islands await congressional approval. Under the terms of the compacts, the islands will receive financial assistance from the United States that will be used internally for the economic development of the islands. Not only are the financial aid figures sizable; they are to last a long time—more than fifteen years for some islands and close to fifty years for others.

One of the major concerns among the islanders is the potential infusion of massive foreign investment, particularly for land speculation. Few locations have been blessed with the natural beauty of these islands, and investors appear eager to acquire spectacular beach properties for future financial gain. Japan is in the forefront of regional investment; its proximity

to the area and its historic and cultural ties are legitimate reasons for its interest in the islands. Major Japanese investment already has gone into hotels, fishing fleets, and tours.

Reliant since World War II on the U.S. economy and government, Micronesia is struggling against time to define its own aspirations and sense of purpose as autonomy nears. Virtual economic stagnation over the past quarter-century has created high levels of internal conflict while political leaders try to loosen the psychological and economic ties binding the region to American military and political institutions.

Fortunately, under the terms of the pending Compacts of Free Association, the United States has recognized its vested interests in the region and is committed to maintaining strong relations with Micronesia. Partly in response to the strong competition being posed by Japan and the rest of Southeast Asia, the United States is offering strong trade and tax incentives to private American investment in the islands, including duty-free entry of products into the U.S. market and foreign tax credits to U.S. businesses subsidizing operations in the region.

Concern has been expressed about the ability of the Micronesians to sustain a viable tourism industry, given their lifestyles and temperaments. David Nevin, who delivered a scathing attack on U.S. exploitation of the region in his book, *The American Touch in Micronesia*, maintains that the Micronesian people are not psychologically suited to either the kinds of work required of a tourism industry or the routine inherent in the management of such a national endeavor. Nevin contends that the very nature of the islands' habitat (warm beaches, long days, and festive traditions) poses an obstacle to taking routine work seriously.

There may be some truth to these potential obstacles. However, the overriding consideration for Micronesia, as with the Caribbean and with the islands of the Indian Ocean, is to assess tourism capabilities in terms of the local environment. A realistic tourism development plan for Micronesia will not be identical to one developed for the Caribbean. These are distinct peoples, with distinct cultural heritages, aspirations, and perspectives. To assume that tourism in the Third World will or should embody the same institutions or manifest itself in the same manner that it does in the United States, Europe, or elsewhere is wrongheaded.

While it is probably true that some traditional forms of attractions such as resorts and casinos will remain staples of most vacations for all island tourists, enlightened marketing can alert visitors to expect other forms of recreation more in keeping with the character of the area. We need to foster the ability of tourism promoters to project a region's self-image so that tourists will adjust their perceptions of the places they anticipate visiting.

An Agenda for the Future

To summarize: The experiences of both developed and developing nations suggest that common tourism-related con-

cerns require attention and action. If the opportunity for recreation and education through tourism is to remain available to coming generations of citizens worldwide, four issues need to be addressed: public policy, education, design, and management.

- 1. *Public policy* at the national and international levels should encourage the kind of locally responsive tourism that satisfies the requirements of economic development without sacrificing environmental and cultural quality.
 - 2. Educational programs should foster the general public's

understanding of the environmental impact of tourism.

- 3. *Design* of buildings, sites, and transportation systems should minimize the potentially adverse impacts of tourism.
- 4. Finally, *tourism management* by local communities should define the level of optimal tourism development and provide controls to encourage and maintain that level.

With consistent attention to these issues, communities and countries in search of tourist dollars can avoid repeating the worst mistakes of the past.



Precis

Trinidad and Tobago, a tiny island state located at the southernmost section of the Caribbean archipelago, is imbued with a unique national heritage of natural, environmental, economic, and cultural resources. The country's economy is dominated by the petroleum sector with tourism in second place. Efforts are being made to diversify the economic base through expansion of tourism, promotion of manufacturing industries, and the revival and expansion of agriculture, fishing, and livestock production.

Increased attention is being paid to the environment; however, there is a realization that if steps are not taken to improve the quality of the environment or at least to halt further degradation, the damage may be permanent. Twenty-three of the twenty-seven Caribbean states drew up an action plan which contained sixty-six specific environmental projects, from combating oil spills, managing watersheds and particularly coral reef, mangroves, tropical forests, and endangered species, to mitigating the risks of natural disasters, monitoring coastal water pollution, and studying the impact of tourism on the environment.

Raising the consciousness of residents to their natural heritage is therefore a multifaceted problem. Residents should learn respect and appreciation for cultural or social norms, and have a sense of national pride and a commitment to the country. There should be more environmental awareness programmes so that residents can learn to appreciate and understand their natural heritage.

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Trinidad y Tobago, una pequeña isla estado situada en la zona al extremo sur del archipiélago del Caribe está impregnada de un patrimonio nacional único de recursos culturales, naturales y económicos. La economía del estado está dominada por el sector petrolero; el turismo ocupa el segundo lugar. Se están efectuando medidas para diversificar la base económica a través de la expansión del turismo, la promoción de las industrias fabricantes, el recomienzo y la expansión de la agricultura, pesca y de la cría.

Sin embargo, se está dando mucha más atención al ambiente. Existe una toma de consciencia que si no se toman medidas para mejorar la cualidad del ambiente o por lo menos para detener su degradación, el daño podría ser permanente. Veinte y tres de veinte y siete Estados del Caribe han elaborado un plan de acción que constituía de sesenta y seis proyectos específicos para salvaguardar el ambiente, animando la lucha contra el derramamiento del petróleo, la gestión de la divisoria de aguas y particularmente las barreras de coral, el mangle,

los bosques tropicales y las especies en peligro, a la atenuación de los riesgos de los desastres naturales, al control de la contaminación de las aguas costeñas y el estudio de los efectos del turismo en el ambiente.

Sensibilizar la consciencia de los residentes a su patrimonio natural representa, por lo tanto, un problema a múltiples facetas. Los residentes deben aprender cómo respetar y apreciar las normas sociales y culturales y tener un sentido de orgullo nacional y de comprometerse a su patria. Deberían haber más programas de sensibilización al ambiente para que los residentes pudiesen aprender apreciar y comprender su patrimonio natural.

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Trinidad et Tobago, une toute petite île etat située dans la zone la plus au sud de l'archipel des Caraïbes est imprégnée d'un patrimoine national unique de ressources naturelles, économiques, culturelles et de l'environnement. L'économie de l'île est dominée par le secteur pétrolier; le tourisme occupe le deuxième rang. Des efforts sont en cours pour diversifier la base économique du pays par l'expansion du tourisme, la promotion des industries manufacturières, la reprise et l'essor de l'agriculture, des industries de la pêche et de l'élevage.

Cependant, une attention plus grande est accordée à l'environnement. Il existe une prise de conscience que si des mesures ne sont pas adoptées pour améliorer la qualité de l'environnement ou tout au moins pour arrêter sa dégradation, le dommage pourrait être permanent. Vingt-trois des vingt-sept Etats des Caraïbes ont élaboré un plan d'action qui comprenait soixante-six projets spécifiques pour la sauvegarde de l'environnement, allant de la lutte contre les déversements de pétrole, la gestion des bassins hydrographiques et particulièrement les barrières de corail, les palétuviers, les forêts tropicales et les espèces en danger, à l'atténuation des risques de désastres naturels, au contrôle de la pollution des eaux côtières et à l'étude des effets du tourisme sur l'environnement.

Sensibiliser la conscience des résidents à leur patrimoine naturel représente, en conséquence, un problème aux multiples facettes. Les résidents devraient apprendre à respecter et à apprécier les normes sociales et culturelles ainsi qu'à avoir un sentiment de fierté nationale et à prendre un engagement envers leur pays. Les programmes de sensibilisation à l'environnement devraient être plus nombreux afin que les résidents puissent apprendre à apprécier et à comprendre leur patrimoine naturel.

Raising the Consciousness of Residents to Their Natural Heritage

Iesma McFarlane

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Introduction

Trinidad and Tobago, a twin island state located in the southernmost section of the Caribbean archipelago, is imbued with a unique natural heritage of natural, environmental, economic, and cultural resources. The location of this country aligns the geological composition of Trinidad to South America and Tobago to that of the Lesser Antilles. Historically, on the other hand, colonial occupancy, with its enforced slave and indentured labour and frequent change in colonial rulers, has left an indelible impact on the economic structure, culture, and environment of the islands, even though Amerindians occupied the area prior to colonialism and even though the country became independent in 1962 and achieved republic status in 1976.

The islands enjoy very equitable climatic conditions and are not plagued by many natural disasters. The size of Trinidad and Tobago (5,148 square kilometres) allows the marine environment to interface and affect the terrestrial environment. In addition, there are a fair number of rivers. The average temperature is in the region of 26° C and even though the seasons vary between dry and wet, there is no great fluctuation in temperature. Rainfall ranges from 1524 mm (60 inches) to 3048 mm (120 inches).

The Economic Structure

In order to appreciate the natural heritage of this twin island state, we must recognize the relative contribution of the various ingredients which comprise the economic structure. The Trinidad and Tobago economy is heavily dependent on the petroleum sector, which contributed 30 percent (at factor cost on current prices) of the total gross domestic product in 1982. Efforts are underway to diversify the economic base through expanding tourism, promoting manufacturing industries, and reviving and expanding agriculture, fishing, and livestock production, but it is likely that petroleum will continue to dominate economic life for some time (see table 1).

The oil boom has had both a positive and a negative impact on the residents. On the positive side, there has been a considerable increase in earning power, allowing residents to enjoy basic commodities, and a noticeable decline in unemployment due to the expansion of the industrial sector (see table 2). On the other hand are some adverse effects arising from the oil boom wherein the work ethic has suffered, wage and salary levels outside heavy industry have become uncompetitive, and agriculture has veritably stagnated due to more economically beneficial and stable jobs outside the agricultural sector—an overheating of the economy so to speak. It is fortunate that the population of Trinidad and Tobago is too small to absorb the entire impact of rapid industrialization so that the process of raising the consciousness of residents should be successful in the light of the declining economy.

Tourism is second to the petroleum sector, contributing some U.S. \$150 million to the economy in 1980. Tourism should be recognised as a major export-oriented service; however, more emphasis is placed on the principle that the amenities—recreational and otherwise—which are developed in the country are principally for the enjoyment of the people of Trinidad and Tobago.

Agriculture, as mentioned, despite the government's at-

TABLE 1

Gross Domestic Product of Trinidad and Tobago at Factor Cost (Current Prices), 1973-1982:
Sectoral Contributions (Percentages)

Sector	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982
Agriculture	5.1	4.4	4.9	4.7	3.8	3.6	3.3	2.4	2.3	2.6
Export Agriculture	0.4	0.3	0.4	0.4	0.5	0.7	0.4	0.3	0.2	0.3
Sugar	2.2	2.4	2.7	2.0	1.4	1.0	1.2	0.7	0.6	0.6
Domestic Agriculture	2.5	1.7	1.8	2.0	1.9	1.9	1.7	1.4	1.6	1.7
Petroleum	26.7	43.6	42.4	41.0	39.8	35.0	37.8	43.0	37.5	30.2
Manufacturing	7.8	5.9	5.8	6.6	6.7	7.4	6.4	6.0	6.3	6.4
Food Beverages and										
Tobacco	1.9	1.8	1.6	1.7	2.1	2.2	2.0	1.9	2.0	2.0
Textile Garments and										
Footwear	0.7	0.6	0.5	0.6	0.6	0.8	0.6	0.6	0.5	0.4
Printing, Publishing	0.7	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.6	0.7	0.5	0.5	0.6	0.5
Wood and Related										
Products	0.5	0.4	0.4	0.5	0.5	0.6	0.4	0.4	0.3	0.3
Chemicals and Non-Met.										
Minerals	1.2	0.8	0.7	0.9	1.0	1.0	1.1	1.0	1.0	1.2
Assembly Type and										
Related Indus.	2.3	1.5	1.7	1.9	1.6	1.8	1.5	1.4	1.6	1.6
Miscellaneous										
Manufactures	0.5	0.3	0.4	0.5	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.2	0.3	0.4
Electricity and Water	2.1	1.2	1.3	1.2	1.2	1.6	1.5	1.3	1.6	1.6
Construction and Quarrying	6.8	5.7	6.7	6.7	7.1	7.9	7.2	7.3	9.1	9.1
Distribution and Restaurants	13.7	11.1	10.9	10.5	9.9	11.2	10.3	9.2	9.8	10.4
Hotels and Guest Houses	0.6	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.5	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.4
Transport, Storage and										
Communications	12.8	8.7	8.0	9.5	10.6	10.5	11.2	11.7	11.4	12.0
Finance, Insurance, Real										
Estate, etc.	8.3	6.2	6.1	6.3	6.9	7.4	7.4	6.7	7.6	8.5
Government	9.8	7.7	8.6	8.2	8.0	8.9	9.8	7.7	9.0	12.8
Education and Community										
Services	3.1	2.8	2.5	2.6	2.8	3.3	2.7	2.5	2.7	3.8
Personal Services	3.3	2.3	2.3	2.4	2.3	2.5	2.2	1.9	2.1	2.4

SOURCE: Ministry of Finance and Planning

tempt to inject some vitality into this sector, is experiencing stagnation. Inroads have been made into the manufacturing sector, especially in the 1960s. This development was based on domestic requirements for essential goods in the areas of food processing, textiles, clothing, furniture, and building materials.

The process of bringing sectors of the economy under national ownership was also pursued. As a result, all foreign banks have now localized their operations. The government has also acquired substantial interests in some of the existing industries, including petroleum production, refining and marketing, sugar production and refining, animal feeds, and

cement. It has also joined with foreign partners on the basis of majority government shareholdings to establish two major petrochemical enterprises.

Natural Heritage Contributors

From an economic standpoint, crude oil and natural gas deposits have been one of the biggest contributors to the natural heritage of Trinidad and Tobago. However, this impact cannot be viewed in isolation; it interfaces and affects other aspects of our natural heritage such as the marine environment, the forested areas, and our rich cultural heritage.

For example, take the marine environment and its contribu-

TABLE 2
Labour Force and Employment, 1973-1982*
(000)

	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982
Labour Force	389.0	393.4	386.1	n.a.	425.8	442.1	445.2	430.3	438.6	447.2
Number Employed	323.0	331.7	329.0	n.a.	371.0	390.1	400.0	387.9	392.8	404.2
Number Employed as										
percent of Labour Force	83.0	84.5	85.2	n.a.	87.1	88.2	89.9	90.2	89.5	90.4
Number Unemployed	65.9	61.8	57.1	n.a.	54.8	52.0	45.2	42.4	45.7	43.0
Number Unemployed as										
percent of Labour Force	17.0	15.5	14.8	n.a.	12.9	11.8	10.0	9.8	10.5	9.6

SOURCE: Central Statistical Office *C.S.S.P data End of Year Estimates

n.a. - Not Available

tion to the fishing industry and recreation. There has been an increase in fisheries production as a result of increased technology; however, only 51 percent of the total fish requirement is satisfied by local production.

In terms of recreation, the islands are surrounded by beaches with accessible coral reefs. The beaches are heavily used, especially on weekends and public holidays. There are no statistics available for visitors to the coral reefs; however, Buccoo reef in Tobago is an established internationally famous coral reef. Residents are able to enjoy more water sports. All this is indirectly linked to the petroleum economy.

In order to facilitate the improved living conditions arising from the petroleum sector, many areas of our natural heritage have been affected. The forested areas have been grossly altered by the increased cutting of trees and the beaches have been eroded in some cases by the removal of sand to build homes.

There is increased water consumption not only for domestic use but for industrial purposes also. The total land area of Trinidad and Tobago is 513 million hectares (1,267 million acres), of which 233,824 hectares (577,344 acres), or 45.5 percent, supports some form of forest cover. Of the forested area, 139,692 hectares (344,920 acres), representing 25.6 percent of the total land area, are legally proclaimed forest reserves. Because of the quarrying, tree cutting, and burning of forested areas—all in the name of development—there is a noticeable increase in the destruction of the valley system of the northern range. This has contributed considerably to a reduction in the water supply, reduced numbers of wildlife, and increased flooding.

Food and agricultural production has also been affected. In the Caribbean as a whole, there has been a significant decline in agricultural production and exports in the last decade. Food production has not been able to keep pace with population growth. For example, in Trinidad, sugar production, which peaked at 243,912 tonnes in 1968, fell to 79,900 tonnes in 1982; cocoa production declined by approximately 54 percent during that time, and coffee production also declined. In addition to the destruction of the northern range, the decline in agricultural production can also be attributed to sharply rising labor costs and labor shortages due to better paying jobs in the petroleum sector (see income levels of Trinidad in table 3)

The cultural resources of Trinidad and Tobago have been influenced naturally by their varied occupancy patterns, and there is a cultural difference between the two because of their different colonial experiences. Be that as it may, the culture cannot be identified simply as African or Indian, but a potpourri which could be justifiably labeled Trinidadian and Tobagonian. The influence of the potpourri can be heard in the language and songs, tasted in the variety of foods, and expressed in the religions and festivals.

Trinidad is promoted as the birthplace of the steelband, calypso, and limbo dancing. The internationally famous carnival celebration which precedes the lenten season is a prod-

TABLE 3
Income Levels of the Population of Trinidad, 1980

Income Group	Number	Percent		
Less than \$100	6,510	1.86		
\$100-\$499	66,560	19.06		
\$500-\$1,099	153,700	44.00		
\$1,100-\$1,899	55,140	15.79		
\$1,900-\$3,999	23,100	6.60		
\$4,000+	13,750	3.94		
Not stated	30,540	8.74		

SOURCE: 1980 Population Census

uct of its varied culture. In Trinidad and Tobago such East Indian festivals as Divali, Eid Ul Fitr, and Phagwa are celebrated. East Indian dishes—roti, dhal pouri, and other curried foods—are commonplace in most homes. The African culture is relived in the "Best Village Competition" where African songs and dance bring back the nostalgia of a past culture. There are also numerous African dishes enjoyed by all people; African games and music have influenced our culture. The Amerindian culture is appreciated through such interesting place names such as Chaguaramas and Caura, tree names such as Tantakayo, and the yearly Carib Santa Rosa festival.

There are a number of religious denominations originating from the varied occupancy. Roman Catholic, Anglican, Baptist, Methodist, Hindu, Muslim, Moravian, Pentecostal, Church of God, Bahai—all find a place of worship in Trinidad and Tobago.

All in all though, our cultural system has been adversely affected by the electronic media which has been peddling metropolitan aspirations—a process which cannot be met given our economic reality. This has been one of the major outstanding factors for residents turning away from local products in favour of convenience and easy-to-get products. The electronic media, which has a great impact on island residents, should be used more extensively in public education and in promoting national pride and allegiance than in emphasizing things "metropolitan." This lack of national pride is a product of colonialism whose shackles must be broken.

As a result of this aspiration toward metropolitan ideals, prices of goods are geared for foreign consumption and above the means of the average resident, a factor that has contributed to an increase in the crime rate. Another adverse product of metropolitan aspiration is the increase in the purchase of automobiles, resulting in the creation of traffic problems. Residents spend more time in traffic which reduces the time spent on family interaction.

Tourism, as you can see, is not the major economic factor in Trinidad and Tobago. However, in 1981 tourism continued to be a major source of foreign exchange and the estimated U.S. \$150 million contribution to the economy was exceeded only by the petroleum sector and interest earned on Central Bank investments. There is, however, great potential for the expansion of tourism in both Tobago and Trinidad—the former by virtue of its tranquil atmosphere and excellent beaches and the latter for the diversity and richness of its cultural heritage and the natural beauty of its landscape and its mountains.

Technological Aspirations

The need for technology to assist with road improvements and industrial development—all the technology that goes along with a developing nation—is there, but there is no transfer of this technology to the social environment. The country has depended on technology from industrialized countries to satisfy its needs in most areas of production. Importing

technology is not unique to Trinidad and Tobago—all countries of the world import technology. However, attention must be paid to demand and supply. The demand should foster research within the domestic sphere for production problems. The government has taken the initiative in dealing with this problem—from localizing the multinational corporations to promoting policies which require counterpart training and putting restrictions on the level of management fees payable abroad.

Natural Heritage Appreciation

Island ecosystems are easily upset by the introduction of exotic organisms and outside human intervention. Many decisions relating to the islands are made by outsiders. Ill-planned development, coral collecting, wetland draining, clogging from siltation, and a host of other factors are threatening fish reproduction areas. Under conditions of such stress, instability, and fragility, conservation requirements are many and surprisingly complicated for the small areas involved.

The Caribbean Conservation Association (CCA) has contributed significantly to the identification of critical habitats, key watersheds, potential parks and protected areas, and important habitats for endangered species. For example, some islands have preserved a rich tradition of herbal medicine—which has its origin in Africa. Barbados is trying to preserve the island's flora; Guadeloupe has a well-managed "Parc Naturel." Martinique is giving the conservation of forests and other natural resources top priority. St. Lucia is spearheading a project aimed at saving the highly endangered St. Lucia parrot (a national symbol). Trinidad and Tobago is also taking a second look at its conservation laws and has set aside natural areas in an effort to preserve the natural habitat for posterity.

Among the ills of foreign technology is the lack of commitment to the local ideal. On the one hand, there is no respect or appreciation for cultural or social norms; on the other hand, residents are isolated from learning the technological skills.

In the Caribbean region, conservation and development depend upon one another, a fact unrecognised in the past. As an example, since these lands are an island, residents labour under the false impression that air pollution is absent. It is necessary to educate residents away from their so-called 'island mentality' to one more attuned to a global scale.

Recognizing the need for more environmental awareness, various programmes have been promoted in Trinidad and Tobago, such as the Solid Waste Company, which was established to find a more efficient method of disposing of wastes in the country. There are environmentally oriented organizations such as the Field Naturalist Club, which every year performs a "turtle watch" in an effort to protect the leatherback turtles (*Dermochelys coriacea*) from depredation by man. Trinidad and Tobago is also a member of CITES (Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Fauna and Flora). There are tree-planting programmes and the

Institute of Marine Affairs, an organization that assists in monitoring the marine environment. Efforts are being made to institute legislation for the control and use of pesticides. At present all kinds of dangerous chemicals can be bought over the counter.

The problem of raising the consciousness of residents to their natural heritage is not unique to Trinidad and Tobago. However, it is a problem that can be redressed with the use of the electronic media which invades over 90 percent of the homes in Trinidad and Tobago. The positive aspects of the environment must be highlighted along with environmental problems showing how residents can contribute. Tourism should not be viewed as a social ill but more positive attitudes must be developed and a sense of national pride instilled. All efforts must be made to reach 1) the man in the street, or the general public; 2) the organized public such as village councils; 3) the representative public, e.g., civil servants; and (4) the economically concerned public, e.g., the business sector.

Residents must be made aware of what their natural heritage is and its importance to the people. Raise their consciousness to the fact that when the environment is despoiled through cropping, clearing, burning, quarrying, and destruction of water resources, there is no future and lives are affected. The authorities have various means for getting the message out—newspapers, radio, exhibitions, school programmes, films, brochures, conferences, public hearings, surveys, and public meetings. As much time and effort should go into wooing the residents as the foreign tourists. Let the residents realise that so many people would not visit their country if there were not something positive to offer. At the same time, residents must be educated to appreciate the controls that must be placed on the country's commodities if they are to be enjoyed in perpetuity.

Some efforts are being made to instill such an awareness, which should be applauded. Game wardens patrol the forested areas to control forest fires and hunting in a limited way. A change in hunting regulations to accommodate the breeding season of the animals should be considered. At present there is a blanket hunting season (October to March). A ban has been

placed on harvesting leatherback turtles. Apart from a few concerned citizens who patrol the beaches at egg-laying time, however, there is no great control. Beach sand mining is now controlled, yet alternative material must be sought because sooner or later there will be no more beaches from which sand can be taken. Approximately 25 percent of the land has been set aside as forest reserve, but at the same time there is extensive damage done to the forested area through bush fires.

Increased attention is being paid to the environment. There is a realization that if steps are not taken to improve the quality of the environment or at least to halt further degradation, the damage may be permanent. As a matter of fact, twenty-three of the twenty-seven Caribbean states drew up an action plan which contained sixty-six specific environmental projects varying from combating oil spills to managing watersheds, particularly coral reef, mangroves, tropical forests, and endangered species, to mitigating the risks of natural disasters, monitoring coastal water pollution, and studying the impact of tourism on the environment.

Raising the consciousness of residents to their natural heritage is more a process of teaching them to appreciate and understand their natural heritage and getting them to realise that availability and affordability is not the key to abusing and misusing such a commodity as their natural heritage.

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Precis

Dealing effectively with the problems of tourism and use requires the adoption of a much broader definition of the term "cultural park" than that presently in use, which carries connotations of a publicly owned reservation, geographically isolated and politically insulated from the world surrounding it. A more useful approach would be to accept as a cultural park any place where there exist important remnants of both the tangible and the intangible cultural heritage—buildings, landscapes, people—in which both outsiders called tourists and residents alike seek rich, life-fulfilling experiences. Such a park may be a traditional national park, an outdoor museum village, an urban historic district, an area of outstanding natural beauty or scientific importance, or some combination of these.

The tourism "problem" is essentially one of protecting all such areas from overuse, whether within the park itself or at its edges. In the past, the most difficult political problems have been those arising at the edges and entrances to parks, and these will become even more difficult in the future as park needs are met more through the provision of public access to private land, following the British model, and less on the acquisition of protected "reservations" of the traditional kind.

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Tratar con eficacia los problemas del turismo y de su uso requiere la adopción de una definición mucha más amplia, de la que existe actualmente, del término "parque cultural." La definición actual se refiere a un terreno reservado de propiedad pública, geográficamente aislado y políticamente desligado del mundo que lo rodea. Una aproximación más útil sería de aceptar como parque cultural todo sitio donde existan vestigios importantes, a la vez tangibles e intangibles, de patrimonio cultural—edificios, paisajes, personas—en los cuales los profanos, llamados turistas y residentes, busquen por igual experiencias que enriquezcan y llenen su vida. Uno de estos parques puede ser un parque nacional tradicional, un pueblo museo exterior, un distrito urbano histórico, un lugar de una belleza natural fuera de lo común o de una extraordinaria importancia científica, o una combinación de todo lo antedicho.

El "problema" del turismo es esencialmente de proteger todos los lugares de utilización demasiado intensiva, tanto en el interior del parque como dentro de sus límites. En el pasado, los problemas políticos más difíciles eran las que surgían dentro de los límites y las entradas de los parques. Estos problemas serán más árduos en el futuro a medida que las necesidades de los parques serán satisfechas, más por la disposición del acceso del público a los terrenos privados, según el modelo británico, y menos por la adquisición de "reservas" protegidas de modelo tradicional.

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Traiter avec efficacité les problèmes du tourisme et de son usage requiert l'adoption d'une définition beaucoup plus large, que celle qui existe actuellement, du terme de "parc culturel." La définition présente suggère des connotations d'un terrain réservé de propriété publique, géographiquement isolé et politiquement détaché du monde qui l'entoure. Une approche plus utile sera d'accepter comme parc culturel tout endroit où existent des vestiges importants, à la fois tangibles et intangibles, du patrimoine culturel-des bâtiments, des paysages, des personnes—dans lequel les profanes, appelés touristes et résidents, recherchent pareillement des expériences enrichissantes et qui remplissent leur vie. Un tel parc peut être un parc national traditionnel, un village musée extérieur, un district urbain historique, un endroit d'une beauté naturelle hors du commun ou d'une extraordinaire importance scientifique, ou une combinaison de ces derniers.

Le "problème" du tourisme est essentiellement de protéger tous ces endroits d'une utilisation trop intensive, soit à l'intérieur du parc lui-même, soit à ses limites. Par le passé, les problèmes politiques les plus difficiles étaient ceux qui naissaient aux limites et aux entrées des parcs. Ces problèmes deviendront encore plus ardus dans le futur à mesure que les besoins des parcs seront satisfaits, plus par la disposition d'accès du public aux terrains privés, selon le modèle britannique, et moins par l'acquisition de "réserves" protégées de modèle traditionnel.

Political Constraints on Tourism and Use

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Introduction

A discussion of the political dimensions of tourism and use must, I think, begin with a common definition of the term "cultural park." It will mean one thing to those of you who are park managers and administrators, something else to those whose professional backgrounds lie in the physical sciences, and take on a third meaning to someone like myself, trained in the fields of economics, law, and regional planning.

Notwithstanding that most of the papers presented at this conference deal with matters of technique and practice, that many are site-specific, and that they tend to deal for the most part with important present concerns, my comments must begin with a broader definition of such words as "cultural park," "tourist," and "use," and they are of necessity more future-oriented.

In my view, a "cultural park" is a place—indeed, a "preserve," to borrow the term used extensively in preconference publicity—but not necessarily and not always a large-unit natural area with a finite boundary or property line separating the park from all else around it. In my sense of the word, a cultural park is a place where there co-exists in a special relationship of some kind important remnants of both the tangible and the intangible cultural heritage—buildings, landscapes, and people—to which individuals we call "tourists" come together for varying periods of time in search of rich and fulfilling life experiences. A cultural park may be the traditional large national or state park. But, I must argue, it may also be an outdoor museum village, an urban historic district, a rural area of outstanding natural beauty, an area of

special scientific, scenic, or ecological importance—in fact, all or some combination of the above.

Into these areas come people we call "tourists"—for a day, a week, or a season. Viewed narrowly, we think of them as transients, usually seeking a recreational experience, but who will also submit to an educational one if it is not too difficult and is not forced upon them too obviously. In a broader sense, however, all who congregate in this special place, even for a lifetime, are tourists and transients, for notwithstanding that we may be the temporary custodian population, we are in the end only temporary occupants.

Within limits—meaning within the presumed "capacity" of our park, district, or neighborhood—the uses and impacts of these visitors are regarded as benign. To some extent they generate employment, they usually do not in any permanent sense "consume" the resource they have come to visit, and on the whole they are often "good for the economy." But in numbers exceeding that presumed capacity, tourists and tourism become a "bad" thing, "invaders" of the environment they have come to enjoy. They are no longer a visitor clientele; they have become a problem.

The Problems of Tourism and Use

The thrust of my remarks hereafter is directed to the problems created by an excess of tourists, rather than those of attracting them to our parks in the first place, or to the specifics of how we should entertain and educate them whilst on the premises. My special concern is the impact of "too many."

For simplicity's sake, we can say that these impacts will usually occur at three principal and recurring locations: first,

within the park itself; second, at its access points and along its immediate boundaries; and third, beyond the park in the adjacent community. Wherever they occur, each impact has its own special political dimension, and it seems safe to predict that with the passage of time, this political impact will loom ever larger in the park planning and management processes.

Given that the term "cultural park" can be applied to a variety of situations, let's look at the political problems posed by each, using a purely arbitrary classification system invented only for the purpose of discussion.

First, there is what might be called the "traditional" cultural park. Typically it would be one held in unified public ownership and management by a national, state, or regional government. It would perhaps contain a "native" population, and in describing it to others, words like "scenic" and "wilderness" would come to mind. The visitor experience would be primarily associated with the out-of-doors, and the park would have strong ties to history and/or prehistory. Its location would be rural or remote, as opposed to urban.

The problems of tourist use inside this traditional park would fall under such familiar headings as the trampling of pathways, the loss of flora and fauna, the theft of artifacts, graffiti, litter, and occasionally even crime—traditional problems familiar to park rangers and superintendents. Within limits, these are manageable internally as a matter of technique and do not present significant political problems. Various measures to watch and control visitor conduct, e.g., periodically closing trails or areas for regeneration, providing additional visitor necessities and amenities, and so forth, would be undertaken. However, as capacity is approached and it becomes necessary to ration access to the facility through reservation and registration systems, the use of fees and charges, and other strategies, political problems arise quickly.

The more serious political problems in the traditional park are apt to occur near the periphery and at points of access. They are not only more difficult to deal with, but unfortunately they are altogether too easy to write off as something that happens "outside" the park, "beyond our control," and therefore "not any of our concern." Intervention raises especially serious problems where another level of government—local or state—has primary jurisdiction just outside the park.

The problem arises because access to the traditional park is almost always by private automobile, and the problem at the margin is just as inevitably the proliferation of junk strip commercial development—dysfunctional, noisy, garish, and ugly. While such areas are highly successful as private commercial ventures, the result is an environmental nightmare in which the access infrastructure itself, including the highway and local public water and waste treatment facilities, is burdened far beyond its capacity and life is made miserable for residents of the area. The market for such developments is created by the presence of the park itself, but since it occurs on private land under the regulatory control of local govern-

ments, there are usually few restraints on even the worst excesses. For example, on top of Little Sugar Mountain in western North Carolina is a ten-story condominium development, built several years ago. There is little disagreement among residents or tourists that the development has significantly eroded the visual quality of the area. I am informed that it can be seen at certain seasons from the Blue Ridge Parkway, a National Park Service unit. In a fit of reaction, the state legislature subsequently passed a law prohibiting the construction of three-story buildings of more than 100 feet below any mountain ridge higher than 2,950 feet—an act, ironically, giving the developers of this project a monopoly on mountaintop condominiums in this area.

However difficult it may be to think of park managers accepting the additional burdens of responsibility for these marginal frictions in the local political arena, there is no denying that these now constitute the critical problems of tourism and use. In my own state of North Carolina, notwithstanding that recreation and tourism are major industries, we are well advanced in the act of killing the golden goose in both mountain and coastal areas through highly inappropriate private development in our most scenic areas.

Privately owned cultural parks such as Williamsburg, Virginia, and Old Salem, an eighteenth-century Moravian settlement in Winston-Salem, North Carolina, encounter similar problems. Williamsburg bears an especially heavy burden of local property taxation, yet is in a sense politically underrepresented in the city to which it makes a major economic contribution. A cultural park such as Old Salem, which exists totally within the core of a modern industrial and commercial city, encounters significant land use conflicts at its perimeter: heavy traffic on major streets, inappropriate industrial or commercial uses located in the vicinity, and all the problems of how to acquire buffer properties to maintain a transition zone between the village and the city itself. At the perimeter of such areas are apt to be, in addition, the delicate political problems of how to deal with publicly or privately owned buildings of historical or architectural importance that do not quite fit the period of the restoration itself. In any case, museum officials, municipal authorities, and adjoining property owners all become involved eventually in highly controversial regulatory and related problems. That these are not normally considered to be problems of tourism and use does not change the nature of the political constraints, which are in any case very real.

A third type of cultural park would be the National Register or local zoning historic districts of this world: clearly "cultural" in the best sense of that word and, by comparison with the remainder of the mostly dismal urban areas by which they are often surrounded, oases or "parks" by any comparative standard. Examples would include Chinatown in San Francisco, California; Charleston, South Carolina; Jackson Ward (a Black historic district in Richmond, Virginia); "Little Italy" in Manhattan; and even the vernacular historic district in my

home town of Chapel Hill, North Carolina.

Sometimes such a district will include an entire town and its rural hinterland, as in Nantucket, Massachusetts. In an exclusively rural setting, such districts would include the Brandywine Valley in Pennsylvania; the area of Green Springs, Virginia; the rural historic district of Flat Rock, North Carolina; and, in general, the many kinds of historic districts described by Robert Melnick in the new National Park Service publication, Cultural Landscapes: Rural Historic Districts in the National Park System.1 Clearly, we would have to include vernacular districts and landscapes, as well as those that are more highly credentialed in terms of history and architecture. These are the places seen as no more than "patterns" by Christopher Alexander in The Timeless Way of Building and A Pattern Language or characterized in Common Landscape of America, 1580-1845 by John Stilgoe-those places that have, as Alexander put it, "the special quality without a name."

Whatever called, these are the places where history, architecture, landscapes and townscapes, archeology, and ethnic traditions coalesce to provide a new kind of "park" experience for inhabitants and visitors alike. In terms of tourism and use and the resultant political impacts, they are perhaps the most critical park areas to be dealt with in the future.

The areas will usually be large with their size referenced in square miles and a mixed land ownership pattern. In terms of maintaining the character of these areas, the problems can only be described as terrifying: high volumes of traffic raging through fragile, quiet landscapes; inappropriately designed and badly located public and private development; all the excesses of contemporary tourist- and recreation-related development; the desecration of beautiful rural landscapes in the face of rapid changes in agricultural technology; marginal land use conflicts everywhere; and occasionally even the loss of native cultures, artifacts, and traditions through displacement and what has come to be called "gentrification." The solutions, or even the attempted beginning of solutions, to these problems within our federal system of local, state, and national governments present some of the most intensely difficult political tasks we could possibly undertake.

The Future Park

It seems reasonable to assume that with respect to the traditional cultural park, issues related to tourism and use will be dealt with much as they are now, as an internal park management matter. However, it seems equally reasonable to assume that the land use impacts of tourism at the boundaries of the traditional park will be even more severe in the future than they are at present. This suggests that it will become increasingly difficult for park administrators to remain aloof or insulated from the local political scene.

But what of the new parks, those we will create in time for an expanding population? It seems clear already that as a matter of economic necessity, these will be created on the British national parks model, of which it is sometimes said in jest that they are neither "national" nor "parks" in the literal sense of those words. British national parks do require that some land be publicly owned, but rely most heavily on providing public access to private land. This is done through access agreements given by property owners in exchange for a variety of public subsidies—grants and loans—for the installation and maintenance of amenities, coupled with the energetic application of planning regulations to control private land development and some relief from strict doctrines of tort liability for accidents to visitors on private land. Land use controls include stringent regulation applied to new building and remodeling in the countryside, as well as to landscape elements. It seems clear already that the vastly expanded use of uncompensated regulation to control private property, rather than public land ownership per se, will constitute the principal technique for the creation of new American parks.

The first steps in this direction were taken with the creation in 1974 of the New York State Adirondack Park Agency, told in effect to proceed with plans for a major state park largely in public ownership but also relying heavily on the regulation of privately owned land within the park. Late in the Carter administration, Secretary of the Interior Cecil Andrus proposed the establishment of Areas of National Concern (ANCs) for the protection of the Santa Monica Mountains Recreation Area, and pushed proposals that would bring federal, state, and local governments together in a cooperative approach to preserving the Pine Barrens of New Jersey (an area of special ecological importance) and Jackson Hole, Wyoming (an area of special scenic importance). Congressional legislation to establish mixed public-private parks in Louisiana (Jean Lafitte National Historical Park), Massachusetts (Lowell National Cultural Park), and in Pennsylvania and New York (the Upper Delaware National Scenic and Recreational River) had been proposed as early as 1978.2

State action of a similar kind—although focusing more on large-scale environmental planning programs than on the creation of parks as such—has been a rather constant phenomenon during the 1970s and 80s. Singular results were achieved in states like Hawaii, California, Oregon, Vermont, and Massachusetts, to name a few, and at present the North Carolina legislature has under consideration a bill authorizing the designation of special conservation districts through stepped-up local planning and design programs. The truth of the matter is that no one knows or can predict just how extensive state and local initiatives to protect the character of special places might be ten years down the road. However, there are already clear indications that this new approach will be strongly focused on the private side of park development.

In sum, we can see rather clearly the emergence of a large number of entities properly denominated "cultural parks," the making and management of which will be quite different from the cultural park as we think of it today.

Political and Governmental Constraints

In this future world where we assume that the creation and management of cultural parks and the solution of problems resulting from tourist impacts will be nothing more or less than a matter of tough environmental management and sound, detailed planning, the political constraints fall under several major headings: 1) the capabilities and attitudes of local governments; 2) the ingrained political conservatism of many local governments; 3) the fact of widespread poverty in many areas we would wish to designate or set aside as cultural parks; and 4) certain related planning and economic considerations. I will comment briefly on each of these factors.³

The Capabilities and Attitudes of Local Governments

Creative environmental management as we think of it in this context is a complex sequence of events, none of which is entirely controllable in our political system. It involves intricate and time-consuming processes of environmental review under the National Environmental Policy Act and its state-level equivalents; the politically delicate (and expensive) acquisition of key parcels of land or interests therein; the administration of special tax subsidies and grant programs; and the close control of building and landscape changes through controversial processes of design review and other regulatory actions aimed at the private property owner. While the number of design-controlled districts which form the nucleus of our urban cultural parks has mushroomed from barely a few hundred to more than 1,000 in the last decade, the process is both incomplete and imperfect in many ways. Notwithstanding the rapid spread of such "parks," there remains more public resistance to regulatory intervention in private land use matters than most conservationists care to believe. And, ironically, the provision of tourist facilities and massive hotelconvention complexes at the edge of urban cultural parks has been a major source of damage to the parks themselves in a number of cities.

However, if there has been progress, relatively speaking, in matters of cultural conservation in the cities, it should be borne in mind that the countryside in which we might seek to establish future cultural parks is a distinctly different placepolitically, socially, and economically. Not only do American rural governments have less money for such perceived frills as conservation, parks, and recreation; they also have less access to the professional skills needed to create and maintain such facilities and, indeed, very different attitudes about what it is important for local government to do in the first place. What may be politically acceptable regulatory restraints on the use of private land in the city will usually be regarded as intolerable in rural areas, and even where the protection of cultural areas through regulations has been found to be politically acceptable, enforcement has sometimes proved to be a problem because of the large geographical areas of coverage and high personnel costs. Finally, while the attitude of the courts in reviewing a variety of urban preservation restraints has on the whole varied from supportive to enthusiastic, it remains to be seen whether the rationales underlying such regulations can easily be transferred to rural settings. Where regulations appear to impose special burdens on low income or minority groups or to serve an exclusionary purpose, they will almost certainly fail.

Rural Conservatism

If in fact we will in the future be more dependent upon the success of regulatory approaches in establishing cultural parks in rural areas, we will have to face up to the fact of hard-core rural conservatism. These are people who for the most part are highly self-reliant, distrustful of outsiders, and who generally have a contemptuous attitude regarding land use regulation. Even such relatively crude controls as zoning are still widely opposed, and regulations devised for the protection of scenic or cultural resources in rural areas would be regarded as frivolous. We know from experience everywhere that by and large many farmers harbor a special kind of antagonism bordering on hatred for park and recreation facilities in their areas.

It is clear that the creation of new cultural park opportunities in the countryside have serious attitudinal obstacles to overcome. Not to be cynical about it, but initiatives directed toward rural tourism in this country will have to provide unusually attractive financial incentives, an absolute minimum reliance on techniques of uncompensated regulation, and special guarantees regarding a farmer's right to privacy and to work the land for a living.

Rural Poverty

When we speak of creating new cultural parks in rural areas, we must also face the fact that in many of the areas where we would most wish to preserve land and natural resources. abject, bottom-line, grinding poverty is a way of life for many inhabitants who have to remain on the land simply because there is no other place for them to settle. In both urban and rural areas, both cultural and landscape resources are occupied by that class of individuals least capable of maintaining them, and it will be a cold-hearted park planner who would deny the right of a farm family to abandon a tumble-down Greek Revival farmhouse for the relative comfort of a shining new mobile home. These kinds of conflicts pose special political problems, since the problems of poverty tend to surface collectively at the level of county government where public funds for even the most basic services-food, education, roads, schools, etc.-are hard to come by. Cultural parks, historic preservation, recreation and tourism, and kindred programs remain at the bottom of the list of public service priorities for most rural governments.

Planning and Economic Considerations

One would think that the tourism-land use conflicts with which we are concerned could easily be solved through good

planning. The formal techniques of planning are more sophisticated than twenty years ago, and there are now high-tech remote sensing techniques for calculating the economic and physical holding capacities of land—whether for cattle, tourists, urban development, or other important resources. Elaborate mathematical predictive models now make it possible for the first time to assist in the appraisal of even such intangible resources as natural beauty. In short, there is more data and information available than ever before.

But the record of long-range physical planning in the United States as a means of reaching agreement on an agreeable and productive spatial arrangement and distribution of land usesincluding cultural parks-is not good. As we have already seen, such plans rely heavily for their execution on uncompensated regulation, a process subject to overriding market and political influences. Some cities have had limited success in influencing the location and timing of new development through the extension or withholding of water, sewer, and other public facilities and services to induce development in some areas and inhibit it in others. But these techniques are of extremely limited value in rural areas. Newer techniques such as land banking or the transfer of development rights may hold promise as incentives to create cultural parks in large urban areas and perhaps, occasionally, on the rapidly developing urban fringe of a metropolitan area. However, it is difficult to imagine they could be useful in the creation of cultural parks located in more remote rural areas.

If one takes a more modest view of what planning is all about, that it is merely a device for obtaining policy coordination at inter- and intra-governmental levels, it still largely fails us. City and county governments have shown little reluctance, for example, to tear down an architecturally significant court-house or to wreck important landscapes if a site is needed for a new governmental center, a county health clinic, or even a parking lot for employees. States will still, without much hesitation, build prisons or highways in and through areas of special environmental or scenic significance. The rural housing programs of the Farmers Home Administration often result in the abandonment of older, rural farmhouses and their replacement by new tract homes. Other instances of conflicting policies at the state and federal level could easily be cited.

At heart, the matter of providing new cultural parks for the next century and beyond—an objective not significantly different from that of merely saving special environments for tourists and residents alike—is an economic problem, whether one speaks of cities or rural areas. The core of the problem is that where real estate markets are strong and bullish, where prosperity reigns, there will always be inexorable pressures on the owner of an important environmental artifact—building or tree—to remove and replace it with something more profiable as soon as the value of the site is greater than that of the artifact. The opposite situation is one where markets are stagnant and net investment income from real estate is low.

In that situation, important environmental assets are lost through abandonment and decay. And it is for these reasons that the preservation of landscapes and buildings present one set of problems in wealthy Westchester County, New York, or in Aspen, Colorado, and another in such a poor area as Duplin County, North Carolina.

Part of the problem, of course, is our uniquely American view about land. Deeply held in history and tradition, it assumes that land is primarily a marketable commodity, the principal purpose of which is to produce capital gains or current income for its temporary owner. Sadly, we do not yet regard land as a finite resource to be conserved or protected. While we tend as a society to revere landed traditions, the reality is that we all have our price and the farmer who needs a retirement income is no less likely to sell out for a profit than the needy widow who parts with a key historic building on the fringe of downtown for a filling station when the price is right.

It has been said that trying to put economic and social policy in place through planning is about as unproductive an activity as attempting to nail a chiffon pie to a wall. True enough, perhaps, but until the underlying economic realities of conservation are seriously addressed, those who care about special places and the provision of cultural parks will have an uphill struggle.

Conclusions

I think we must somehow come to understand and accept that the term "cultural park" is broader than the traditional meaning of that word. Surely, it includes the Mesa Verdes and other national parks of this world, but it must also be seen to include all other environmentally special places.

Viewed in this light, the problems of tourism and use become nothing more or less than one of the many aspects of planning for the protection of "place" in both a qualitative and a quantitative sense. If future parks are to be developed on the British model of providing more public access to private lands, the decisions to be encountered along the way are nothing more or less than planning decisions, and in our society these are inevitably political. Increasingly, park planners and administrators will be called upon to take significant leadership roles in local political processes and forums.

Whether the problems of park planning and environmental conservation will be dealt with effectively also boils down to a question of whether or not old-line recreation, natural area conservation, and preservation interests in federal, state, and local governments can join forces among themselves and with other interests and bureaucracies with an equal interest and concern for these special places. These include archeologists, folklorists, anthropologists, cultural geographers, extension specialists, park and recreation planners, historians, preservationists, and many others. The occupational interests of all these groups are not always compatible, and there remain

serious questions as to how many environmental interests can stand under the same umbrella, remaining dry and feeling comfortable with one another in close proximity. Anyone who recalls the turf wars in Washington during the latter days of the Carter administration as various proposals to create a national heritage program were put forth has no basis for optimism in this regard. The basic laws of human nature have yet to be amended.

Threats to the American landscape—whether through tourism or other kinds of economic development—are greater than ever before, and a new mood of political conservatism is clearly on the ascendancy. For a time there will continue to be diminished public resources for environmental conservation and park development, and it is absolutely essential that related conservation interests make common cause with one another.

All of us will have to learn to address in more practical terms the economic issues of conservation, not just with respect to the preservation of historic buildings and landscapes and park development, but with such underlying issues as open space protection, farmland retention, watershed management, land value taxation, and other issues. Over the years the historic preservation movement in the private sector, with its inherent concern for profit, has shown a special adroitness in devising new approaches to saving buildings through adaptive use. Saving environmentally important places, to say nothing of providing additional parklands (regardless of what they are called), is vitally dependent on a healthy rural economy. And the health of the economy, as we learn during every political campaign, is tightly tied to political factors.

Most important, we must begin to recognize that the quali-

ty of life in local places will come increasingly to depend on local decisions. What happens in Washington and in state capitals is of no consequence whatever if local citizens (read: "local governments") are not committed to the protection of local environments. Federal and state officials have an especially important and as yet unfulfilled responsibility to help local interests to see, to learn, and to care.

I have quite deliberately not emphasized or dwelt upon the narrow problems of tourist impacts, since I see these as nothing more or less than individual elements of a larger, long-range planning process. When we are able to tackle that process effectively, having learned to turn political constraints into political opportunities, the issues related to tourism as such will also fall into place.

Notes

- 1. Robert Z. Melnick, Daniel Sponn, and Emma Jane Saxe, Cultural Landscapes: Rural Historic Districts in the National Park System (Washington: National Park Service, 1984).
- 2. Fred P. Bosselman, In the Wake of the Tourist: Managing Special Places in Eight Countries (Washington: The Conservation Foundation, 1978), 236-38. This is unquestionably the most important work on the impacts of tourism to appear in many years. See also New Directions in Rural Preservation (Washington: Heritage Conservation and Recreation Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, 1981), chapter 1, "Federal Initiatives in Rural Preservation," by Robert L. Herbst.
- 3. The principal thoughts regarding political constraints and limitations on the conservation planning process first appeared in ibid., chapter 2, "Rural Preservation: A Perspective and a Challenge," by Robert E. Stipe.



Precis

The Pacific Area Travel Association (PATA) has established itself as a leader in heritage conservation by recognizing and implementing relationships between the professional tourism industry and those professionals representing the heritage conservation movement. The successful promotion of this prosperous relationship has resulted in a growing interest in the programs organized by PATA's Development Authority. Recognizing that tourism can provide the motivation, both spiritual and economic, for heritage conservation projects, PATA seeks to encourage the travel industry, heritage specialists, and government officials to plan together. A properly designed cultural tourist attraction is an ecological system with tourists, conservationists, travel agents, governments, and the local people all playing their parts, each contributing to and sustaining the others.

La Asociación de Viaje de la Zona del Pacífico (*Pacific Area Travel Association*, PATA), se estableció como un líder para la conservación del patrimonio. Ha reconocido y ha creado relaciones entre los profesionales de la industria del turismo y los profesionales que representan el movimiento de conservación del patrimonio. La promoción lograda de estas relaciones prósperas ha tenido como resultado un interés creciente por los programas organizados por la Autoridad de Desarrollo de PATA. PATA, al reconocer que el turismo puede aportar una motivación, a la vez espiritual y económica, para proyectos de conservación del patrimonio, procura estimular la industria

de viaje, los especialistas del patrimonio y los oficiales del gobierno a que planifiquen en conjunto. Una atracción cultural turística concebida de manera apropiada es un sistema ecológico que incluye a los turistas, los partidarios de la conservación, los agentes de viaje, las personas y los gobiernos locales, todos desempañado su papel y cada uno colaborando con y apoyando a los otros.

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L'Association de Voyage de la Zone du Pacifique (Pacific Area Travel Association, PATA), s'est établie comme un leader pour la conservation du patrimoine. Elle a reconnu et a créé des relations entre les professionnels de l'industrie du tourisme et les professionnels représentant le mouvement de conservation du patrimoine. La promotion réussie de ces relations prospères a eu pour résultat un intérêt croissant pour les programmes organisés par l'Autorité de Développement de PATA. PATA, en reconnaissant que le tourisme peut apporter une motivation, à la fois spirituelle et économique, pour des projets de conservation du patrimoine, cherche à encourager l'industrie du voyage, les spécialistes du patrimoine et les officiels du gouvernement à planifier conjointement. Une attraction culturelle touristique conçue de façon appropriée est un système écologique comprenant les touristes, les partisans de la conservation, les agents de voyage, les personnes et les gouvernements locaux, tous remplissant leur rôle et chacun d'entre eux collaborant avec et soutenant les autres.

The Role of the Pacific Area Travel Association in the Conservation of Cultural Heritage

Patrick Christopher

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About PATA

Founded in Hawaii in 1951 to develop, promote, and facilitate travel to and among the destination areas in and bordering the Pacific Ocean, the Pacific Area Travel Association (PATA) brings together governments, airline and cruise companies, hoteliers, tour operators, travel agents, and a wide range of other tourism-related organizations. Members exchange ideas, seek solutions to problems, and participate in shaping the future of travel in Asia and the Pacific area. Celebrating its thirty-third year, the association now comprises a membership of 2,150.

Since its founding, the association has become an important source of accurate, up-to-date information for its members in the fields of research, development, marketing, communications, and other travel-related topics. PATA's activities and long-range plans are examined and adjusted each year at the association's annual conference.

Between annual conferences, the association's business and affairs are overseen by the PATA Board of Directors. Board members are elected from all sections of the association's membership. Standing committees on management, research, development, and marketing are responsible for the association's ongoing programs. A publications division publishes a variety of directories and periodicals including the monthly *Pacific Travel News*.

PATA remains essentially a marketing organization supporting its members' activities in the marketing of their destinations and products. A catalyst by nature, the association is also an important resource center, particularly in the areas of training and education.

PATA's research activities concentrate on the operation of travel research conferences and seminars, the publication of an annual Pacific Area statistical report, and the conduct of cooperative research studies. Development activities are geared toward developing new destinations, increasing the handling capacity of existing destinations, preserving their heritage and quality, and providing direction for training and education as well as for finance and resource management. PATA's marketing program is aimed at influencing more individuals to travel to and within the Pacific area and improving marketing skills at the point of sale and in destination areas.

Two of the most visible PATA activities are the annual conference and the more commercially oriented Pacific Travel Marts. The conference, held in a member country each year, brings together up to 1,800 travel industry leaders to join in discussions of the current needs and problems of Pacific tourism and to participate in the association's annual business meeting. Sessions offer selected themes to assist members in gaining a better working knowledge of tourism. The Pacific Travel Marts provide a central location where the buyers and sellers of travel meet and negotiate contracts for future business.

The work of PATA is greatly augmented by an international network of PATA chapters currently comprising more than 12,500 members worldwide. Chapter members meet regularly to learn about the various PATA destinations through educational presentations and out-of-country familiarization trips. PATA chapters also operate their own marketing, development, and training/education programs.

The PATA headquarters and publications division are

located in San Francisco, California. Regional offices are located in Manila and Sydney to serve the East Asia and South Pacific regions and in New Delhi to serve the South Asia region. For specific information regarding membership, upcoming programs, and a PATA chapter in your area contact the head-quarters at 228 Grant Avenue, San Francisco, California, USA 94108, Telex: 278353.

About PATA's Development Authority

When establishment of the PATA Development Authority was under consideration at the twenty-third annual PATA conference in Jakarta in 1974, the late William J. Mullahey, founding member of PATA, stated that the authority's focus would be to implement quality development of travel/tourism facilities and infrastructure in all Asia/Pacific destinations. The commitment of PATA members to these founding objectives has helped the development authority to evolve into a strong and growing support network with four integral committees for planning, education and training, investment and finance, and heritage conservation.

The planning committee supplies professional guidance to members and support for activities that affect the direction, physical development, and economic success of the tourist industry. The industry's impact on the social fabric of individual communities is also a key factor. Proper planning and definition of long-range goals that consider the unique physical, social, and cultural attributes of each PATA country are seen by the planning committee as prerequisites for establishing tourism as an important social and economically viable activity.

PATA planning workshops are a planning committee function. These events address the problem of physical planning for tourism at local, state, and regional levels, and consider the decision-making process of government agencies, planners, and developers in implementing desirable tourism projects.

Financing tourism development is a program activity in which the development authority strives to facilitate close liaison between investment and finance groups in developed countries and their counterparts in growing areas of the Asia/Pacific region. The objective is to encourage the funding of tourism projects and create a greater awareness of investment opportunities within the PATA area.

Ongoing training opportunities for executives and others involved in tourism is an undertaking of the development authority in conjunction with hotel and tourism management schools. The goals of the education and training committee are to provide opportunities for exchange of professional expertise, develop an understanding of tourist-industry influences on the social, cultural, political, and economic aspects of society, and broaden the professional base of tourism.

The successful development of tourism has often been viewed as generating negative side effects for the social and cultural fabric of an area. In 1979 the development authority

initiated biennial international conferences on tourism and heritage conservation. Implementation of the first three conferences in Bangkok, Manila, and Kathmandu led to the authority's involvement in a strong, continuing heritage conservation program and the formation of a heritage committee. The committee is responsible for PATA's development authority newsletter, *Pacific Heritage*, and the organization of the annual PATA Heritage and Cultural Awards. The 1983 awards were presented to the city of Fremantle, Australia (heritage) and the Australian Heritage Commission (culture). The 1984 awards were presented together as a special award of recognition to the American Express Foundation.

The heritage committee also cosponsors the annual seminar, "Basic Principles and Practices of Heritage Conservation," designed for those active or potentially active in saving and maintaining the cultural heritage of their respective countries. Forty-five delegates from fourteen countries participated in the first two-week seminar (Honolulu, July 1982). A second seminar was held the following year in Honolulu, and the third in January of 1985 was successfully held in Macau, sponsored by PATA, Macau's Department of Tourism, and Macau's Cultural Institute.

The seminar is designed to assist those responsible for the leadership of heritage conservation, from all sectors of society, in understanding the basic principles and practices of conserving cultural resources. It is especially useful to those who are now, or who will be, moving into decision-making positions in government and private enterprise. The tourism industry will benefit from this added knowledge in the areas of planning, development, marketing, and promotion. The program is designed by a distinguished faculty as an introduction to the field of heritage conservation with emphasis on the identification, evaluation, conservation, and enhancement of cultural resources. Although the course concentrates on architectural conservation and the existing environment, the information and knowledge from the program is applicable to other types of cultural resources. For example, the major topics discussed at the Macau course included identification and inventory of cultural resources; evaluation of cultural resources; institutional framework; private and public involvement in policy development; development and finance; property and site management; participants in conservation and their roles; and tourism and conservation.

The seminar program coordinator, Hisashi B. Sugaya, opened the first seminar in Honolulu with a brief overview of how the course came to be. In his remarks he stated that certain resolutions resulting from the biennial conferences on tourism and heritage conservation led to the establishment of this type of educational seminar. The Manila conference in 1981 produced a particular resolution calling for such a program:

The delegates at this conference have been encouraged by some of the successes that have been described and an

eagerness has been demonstrated to transform debate into action. This conference resolves to support the development of a joint action program with PATA and representatives of the heritage organizations as the necessary catalyst, and to suggest that the action program could include subjects such as the following: publicity, education programs (including university courses), printed material, film and award programs, task forces, identification of, and communication with heritage conservation organizations in the region.

The representatives of heritage conservation organizations and of PATA have indicated that they are convinced of the desirability of pooling knowledge and sharing experience. The progress of heritage conservation in the Asia/Pacific area has tended to be dependent on relatively isolated pockets of enthusiasm and influence. This conference resolves to work towards the establishment of a center in the Asia/Pacific region that can be a common repository of heritage conservation experience, and can disseminate the implementation of individual, national, or local-level activities.

As a result of this conference resolution and numerous others, the direction of the development authority and its growing involvement with heritage conservation was established.

PATA's Cultural and Heritage Awards, previously mentioned, deserve our attention for they have resulted in a successful combination of professional acclaim as well as international attention to the highly valuable projects themselves. As an introduction to the awards program, PATA chose a portion of a report published in the *Ford Foundation Letter*, entitled "Preserving Asian Arts and Culture," to best describe the reasons for offering this special recognition.

Especially in times of quick and unsettling change, the arts and cultural traditions of a society provide it with a measure of continuity and help to sustain its personality. For many peoples, their arts and cultural activities are not merely leisure time or esthetic diversions. They are an integral part of daily life, giving meaning to what otherwise might be an unfulfilled, dull, or meager existence. This is why an understanding of a nation's culture and its interaction with social and technological change is vital to national development.

For outsiders, art and culture not only evoke appreciation and delight but also serve as a way of communicating that transcends the barrier of language. Global interdependence, moreover, is not limited to economic, political, and social concerns but to cultural matters as well. Thus, helping countries to preserve and understand the best of their cultural inheritance and their modern artistic endeavors is important both for the esthetic and intellectual enrichment of the world and as a contribution to the

sound development of individual nations.

The cultural heritage of a country exists in archeological remains, monuments, historical buildings, and artifacts; in the fine and performing arts, both classical and folk; and in manuscripts and traditional writings. Changing taste and modernity threaten the continuation of traditional arts as their practitioners die without having passed on this heritage to their children or to apprentices. To-day there is great concern that those art forms that are most in danger of destruction or disappearance be recorded and preserved, and that public awareness of such efforts be raised. The public can be made aware of a country's heritage and culture through means such as exhibitions of regional art, dance and music; student visits to archeological sites; restoration of temple paintings; and research on local folklore and traditional music forms.

International concern has generated support for heritage and cultural preservation centered on archeology, museum development, training in the preservation and archeological sciences, and in the traditional arts. In addition funding has been provided to help modernize archeological work, for designating areas of exceptional beauty as landmarks, for museum development, and to assist creative writers who are interested in interpreting the changes brought about in traditional societies by modern development. Recently attention has been focused on how cultural traditions interact with and influence contemporary creative expressions. Preservation efforts assist both what is known as the "Great Tradition" (the high religious) and the "Little Tradition" (the folk and village). The art forms of the Little Tradition are the most vulnerable to exploitation for frequently they find a ready commercial market, but a market over which the artists have no control "and thus cannot determine the quality of the work offered for sale nor benefit economically as they should."1

Because of its concern for the preservation and conservation of the heritage and cultural traditions of PATA-area countries, the Pacific Area Travel Association, through the heritage committee of the development authority, sponsors two awards. Any entry is open to consideration under either of the awards; however, essentially culture would relate to the performing and traditional arts while heritage in this context would relate to the more physical elements of a culture which are passed on reasonably intact through the generations.

In 1981 the cultural award was granted to the East Sepik Province of Papua New Guinea. Chosen for its particularly sensitive response by the developers to a fragile regional culture, the project has set high standards for this emerging destination. The heritage award was an entry from Nepal titled "Bhaktapur: City in Renaissance," described as "an impressive example of an outstanding example of Nepal's

heritage that is in grave danger of deteriorating irreparably."

In establishing criteria suitable for judging the entries, the following categories were selected:

- 1. *Preservation*. The extent to which the project or program contributes towards the heritage and cultural preservation of elements of one or more PATA regions, nations, or peoples.
- 2. **Development**. The extent to which the project or program develops interest or participation in one or more elements of a Pacific culture or heritage. This could be measured by increases in the number of people or organizations involved in this aspect of the culture/heritage or by demonstrable improvements in the aesthetic quality of the aspect of the culture/heritage concerned.
- 3. *Popularity*. The degree of awareness created in respect to the aspect of the culture/heritage concerned. This could be measured by factors such as the number of visitors to a project, the audience it reaches, the membership of an organization, or the number of students participating in a program.
- 4. External Impact. The degree to which the project or program has an impact outside of its immediate community and the country in which it is located. Indications of this could be publicity that is generated elsewhere, the extent to which foreign visitors are attracted, or the degree to which the program is copied elsewhere.
- 5. *Uniqueness of the Project*. The extent to which the project or program is of a distinctive and unique nature.

Following the first Tourism and Heritage Conservation Conference held in Bangkok in 1979, a number of conference resolutions were formulated which initiated programs shaping current PATA heritage committee activities. One particular outcome are the study teams, known as task forces, which lend expertise to Asia/Pacific destinations in need of professional review of planning/development documents. Two resolutions from the Bangkok conference presented the need for these advisory teams:

Resolution No. 2. This Conference, considering the close relationship between tourism and conservation, urges members of PATA to recognize the long-term financial interests they have in heritage conservation and further urges them to take active steps to support the work of independent associations for the conservation of architectural, cultural and natural heritage in their countries, and where such associations do not already exist, to encourage their formation.

Resolution No. 3. This Conference urges that one or more sites for heritage conservation in the PATA destination areas be selected each year, and that during the year PATA should seek to ally its members with conservation programs by focusing attention on these selected areas and by aiming to achieve some specific results in them that can be held up as examples of the value of concerted action.

The following year a task force was sent at the request of

the Macau government to study and prepare a report on tourism in Macau. In subsequent years, other task forces were invited to Papua New Guinea, Kiribati, Vanuatu, the Solomon Islands, and elsewhere; in each case the components of historical and cultural conservation are required.

PATA's programs are making an obvious difference in the important relationship between heritage conservation and tourism development, not the least of which is due to the immense exchange of information which takes place at the biennial Tourism and Heritage Conservation Conference. Robertson E. Collins, a trustee emeritus for the U.S. National Trust for Historic-Preservation and present chairman of the PATA Heritage Committee, is enthusiastic about the possibilities of PATA's undertakings: "We have a chance to speed up conservation in the Pacific by a whole generation. Maybe in five years we can do what would take twenty-five years; twenty-five years during which many things might get lost."

Recognizing the possibility of using tourism to provide the motivation for conservation, both spiritual and economic, executives in the travel industry, government officials, and specialists in the field of preservation met in 1979 in Bangkok under the sponsorship of PATA, UNESCO, and the government of Thailand to discuss ways to work together. This was the start of what have become the immensely successful Tourism and Heritage Conservation Conferences. According to David Huffman, manager of operations at Honolulu's Bishop Museum and past chairman of the PATA Heritage Committee, "At Bangkok we wanted to find out who shared our concern for heritage conservation. The Manila conference studied conservation areas accented and as a result it was decided to focus on the natural environment every bit as much as on the fragile works of man. The third conference in Nepal in 1983 was designed to showcase histories where restoration projects in conservation and preservation needs were finished, in progress, planned, or desperately needed but without a plan. The upcoming conference in 1985 in Solo, Indonesia, is expected to reach out in greater strength and more revealing manner to the retail travel industry. Ultimately, the thrust of our meeting will be the bottom line. Can we demonstrate, actually present case histories where the profit went up, where a nation's economic foundation was improved as a result of massive doses of conservation/preservation?" Conference delegates identified the immediate bottom line as the exchange of conservation ideas, problems, and solutions.

Garry Marchant, writer for the Far Eastern Economic Review, wrote of the conference in Kathmandu in the December 1983 issue:

Five village virgins bearing a silver lamp, a sapling and caskets entered the Nasal Chowk courtyard of Kathmandu's Hanumandhoka Durbar royal palace, followed by hymn-chanting brahmins and trumpet-blowing, drumbeating lamas. On the crimson-curtained dais nine year old

Prarthana Shrestha presented the silver lamp to King Birendra Bir Bikram Shah Dev who lit the traditional "pana" oil lamp. It was with this appropriate ceremony that the third international Pacific Area Travel Association Tourism and Heritage Conservation Conference was officially opened.

While pigeons flapped noisily in the courtyard and the King and Queen looked on from under a curtained canopy, PATA vice-president Kiyomi Sugahara outlined the theme and purpose of the conference: "We . . . are conscious of the fact that to receive maximum benefits out of tourism the preservation of an individual nation's culture, art, crafts, tradition and way of life must be included in the mainstream of the heritage of the whole Asia/Pacific conglomerate."

Twenty-one conference resolutions were passed at the Nepal conference. Among these were suggestions that PATA should produce a manual outlining the importance of heritage, to be distributed to those responsible for heritage preservation; encourage member airlines to produce on-board audiovisuals promoting the heritage of their destinations; support the principles of controlled visitor access to sensitive resources; support the International Union of Conservation Nations' convention banning export and import of antiques, skins, and rare species; urge the PATA annual conference to adopt the objectives of the World Wildlife Foundation and urge all PATA government members in Asia to sign the United Nations endangered species act. Finally, the conference urged that as high a proportion as possible of any taxes raised from tourist entry fees to monuments, nature parks, and other heritage facets be specifically earmarked for their conservation.

The conference was attended by representatives from over twenty countries and was successful in achieving the goal of understanding the balance necessary between development and conservation and the development of conservation priorities utilizing the tool of tourism.

In the closing session of the conference in Nepal, Dr. Karan Singh, a member of India's Parliament, offered insightful words which sounded like the future of this endeavor: We do not have eyes to see anymore—there are people who keep looking all their lives without once looking up at the stars. We have to teach our children the value of beauty as these values are enshrined in our cultural traditions. There is a line in the Vedas about the life of reverence—reverence for life, the hills, the mountains, the lakes, the rivers, the trees. These are not simply superstitious hymns. They say that the hymns create an awareness on the part of the sages of the divinity that pervades all existence.

Those are the values that we have to teach our children, and one another. In other words, it is an entire undertaking from the specialized agencies right down to our primary schools. We have to inculcate heritage and conservation values, and only then will what we are trying to do have any chance of succeeding in the face of extremely hostile factors.

In the final analysis, we must remember that mankind shares a single heritage. Therefore, those of us who are concerned with heritage and with tourism have a very grave responsibility. In a world that is torn with hatred and suspicion and tensions and animosities, tourism can be a major force for peace. It can be a major force for bringing people together rather than tearing them apart. Encouraging understanding rather than heightening mistrust. Sowing friendship and fellowship rather than accentuating differences. And when this is linked with a similar heritage policy it can be perhaps the best stategy for human suvival in this nuclear age.³

Notes

- 1. "Preserving Asian Arts and Culture," Ford Foundation Letter, 1981.
- 2. Gary Marchant, "Letter from Kathmandu," Far Eastern Economic Review, December 22, 1983, 22.
- 3. Dr. Karan Singh, Proceedings from the Third Tourism and Heritage Conservation Conference, Pacific Area Travel Association, 1983, 100.

In Canada, the relationship between native peoples and national parks has been evolving over the past decade and is taking on increasing importance in the northern parts of the country. The growing interaction between national parks and native peoples of the Yukon and Northwest Territories is a result of Parks Canada's program to establish new national parks in the territories. The nature of this relationship is being shaped by the growing political power of native people and territorial governments and by national parks policy.

Native people wish to benefit from the establishment of new national parks through employment, park-related businesses, and tourism. While they are interested in new economic opportunities and tourism, they wish to guide new developments to ensure that they are not disruptive to their culture, values, and communities. For this reason, native people are insisting on local decision making and control.

Parks Canada supports native peoples' aspirations for local benefits and decision making. To accommodate northern realities, Parks Canada will have to devise management policies and practices which take into account the native peoples' presence and desires. The challenge is to reconcile local interests with Canada's international obligations for preservation and to uphold the mandate of national parks. This challenge can be met through mutual understanding and support.

En el Canadá, las relaciones entre los pueblos indígenas y los parques nacionales han evolucionado durante el curso de la década pasada, y toma una importancia creciente en las regiones al norte del país. La interacción creciente entre los parques nacionales y los pueblos indígenas del Yukon y de los Territorios del Noroeste (Northwest Territories) es el resultado del programa de Parques de Canadá (Parks Canada) para establecer nuevos parques nacionales en los territorios. La naturaleza de estas relaciones es influenciada por el poder político creciente de los pueblos indígenas y de los gobiernos territoriales y por la política de los parques nacionales.

Los pueblos indígenas desean percibir ganancia del establecimiento de los nuevos parques nacionales gracias a los puntos creados, a los asuntos ligados a los parques y al turismo. Mientras que estén interesados en las nuevas posibilidades económicas y en el turismo, ellos desean guiar los nuevos

desarrollos para asegurar que ellos no vayan a perturbar su cultura, sus valores y sus comunidades. Por esta razón, los pueblos indígenas insisten en las decisiones y un control local.

Parques de Canadá apoya las aspiraciones de los pueblos indígenas en cuanto a los beneficios y a las decisiones locales. Para tomar en cuenta las realidades del norte, Parques de Canadá debería crear políticas y prácticas de gestión que tomarán en cuenta la presencia y los deseos de los pueblos indígenas. Lo difícil es de reconciliar los intereses locales y las obligaciones internacionales del Canadá para la preservación, y de mantener el mandato de los parques nacionales. Este desafío se puede ganar por la compresión y ayuda mutua.

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Au Canada, les relations entre les peuples indigènes et les parcs nationaux ont évolué au cours de la décennie passée, et prennent une importance croissante dans les régions du nord du pays. Les interactions grandissantes entre les parcs nationaux et les peuples indigènes du Yukon et des Territoires du Nord-Ouest (*Northwest Territories*) sont le résultat du programme des Parcs du Canada (*Parks Canada*) pour établir de nouveaux parcs nationaux dans les territoires. La nature de ces relations est influencée par le pouvoir politique croissant des peuples indigènes et des gouvernements territoriaux et par la politique des parcs nationaux.

Les peuples indigènes souhaitent tirer profit de l'établissement de nouveaux parcs nationaux grâce aux emplois créés, aux affaires liées aux parcs et au tourisme. Tout en étant intéressés par de nouvelles possibilités économiques et par le tourisme, ils souhaitent guider les nouveaux développements pour s'assurer qu'ils ne perturbent pas leur culture, leurs valeurs et leurs communautés. Pour cette raison, les peuples indigènes insistent sur des décisions et un contrôle locaux.

Parks Canada soutient les aspirations des peuples indigènes quant aux bénéfices et aux prises de décisions locales. Pour tenir compte des réalités du nord, Parks Canada devra créer des politiques et des pratiques de gestion qui prennent en compte la présence et les souhaits des peuples indigènes. Le défi est de réconcilier les intérêts locaux et les obligations internationales du Canada pour la préservation, et de maintenir le mandat des parcs nationaux. Ce défi peut être gagné par une compréhension et une aide mutuelles.

Northern National Parks and Native People: The Canadian Experience

Tom J. Kovacs

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I am delighted to be here today. I consider it to be a distinct privilege to talk to you about the relationship between Canada's native people and the establishment of national parks in the north. I regret there are no native representatives here from Canada; however, I will attempt to present their views. I have worked on northern projects off and on between 1971 and 1979 and full time since then. Prior to addressing my main topic, I think it would be useful to say a few words about Canada, the Canadian north, and Parks Canada. I should add that the views expressed here are my own, and may not represent official policy.

Canada is a vast country. Its 9.2 million square kilometre area is divided into ten provinces and two territories. The focus of our attention is the territories. Lying north of the 60° north latitude, the Yukon and Northwest Territories together make up 39 percent of Canada's landmass. The combined population of the territories is about 70,000. In the Yukon, native people form 34 percent of the population; in the Northwest Territories, nearly 60 percent of the residents are native.

The territories are junior partners in the Canadian confederation. Administered by the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, they have been described as a hinterland geographically, as a colony politically, and as a new frontier for resource development.

To understand the Canadian north, one needs to know the major forces operating there today: political devolution from a centralist government to a local one, with the goal of provincehood; a push for resource development which was strongest in the 1970s, with megaprojects undertaken for oil and gas and nonrenewable resources; and the native claims

process, the single most important issue in the Canadian north today. The resolution of aboriginal claims is a national priority and many major initiatives depend on it.

These forces have placed a lot of pressure on the north and the past ten years have been stressful for northerners. Part of the difficulty in resolving the issues facing us lies in differences between southern and northern attitudes and expectations. Northerners quite rightly perceive the territories to be distinct from the rest of the country. This is the reality geographically, politically, culturally, and environmentally. Northerners believe that their interests are best looked after by themselves. They tend to reject southern institutions, attitudes, and visions as self-serving or misplaced. With these major forces at work, the Canadian north has been going through major changes and Parks Canada has been a part of the process.

I would now like to talk briefly about our national parks. With more than 140,000 square kilometres in thirty-one national parks, Canada's national parks system is one of the largest in the world. It is also the second oldest, next to that of the United States. Banff, our first national park, was established in 1885 and next year is our centennial. This year, by the way, is the year of tourism in Canada. In the National Parks Act we have a strong legislative authority to fulfill our mandate for preservation and use—two potentially conflicting purposes. Parks Canada is also mandated by cabinet-approved policy to complete the national parks system. To achieve this, there is a need to establish at least one national park in each of our thirty-nine terrestrial natural regions. With fifteen natural regions and five existing national parks and reserves

in the north, the greatest gaps in the system exist in the territories. Nine or ten additional parks will be required to complete the northern system. With the native claims process making fundamental decisions about land ownership, the north has also become a target for new park establishment. Citing its international obligations and the national interest, Parks Canada has been pursuing the establishment of new northern national parks since the 1970s while the opportunity to create national parks on federal lands is at hand. Parks Canada's objective is to protect about 5 percent of northern lands as national parks.

Lofty ideals of preservation and arguments based on national interest, however, have not impressed our native people. The Dene, the Metis, and the Inuit have viewed new national parks as another southern intrusion serving outside interests. The national park idea is largely foreign to the native population. The Inuit do not even have a word for national parks, and have referred to them as places where white men play. In the native view, conservation should first and foremost be an instrument to serve local needs, not collective national purposes. Native people also feel that they, and not a distant bureaucracy like Parks Canada, are in the best position to protect natural resources through their customary laws.

In the past, national parks and the native peoples have occupied positions quite far apart. Yet over the last few years there has been movement towards a position of mutual support. There has been suspicion on both sides. Progress has not been easy and not all differences have been resolved.

The motivation for cooperation has also been different for each party. Initially Parks Canada accepted native peoples' presence in national parks as a political reality of the day. It was evident that native support was needed in order to achieve Parks Canada's system planning goals. On their side, native people have gradually come to view national parks as potentially valuable instruments for protecting natural resources, provided their access to renewable resources is maintained and they have a say in resource management. Although motivated differently, Parks Canada and the native people have discovered reasons for cooperation. The developing relationship was a result of pragmatism on both sides. Here are some examples of developments involving native peoples and national parks:

In 1973 the federal government recognized the existence of aboriginal title. This resulted in comprehensive claims which involved land and cash settlements. In the following year, three northern national parks, Kluane, Nahanni, and Auyuittuq, were established as reserves, subject to final claim settlements. In that period, rapid action was possible because the federal authority was relatively unchallenged. The 1974 amendment of the National Parks Act permitted native hunting and fishing to continue in these three park reserves. They were to be the last northern national parks established until 1984.

In 1979 the new Parks Canada policy referred to guarantees to native people regarding subsistence resource uses and to joint management regimes. These policies were not well defined and did not provide the kind of assurances native people were seeking. Since 1979 the relationship between native people and national parks has been, and is being, shaped at the native claims negotiating table. It is at this forum that native peoples can most powerfully protect their interests. Parks Canada has participated in negotiations with three native groups. Partly because of this, one final agreement and two agreements-in-principle refer to the establishment of four new national parks. Discussions with one other major native group continue and have not yet addressed land issues. The final agreement with the Invialuit of the Western Arctic established a national park in the Northern Yukon on July 25, 1984, a natural area of international significance.

These agreements define native peoples' support for national parks, and are commitments by the federal government backed by legislation and the constitution. Some of the principles include native advisory bodies on park planning and management; exclusive rights to harvest wildlife; rights to use present and traditional harvesting methods; rights to use camps and caches; predominant native employment in the parks; preferential business considerations; rights of first refusal of new business opportunities; and job training and the protection of cultural features. Clearly, native people wish to benefit from national parks through the protection of natural resources, through employment, and through park-related businesses and tourism.

Tourism is seen as an extremely important component of our economy. It is Canada's sixth-largest source of revenue, generating over \$2 billion annually. With the closing of mines in the Yukon in 1983, tourism has become the territory's most important economic activity. While tourism in the Northwest Territories is relatively small, it is still important to the local economy.

Native people are turning to tourism because their economic options are few. Their traditional economies are hurting. Fur prices have been low, the sealskin ban in Europe has been effective, and carving sales are down. However, there are concerns about tourism at the community level.

First, tourism is an unknown activity to most community residents. Some experiences with tourists have been negative and local people fear the impact of uncontrolled tourism on existing lifestyles. They wish to proceed cautiously and be involved in decision-making that affects tourist development.

Tourism is not an activity which has been openly embraced by national parks. We tend to speak of "parks visitors" as opposed to "tourists" and the most commercial aspects of tourism have always been somewhat distasteful to us. Nevertheless, tourism has been extremely important to national parks and vice versa. In fact, the origin of national parks was more closely related to tourism than many national parks peo-

ple realize.

In northern national parks with areas of low carrying capacity and environmental sensitivity, tourism has to be carefully planned and controlled. Northern national parks are intended to be large wilderness parks with limited facility development. Only those activities which are in harmony with the wilderness character of the parks can be permitted. Inevitably, territorial and local goals for economic benefit will have to be reconciled with national park objectives for preservation.

There are some steps we can take to help minimize future problems:

- 1. It is expected that national parks in the north will be zoned as special preservation and wilderness zones over 95 percent or more of their area. The zoning system is part of park management plans and offers a strong management tool for protecting resources and guiding visitor activities.
- 2. Placing facilities on the perimeter or outside national parks.
- 3. Developing side-by-side federal/territorial parks where physical development would take place in the territorial component.

While native participation in tourist businesses and activities is still in its infancy and while tourism can have deleterious effects on natural resources and native cultures, there are also benefits in bringing tourists and native people together. The experience can be culturally enriching for both and provide economic benefits as well. By employing native people, by generating tourist business opportunities, by presenting and interpreting native cultures, national parks can play an important role in beneficial developments.

National parks and native peoples have been going through a learning period. Our interests have started to merge, and the value of our relationship is being recognized. Parks Canada has acquired a greater appreciation for native peoples' presence in national parks. We are more sensitive to native culture and how native people can contribute to our education and interpretation programs. The federal bureaucracy is more aware that resource management responsibility should be in the hands of those depending on these resources for their livelihood. Also, involving native people in planning and management decisions is the best way of securing local support.

Part of the challenge for Parks Canada is to match its objective for new national parks in the territories with a commitment to adapt to special northern environmental, political, and social circumstances. In establishing appropriate northern policies and management practices, Parks Canada must exercise flexibility and a willingness to go beyond the bounds of

tradition. It must also ensure that the changes do not diminish the fundamental objectives of national parks for preservation, enjoyment, and use, as prescribed by international criteria and the National Parks Act.

The challenge is to ensure that in fostering local interests, the basic national park preservation objective is not compromised. Some compromises will be necessary. We do not take this responsibility lightly, however. Through innovative management practices, a degree of flexibility, and greater mutual appreciation of national park and native interests, I believe we can forge a future mutually beneficial for northern national parks and native people.

Notes

1. It has been learned since delivering this paper that the Inuit word 'mirnguiqsirvik,' meaning a place to rest, is used to describe parks.

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One means which Parks Canada uses to deal with issues which can arise in administering a national program in a multicultural society is a clearly defined planning process. Its concomitant public participation program provides one channel for public input. In some cases, an oral history research project has provided another means by which local knowledge and local interest in heritage can influence park planning, development, and interpretation.

There are a number of specific methodological problems in oral history research. The most salient is the fact that research results cannot be interpreted uncritically because human memory is fallible. Used with care, however, the results of oral history can enhance the information base at all stages of park development.

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Un proceso de planificación claramente definido es uno de los medios que utiliza Parques de Canadá (*Parks Canada*) para tratar las cuestiones que pueden surgir de la gestión de un programa nacional en un sociedad multi-cultural. Su programa concomitante de participación de público ofrece una vía para la contribución de este último. En ciertos casos, un proyecto de investigación de historia oral ha ofrecido otro medio por cual el saber y el interés local en el patrimonio pueden influenciar la planificación, el desarrollo y la interpretación del parque.

Existe un cierto número de problemas metodológicos

específicos en la investigación de la historia oral. El más marcado es el hecho que los resultados de las investigaciones no se pueden interpretar de manera no crítica pues la memoria humana no es infallable. Sin embargo, los resultados de la historia oral, utilizados con precaución, pueden reforzar la información de base en todas las etapas del desarrollo del parque.

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Un processus de planification clairement défini est l'un des moyens qu'utilise les Parcs du Canada (*Parks Canada*) pour traiter les questions qui peuvent naître de la gestion d'un programme national dans une société multi-culturelle. Son programme concomitant de participation du public offre une voie pour la contribution de ce dernier. Dans certains cas, un projet de recherche d'histoire orale a offert un autre moyen par lequel le savoir et l'intérêt locaux dans le patrimoine peuvent influencer la planification, le développement et l'interprétation du parc.

Il existe un certain nombre de problèmes méthodologiques spécifiques dans la recherche de l'histoire orale. Le plus marquant est le fait que les résultats de recherche ne peuvent pas être interprétés de façon non critique car la mémoire humaine n'est pas infaillible. Cependant, les résultats de l'histoire orale, utilisés avec précaution, peuvent renforcer l'information de base à tous les stades du développement du parc.

Oral History Brings the Community and Park Together

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Introduction

In 1979, Parks Canada's legislative mandate, associated regulations, various program policies, practices, and standards were articulated in a comprehensive policy statement. This document defined Parks Canada's goals as the protection, preservation, and presentation of the nation's natural and cultural heritage so that it could be passed down, unimpaired, to future generations. The policy document also outlined in quite specific terms how these goals would be met so that program managers, professionals, and operating staff would have clear guidelines to refer to in directing their activities and in addressing the problems which arise in a program that attempts to meet objectives which may appear to conflict with one another (Parks Canada 1979).

What the policy document also confirmed was the fact that Parks Canada is a national organization which is dedicated to achieving its mandate by means of a consistent approach across the program which, in operational terms, means across a country where there are two founding cultural groups—the French and the English. There are also two major aboriginal peoples—the Indians and the Inuit—and immigrants from all corners of the earth. Parks Canada operates in a multicultural milieu: we have two official languages, English and French, in a country where regional loyalties, linguistic affiliation, or cultural identity often supersede national identity. In such a setting it takes a delicate hand to steer a national program expressing cultural mores.

One of the mechanisms Parks Canada has adopted to help deal with issues and conflicts which can arise is a clearly prescribed planning process which has a well-defined public participation program as an integral part of park planning (Parks Canada 1982). As well, for established parks there is a series of formal and informal consultative procedures which keep open avenues of communication between a park and its constituency. I am referring to such mechanisms as federal-provincial or federal-territorial consultative committees, parks' advisory bodies, or interaction with special interest groups.

Planning and consultation are only one part of the communications issue. As well, there are the interests of the local communities in their own heritage. This interest does not, however, ensure compatibility with Parks Canada's interests or, as I might more appropriately phrase it, with what Parks Canada's interests are perceived to be by all or part of the local constituency. Conflict can arise over philosophy—the use versus protection controversy; over scope—the stabilization, restoration, reconstruction continuum; over detail—the precise location of a parking lot; over historic grounds maintenance; or over the crimes of beaver. Because the park and the community must live together in the long term, none of these problems is trivial. Each must be addressed and, if not resolved, then a modus vivendi has to evolve to allow the park and the community to go about their rightful business.

Use of Oral History

From this perspective, my objective is to report on some experiences we in Parks Canada have had using oral history as one of the research tools supporting site development and interpretation. The connection with the tourism and use theme of this session is slender but nonetheless inescapable. It comes through some surprising, and often quite unexpected, side ef-

fects of various oral history projects we have undertaken.

In research management, my concerns are with issues such as methodology, standards, budget, product, timeliness, and applicability to program objectives. As a research tool, oral history has its fair share of problems. For example, it is expensive; not as costly as archeology in terms of funds expended in relation to information returned but more so than many documentary historical research projects. Like archeology, the major up-front costs lie in gathering the information and processing it into a usable format. For example, it will take several hours to index and transcribe a single hour of taped interview—more if there are associated problems of dialect, special or technical vocabulary, less-than-perfect recording, and so forth. And this is just one example of the timeconsuming nature of a research process where costs pile up rapidly. As oral history is also a relatively new specialization within the broad field of historical research, there is still a considerable lack of consensus over the proper marriage of research objective with research technique, as well as the appropriate role of amateur-or avocational-oral historian. With oral history, there are also the methodological problems of reconciling human memory and events which may be long in the past and which are now remembered through a glass darkly. I have alluded to these professional concerns over the methods, results, and reliability of oral history to indicate our awareness of these issues. They have had to be addressed in the projects I will discuss in order to conduct professionally sound research within the constraints of budget, deadlines, and program objectives.

Historical and archeological research occur at three times during the park planning and development process to meet different needs. Initially research is required to define, elaborate, and clarify the themes which the park commemorates, and to provide information which can be used in developing planning concepts, delineating development options, and identifying future research required to realize the plan which will be adopted. In general, research at this stage will concentrate on developing a comprehensive historical overview, archeological surveys and site assessments, and identifying cultural resources which can contribute to the eventual presentation of the park and its themes to the public.

The second requirement for research is to provide information to implement the approved development option presented in the management plan. At this stage research becomes very theme- or site-specific in such projects as structural histories, social histories, material histories, archeological excavations and artifact analyses, structural recording and analysis, comparative architectural or artifact studies, archeological work to mitigate the unavoidable effects of construction, and so forth. Research at this stage is not glamorous but it is critical to realizing the objectives of the management plan in compliance with Parks Canada's policy which states unequivocally that park development will be based on research.

The third stage of research is to support park interpretation. While generalized research during the initial planning process has outlined the themes, here research is required to support the translation of those themes into a story line; to identify, out of the mass of information gathered so far, those facts, objects, photographs, activities, and costumes, to name but a few examples, which interpreters will use to present the heritage resource to the public. This final research stage does not necessarily occur in tight lockstep with a particular park development process because research in support of interpretation is a continuing activity. As time passes and new information or at least new understandings of the past arise, exhibits may be updated and park interpretive programs revised.

Case Studies

I shall now discuss, briefly, some examples of oral history projects which illustrate research undertaken at each stage in the planning process. These oral history projects were often just a single component of a larger research program that would encompass such other studies as documentary and iconographic history, archeological studies, ethnohistory, architectural research, and so forth. I am looking at the oral history component separately because of its effects in the relationship between the park and the community.

Batoche

Oral history is a particularly useful research tool in dealing with controversial historical events recent enough for them to live in folk memory. A good example is provided by Batoche National Historic Site. In Canada, the national significance of a person, place, or event is established by the Historic Sites and Monuments Board; Parks Canada is the agency which implements its recommendations. Batoche was initially declared to be nationally significant because it was the site of the Battle of Batoche, a military engagement which took place in 1885 between the government of Canada and the Métis people under the leadership of Louis Riel. Still a controversial figure, Riel was a Métis, a man of mixed French and Indian ancestry, whose people followed a way of life based on buffalo hunting and trading. Métis descendants of Riel's followers quite understandably reacted with suspicion when they were first brought into the discussions about park development. But as the planning process was being initiated, so was the research which was required to support that process. One component was an oral history which was considered essential because there was little information available to define Métis culture, to identify physical resources, and to present a rounded story of the still-living community of Batoche. While planners worked closely with the Métis, so too did the historian (Payment n.d.).

By the time the initial planning was completed, enough evidence from documentary and oral history had been gathered to enable the Historic Sites and Monuments Board to identify a second theme, that of the Métis culture. With this, Parks Canada was able to continue planning and eventually, with continuing consultation, a management plan was developed and approved. The official opening will be in 1985, exactly one hundred years after the Battle of Batoche. The relationship between Parks Canada and the Métis people of Batoche has not always been easy but we are still working together. And now many of the people of Batoche remember that the first Parks Canada official with whom they had prolonged contact was the researcher who worked so hard trying to understand.

S.S. Klondike II

Research projects associated with the park development process tend to be particularistic and detailed. No project exemplifies this as much as the research which was undertaken to support the restoration of the S.S. Klondike II (Roos 1979). In the late 1950s the Historic Sites and Monuments Board declared the theme of transportation in Yukon Territory to be nationally significant. The site of the 1898 gold rush to Dawson City, Yukon Territory is remote and isolated, yet transportation was critical to get supplies in and out. A combination of river and rail transport was all that existed until the building of the Alaska Highway during the Second World War opened a road link between Yukon and the rest of the world.

To commemorate the transportation theme, a project team was established in the 1970s to undertake the restoration of the S.S. Klondike II, a sternwheeler which had sailed the Yukon River between Whitehorse and Dawson City during the heyday of river transport. Research was geared to the identification of aspects having to do with the vessel during the years 1937-1945, the period to which the vessel was to be restored. The difficulty with such a recent period, of course, is that there are a great many people still around who remember the vessel; even small errors in the restoration and the furnishings will be noticed.

The researcher soon discovered that the number of personnel available who had worked on the vessel would produce more information than could be accommodated in the time allotted. He did, however, interview twenty people formerly employed by or connected with the British Yukon Navigation Company, the steamship's former owner. Interviews were held singly and then two group interviews were conducted to bring together informants to resolve conflicting data and recollections. The final report was based on the oral history data, along with letters, sketches, surveys of the ship, photographs, government files, and "As Found" records. The report is a massive five-volume compendium of data on each part of the ship—feature by feature, cabin by cabin, inside and outside. It provided the basis for a restoration project that is accepted as substantially accurate by those who ought to know—the people who sailed on the S.S. Klondike II.

Trent-Severn Waterway

By far the most varied type of project is research undertaken in support of park interpretation where a wide range of interests must be encompassed. The Trent-Severn Waterway extends from Trenton on the north shore of Lake Ontario to Port Severn on Georgian Bay, passing through what is now prime farm and recreational land in central Ontario. Begun in the 1830s, the waterway was built in segments as local transportation needs evolved to reflect the changing economic base of the communities along the waterway; it was not completed until ninety years later in 1920. By this time, it was too late to realize the hope that it would provide a viable commercial link between the Upper Great Lakes and the St. Lawrence River route to the Atlantic Ocean. Instead, the Trent-Severn Waterway has become a busy recreational corridor for boaters, cottagers, and vacationers.

After it was transferred to Parks Canada in the 1970s, a series of historical research projects were undertaken to provide information for interpreting the waterway's historical and cultural significance to visitors and users. It quickly became evident that while information on the political and economic factors governing its construction were well documented, many aspects of the daily use and operation of the waterway were not at all well recorded. Therefore, oral history studies were initiated to fill this gap before the information disappeared forever. While the reports produced have satisfied Parks Canada's internal needs for information, the process of doing the research generated considerable local interest. After all, here were people telling a story that pertained directly to their own communities. Local interest in and commitment to this research is amply demonstrated by the fact that one of the first actions by a newly founded cooperative association was to make arrangements to publish one of these oral history reports for sale to the public (Francis 1984). The cooperative association saw this as a potentially profitable venture because of the fact they could rely on local sales for much of their market.

Pukaskwa

Another example of oral history to support park interpretation is the project at Pukaskwa National Park. Pukaskwa is a park of rugged beauty, where the boreal forest of the Canadian Shield meets Lake Superior. In keeping with recent practice, the study of man-land relationships has been considered necessary for the interpretation of the natural features in a national park. A human history study completed in 1976 found that not all themes in this relationship were well documented and recommended that an oral history of the occupation of the Pukaskwa area be produced before irreplaceable recollections were lost forever. The researcher found that besides supplying data, "such recollections are also of value because they often refer to the past in impressionistic terms. Thus, emotions, attitudes, perceptions and opinions are also placed on

record—such oral records, when taped, also constitute an important resource in themselves for possible use in bringing the past to life for the public who may visit Pukaskwa Park'' (A.D. Revill 1980, 1-2). In sparsely populated northern Ontario, this project has produced an invaluable record of ways of life that have largely disappeared or changed beyond all recognition in recent times: logging, fishing, trapping, and guiding.

Summation

In conclusion, I think we can make the following observations on the influence of oral history in reconciling local community aspirations with the objectives of a national park system:

- 1. For parks where the local perceptions of history may be different from the national model, it is critical that these differences be reconciled before proceeding with planning, let alone development. It may, however, require research to ascertain just what the local perceptions are.
- 2. A researcher conducting an oral history project which involves many members of the local community may provide a valuable, and in some cases perhaps the only, channel through which some of the local views, aspirations, and values can be conveyed to the national park program.
- 3. Because this type of research deals with living peoples, it is essential that these projects be handled with tact and a genuine consideration for the individual. Without this, a project is doomed to failure.
 - 4. When living memory commands the information required

to execute a development project, it is not only prudent but essential to ensure that this information is used as the basis for that development.

5. The past is the collective heritage of those people with local ties to the place or the events being commemorated by park development. Collectively these people take a strong interest in how their heritage is interpreted. Tapping this interest provides an outlet for their sense of cultural worth; and in so doing, the park helps foster feelings of local pride both within the community and for the park which is a part of that community.

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Tourists visiting Balcony House.

The southwestern United States, well known for its contributions to archeological science, also played a crucial role in the development of archeological tourism. The easily observed linkage between Pueblo Indian villages and well-preserved cliff dwellings became the basis for public appreciation of archeology during the nineteenth century. This popular interest influenced the adoption of federal legislation that led to the designation of many archeological monuments in the Southwest. The National Park Service has so successfully interpreted the cliff dwellings and other prehistoric ruins in these monuments to the American people that the national conception of archeological tourism is still dominated by Pueblo Indians and cliff dwellings.

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El Sudoeste de los Estados Unidos, renombrado por sus contribuciones a la ciencia arqueológica, desenpeño también un papel preponderante en el desarrollo del turismo arqueológico. El vínculo que uno puede fácilmente observar, entre los pueblos de los Indios Pueblo y los habitaciones en el costado de un acantilado (cliff dwellings) que han sido bien preservados, se ha convertido en la base de la apreciación, por el público, de la arqueología del siglo XIX. Este interés del público ha influenciado la adopción de legislación federal que ha conducido a la designación de numerosos monumentos arqueológicos en

el Sudoeste. El Servicio de los Parques Nacionales (*National Park Service*) ha interpretado con cierto éxito los habitaciones en el costado de un acantilado y otras ruinas prehistóricas en estos monumentos, ante el público americano, que la concepción nacional de turismo arqueológico la dominan todavía los Indios Pueblo y los habitaciones en el costado de un acantilado.

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Le Sud-Ouest des Etats-Unis, renommé pour ses contributions à la science archéologique, joua aussi un rôle prépondérant dans le développement du tourisme archéologique. Le lien que l'on peut aisément observer, entre les villages des Indiens Pueblo et les habitations à flanc de falaise (cliff dwellings) qui ont été bien préservées, est devenu la base de l'appréciation, par le public, de l'archéologie du XIXème siècle. Cet intérêt du public a influencé l'adoption de législation fédérale qui a conduit à la désignation de nombreux monuments archéologiques dans le Sud-Ouest. Le Service des Parcs Nationaux (National Park Service) a interprété avec un tel succès les habitations à flanc de falaise et les autres ruines préhistoriques dans ces monuments, auprès du public américain, que la conception nationale de tourisme archéologique est toujours dominée par les Indiens Pueblo et les habitations à flanc de falaise.

Cliff Dwellings and the Park Service: Archeological Tourism in the Southwest

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The southwestern United States has long been well known for its many contributions to archeology. Chronological methods, especially dendrochronology and stratigraphy, are probably the most important. Ceramic typology and seriation, culture classification, and ethnographic analogy are also well developed in this region. As a result of more than 100 years of research activity, the Southwest is one of the most intensively studied archeological regions in the world.

The traditional Southwest, that is, the states of Arizona, New Mexico, Colorado, and Utah, is also widely known for its dramatic and well-preserved archeological remains. The easily observed linkage between the villages of living Pueblo Indians and the cliff dwellings and other ruins created the basis for widespread public appreciation of archeology during the late nineteenth century. This public interest influenced the adoption of federal legislation that led to the designation of many archeological monuments in the Southwest. The National Park Service interpreted the prehistoric ruins in the monuments to the American public so successfully (Lister and Lister 1983) that the national conception of archeology as an aspect of tourism to this day is dominated by Pueblo Indians and cliff dwellings (Thompson 1983).

Ever since the discovery of the New World, Europeans, with no room for strange new people in their Biblical and Classical world view, had trouble answering the many questions they had about the American Indians and their origin. Later, this curiosity about Indian origins led to controversies over whether native Americans, various Old World peoples, or a mythical race of Mound Builders were responsible for the mounds that were found throughout the eastern and midwestern regions

of the country. These concerns fueled a national debate about the Mound Builders that continued throughout the nineteenth century (Silverberg 1968). American and European image builders presented contrasting views of Indians as either noble or depraved savages (Billington 1981). The opening of the West intensified the theorizing and fantasizing by exposing the new nation to many different native groups, including the spectacular Plains Indians. Romantic notions about fierce warriors dressed in feather war bonnets established a stereotype of the American Indian that has worldwide distribution as a result of nineteenth-century dime novels and twentieth-century Hollywood fantasies about the Wild West.

It was, however, the southwestern United States that brought archeology and native American groups together in a way that provided answers to the questions about Indians that the general public could both understand and accept. It was only in the Southwest that European-derived Americans could see obvious connections between living Indians and prehistoric remains. Archeology for most Americans who did not think immediately of Mediterranean or Near Eastern civilizations came to mean the study of the prehistory of American Indians and especially those living in the Southwest. The cliff dwellings were seen as dramatic counterparts to the castles and great houses of Europe, for example, Montezuma Castle, Cliff Palace, and Balcony House. Southwestern archeology helped provide nineteenth-century Americans with a wonderfully romantic and potentially long historical past for their short-lived country.

The relatively rapid expansion to the West had brought huge land areas under the control of the federal government.

Although substantial grants of land were ultimately made to the states that grew out of the western territories, the government retained control over very large holdings, about one-third of the nation's land area. The country is still divided on the basis of land ownership into an eastern zone, where most of the land is in private hands, and a western zone, where much of the land remains under federal control. In several western states the federal government now owns or controls more than 60 percent of the land area. These extensive holdings presented the federal government with opportunities to develop programs of national scale without having to cope with some of the problems of states rights that had been so important earlier in the East.

These western territories had majestic mountains, fantastic canyon landscapes, spectacular archeological ruins, and picturesque and intact Indian villages that captured the imagination of eastern Americans and Europeans alike. Concern for these natural marvels and cultural curiosities in the West mounted as reports of destruction and vandalism began to reach the East. Great pressure was brought to bear on the federal government to protect at least some of the natural and cultural wonders of the western territories.

The first action came at Yellowstone where General Henry D. Washburn and his party had ventured to check out reports of geysers, bubbling mud springs, and awesome landscapes. There, around a campfire on September 19, 1870, discussing the potential of the region, they decided that it should be recognized as a national treasure rather than be subjected to private development (Sutton and Sutton 1972, 142-44; Runte 1979, 41-42). On December 18, 1871, bills were introduced in Congress to set aside 2,200,000 acres (about 890,000 hectares) of natural wonderland at Yellowstone "as a public park or pleasuring ground for the benefit and enjoyment of the people" (Sutton and Sutton 1972, 149). President Ulysses S. Grant signed the measure on March 1, 1872, creating the world's first national park.

Although Yellowstone is not an archeological park, it is important to our story. First, it set the pattern for the future by establishing "for the first time the policy of national ownership of superlative resources for the common good" (Everhart 1972, 8). From that bold beginning in 1872 has come a worldwide national park movement. Today there are more than 1,200 national parks or similar units in more than 120 countries around the world. Second, the fact-finding expedition to Yellowstone in 1871, led by Ferdinand V. Hayden, head of the Geological Survey of the Territories, included among its members William Henry Holmes and James Stevenson, who later became key archeological and ethnographic researchers for the new Bureau of Ethnology (Bartlett 1962, 62-63; Goetzmann 1966, 512-13).

In the meantime, changes were taking place in the nation as a whole. The South was fully occupied in overcoming the devastation of the Civil War. The economic base of the coun-

try was rapidly becoming more industrial than agricultural. The intellectual center of the nation shifted northward away from the sons of the Enlightenment in Philadelphia to the industrial and merchant princes of New England, who boldly proclaimed Boston to be the Athens of America. There in 1879, Charles Eliot Norton, an influential professor of art history at Harvard University, founded the Archaeological Institute of America with the help of friends and students. Although Norton was primarily interested in Classical, especially Greek, archeology, others who were more interested in the New World insisted that "the study of aboriginal life in America is essential to complete the history of the human race, as well as to gratify a legitimate curiosity concerning the condition of man on this continent previous to its discovery" (AIA 1885, 32). The leading American anthropologist of the day, Lewis Henry Morgan, recommended that the institute sponsor studies of the Pueblo Indians of Arizona and New Mexico territories and he nominated Adolph F. Bandelier to undertake them.

The Archaeological Institute sent Bandelier to the Southwest. He went to the ruins of Pecos Pueblo, the last of the historic New Mexico Pueblo Indian villages to have been abandoned. Pecos had been visited by the Coronado expedition in 1541 during its search for the fabled Seven Cities of Cíbola. Bandelier, in his first report published in 1881, told of the deteriorating conditions of the Pecos ruins and of the increasing vandalism, especially of the Spanish mission church (Bandelier 1881, 42; Lister and Lister 1983, 152-58).

His report created quite a stir in Boston. A concerned group of New Englanders took steps to save places in the Southwest like Pecos which, they observed, was "even older than Boston." Senator George Frisbie Hoar introduced their petition on the floor of the Senate on May 10, 1882. He asked that the ruined villages of the Pueblo Indians in the Southwest be protected by withdrawing from public sale the land on which they were located (Lee 1970, 9-11). This request of more than 100 years ago represents the first effort to convince the Congress to provide federal government protection for antiquities. It failed because the New Englanders did not take into account the strong feelings of westerners who resisted all efforts to restrict their access to public land. As fate would have it, Pecos Pueblo did not receive full federal protection until June 28, 1965, when Congress made it a national monument.

However, the determined Bostonians continued to seek a southwestern site to protect. Their enthusiasm for that romantic region was increased by the visits to Boston in 1882 and 1886 of the flamboyant Frank Hamilton Cushing, accompanied by Hopi and Zuni Indians. Among his admirers was Mary Hemenway, a great Boston philanthropist. She financed Cushing's archeological work in south central Arizona for several years (Wade and McChesney 1980, 6-12). Her personal secretary, Sylvester Baxter, visited the scene of the explorations and published in the *Boston Herald* of April 15, 1888, a glowing account of the archeological discoveries that generated

great public interest (Baxter 1888).

Among the more spectacular sites in southern Arizona was a four-story adobe structure that had been named Casa Grande by Eusebio Kino, the Jesuit missionary who was the first European to see it in 1694 (Van Valkenburgh 1962; Lister and Lister 1983, 100-104). Like Pecos it was being vandalized at an alarming rate. In 1889 the group in Boston, again with the help of Senator Hoar, urged the Congress to save this remarkable ruined structure (Memorial 1869). On March 2, 1889, Congress took the first formal step toward the development of a program to protect the nation's heritage by authorizing the president to withdraw sufficient land from public sale to provide for the permanent protection of the Casa Grande. On June 22, 1892, after the ruin had been repaired, President Benjamin Harrison withdrew 480 acres (almost 200 hectares) of public land to establish the Casa Grande Ruin Reservation, making Casa Grande the first archeological site in the United States to receive the legislatively mandated protection of the federal government (Van Valkenburgh 1962, 11-13; Lee 1970, 18-20). Casa Grande ultimately became a national monument by executive proclamation of President Woodrow Wilson on August 3, 1918.

Proposals for the protection of other specific sites or concentrations of sites emerged in other parts of the Southwest (Lee 1970, 39-46). Special attention was directed toward cliff dwellings and comparable architectural wonders. A "National Park of the Cliff Cities" was proposed for a huge area on the Pajarito Plateau in New Mexico (Lacey 1905; Hewett 1916). Bandelier had generated additional interest in this region through the publication of *The Delight-Makers*, a popular fictional account of prehistoric Pueblo Indian life in Frijoles Canyon (Bandelier 1890). Although this region never became a national park, it was given early protection by the General Land Office and ultimately became Bandelier National Monument as a result of an executive proclamation by President Woodrow Wilson on February 11, 1916 (Lister and Lister 1983, 84-88).

The large ruined structure in Chaco Canyon in New Mexico also attracted a great deal of interest. Conflicts with Richard Wetherill, who had filed a homestead claim on the main ruins there in 1900, were finally resolved (Lee 1970, 35-38; 41) and President Theodore Roosevelt proclaimed Chaco Canyon a national monument on March 11, 1907. On December 19, 1980, the monument was expanded and renamed the Chaco Cultural National Historical Park by an act of Congress (Lister and Lister 1983, 101-15).

By far the most successful early efforts to create a national park devoted to cliff dwellings took place in Colorado, where attention was concentrated on the magnificent cliff dwellings that Richard Wetherill had discovered at Mesa Verde in 1888 (McNitt 1957, 21-27). These ruins received international attention through the publication in Sweden of Gustav Nordenskiöld's excavations at Cliff Palace and other sites (Nordenskiöld 1893). In 1891, the General Assembly of Col-

orado requested the establishment of a national park but Congress did not take action. By 1900 the Colorado Federated Women's Clubs, under the leadership of Virginia McClurg, incorporated the Colorado Cliff Dwellings Association to promote such a park. Beginning in 1901, a bill was repeatedly submitted to the Congress to establish "The Colorado Cliff Dwellings National Park." The women in Colorado organized a highly successful national campaign for the preservation of the Mesa Verde ruins that received the enthusiastic support of the eastern preservationists. In 1905 a bill was introduced by Representative M. M. Hogg of Cortez, Colorado, to create Mesa Verde National Park. It passed both houses of Congress on June 23, 1906, and Mesa Verde became the nation's first and only archeological national park when President Theodore Roosevelt signed the document on June 29 (Lee 1970, 78-81; Lister and Lister 1983, 131-41).

Even in the East archeological sites were being saved. Frederic Ward Putnam, curator of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology at Harvard University and one of the founding fathers of archeology and anthropology in this country, engineered the nation's first private rescue of an archeological site. In 1885, with some \$6,000 raised by ''the ladies of Boston,'' he purchased the famed Serpent Mound of Ohio in the name of the trustees of the Peabody Museum, who deeded the site in 1900 to the Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society (Brew 1968, 24-25). This action set a pattern for the eastern United States where, to this day, most archeological monuments and parks are in private, local, and state ownership.

However successful these efforts may have been, they were terribly inadequate. Piecemeal rescue of the archeological heritage was simply not enough. In 1899 archeologists throughout the country began a campaign to obtain legislation to protect all antiquities on federal land, especially those in the Southwest. It took six years because there were several competing interests and, for awhile, several competing bills before the Congress. The archeologists wanted to protect ruins from vandals. The Secretary of the Interior was eager to develop a system of parks in the West. The leaders of the Smithsonian Institution, who had been in the forefront of the explorations of the western territories, wanted to continue to control the scientific work there. The western land interests and their congressional allies did not want to give the President authority to set aside archeological monuments, especially since such authority with respect to forest reserves had recently led to the withdrawal of more than 150 million acres (about 61 million hectares) of public land (Lee 1970, 55-56; Hewett 1916).

Edgar Lee Hewett, an archeologist from New Mexico who had recently carried out a study of the southwestern ruins commissioned by the General Land Office (Hewett 1904), developed a draft bill that satisfied all parties. His draft was introduced by Representative John Fletcher Lacey of Iowa, a

strong supporter of environmental and preservation legislation. It sailed through Congress without a change and President Theodore Roosevelt signed it into law on June 8, 1906. The Antiquities Act of 1906 became the cornerstone of the national program of archeological and historic preservation (Lee 1970, 70-77).

It had two key provisions: 1) it protected archeological, historical, and paleontological sites on federal land from vandalism and looting, and 2) it gave the President authority to set aside lands for their archeological, historical, scenic, natural, or scientific values. The first national monument, Devils Tower in Wyoming, was set aside for its scientific values on September 24, 1906, by President Theodore Roosevelt, but many of the early monuments were archeological in nature and southwestern in locale. Within ten years, thirty new monuments were established by presidential proclamation and many of the sites identified by Hewett (1904) in his report to the land commissioner had become national monuments (Lee 1970, 92). In fact, his report served as a blueprint for the designation of archeological areas in the Southwest.

In 1916 Congress established the National Park Service by bringing together the many areas that had been set aside in previous years. Several times since, Congress has reinforced and reaffirmed the mandate to the National Park Service. Today the system has 335 units involving some 79 million acres (almost 32 million hectares). There are about 236 million visitations to National Park Service areas annually, with more than 600,000 at Mesa Verde.

There are twenty-three archeological national monuments, three archeological national historical parks, and only one archeological national park. Two-thirds of these sites are in the Southwest and most are either cliff dwellings or similarly preserved architectural remains (Lister and Lister 1983). Arizona alone, which has twenty-two National Park Service units, more than any other state, has a third of the archeological monuments. Only a dozen states have archeological monuments, and outside the Southwest no state except Hawaii has more than one. Examples are Ocmulgee in Georgia, Effigy Mounds in Iowa, and Mound City in Ohio (all remains of the Mound Builders), the Pipestone Quarry in Minnesota, Cape Krusenstern in Alaska, and Russell Cave in Alabama.

Thus, the historical accidents of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries gave a strong southwestern flavor to archeology in the National Park Service. An aggressive tourist industry developed to attract people to see the glories of the Southwest, including its archeological ruins. The Santa Fe Railroad, the Fred Harvey Company, and others in the private sector vigorously and successfully promoted both Indian cultures and archeological remains in the Southwest to an eager and curious public. Tourists became accustomed to the idea that archeological parks and monuments should have

substantial masonry or adobe buildings in dramatic and spectacular natural settings. Archeology was so popular that almost all Park Service units in the Southwest developed some archeological remains for tourist interpretation even though their main focus was on scenery, plants, or natural wonders.

Some private entrepreneurs along highways, who did not have such evidence of the past near their establishments, built fake pueblos and cliff dwellings to meet the public's expectations. The earliest private effort to build a cliff dwelling as a tourist attraction in a place more accessible to visitors than remote places like Mesa Verde was undertaken by the Manitou Cliff Dwellers' Ruin Company in Colorado. A group of citizens from Manitou, near Colorado Springs, spent more than \$100,000 to remove more than a million tons of rocks from cliff ruins in McElmo Canyon in southwestern Colorado in order to reconstruct accurate replicas for the Manitou Cliff Dwellers Museum, which opened to visitors in 1906 (Hieb 1983, 9-10). In contrast to this well-planned effort in educational tourism, most private reconstructions have been little more than cheap tourist traps of the kind made famous as Route 66 became enshrined in American folklore.

The federal government, through the National Park Service, is the main force in archeological tourism in the United States. It is the model that the state park systems follow. The private sector has had some notable successes, such as Colonial Williamsburg and Plimoth Plantation, that are based on sound archeological research, although the public perceives them as historical, rather than archeological, tourist attractions.

The idea that archeology in this country must have something to do with prehistoric southwestern Indians is still deeply rooted in the public mind. Early attitudes about the Southwest and its Indian populations, both past and present, helped get this persistent idea started. Ultimately, the early stewardship efforts of the United States government built this idea into the National Park System. Today, there is some presentation of archeology in almost every National Park unit in the Southwest (Lister and Lister 1983). The Park Service interpretive programs have been so successful that they help perpetuate the public perception that archeology means Pueblo Indians and cliff dwellings. Two related events are symbolic of this relationship. Mesa Verde National Park was designated as the first World Heritage Site in the United States on September 6, 1978, and was chosen as the venue for the First World Conference on Cultural Parks in September 1984.

I have every confidence that when we leave this great world cultural park and put behind us the activities of this outstanding First World Conference, we will carry in our memories forever not only the fine friendships and intellectual benefits we have gained but also the romantic notion and the historic fact that archeology for public and tourist consumption in the United States would not exist without the magnificent cliff dwellings of the Mesa Verde.

Acknowledgments

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The rationale for the National Park Service's development of interpretive programs was to help visitors learn about and appreciate park resources. It was based on the adage: through knowledge, understanding; through understanding, appreciation; through appreciation, protection. While this idea is still the basic underlying purpose for park interpretive programs, the actual role of interpretation has expanded over the years. We now recognize that the role of interpretation in parks varies with the area's resources and the needs of its visitors.

La razón por el desarrollo de programas de interpretación por el Servicio de Parques Nacionales era para ayudar a los visitantes instruirse y apreciar los recursos del parque. Se basaba en el refrán: con el conocimiento, la comprensión; con la comprensión, la apreciación; con la apreciación, la protección. Bien que esta idea sigue todavía como la base fundamental de los programas interpretativos de los parques, el papel verídico de la interpretación ha crecido a través de los años. Ahora reconocemos que el papel de la interpretación en los parques varía con los recursos de la región y con las necesidades de los visitantes.

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La raison d'être du développement de programmes interprétatifs par le Service des Parcs Nationaux était d'aider les visiteurs à s'instruire sur les ressources des parcs et à les apprécier. Elle s'appuyait sur l'adage: par le Savoir la compréhension; par la compréhension l'appréciation; par l'appréciation la protection. Bien que cette idée soit toujours le but fondamental des programmes interprétatifs pour les parcs, le rôle véritable de l'interprétation s'est élargi au cours des années. Nous reconnaissons maintenant que le rôle de l'interprétation dans les parcs varie avec les ressources de la région et avec les besoins des visiteurs.

The Role and Responsibility of Interpretation

J. Thomas Ritter

Chief, Visitor Services National Park Service Washington, D.C. Dave Dame

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Managing Park Resources

J. Thomas Ritter

All of us assembled for this First World Conference on Cultural Parks share and enjoy a common belief. We come with a strong conviction of the importance of cultural resources and the requirement of protecting these international treasures. Those who read these proceedings in the future to learn what transpired at Mesa Verde National Park will generally share this same conviction—that we must protect these resources that represent our heritage and inform us of the future. This general theme of this world conference is the central premise that binds us together.

Within this common conviction and shared belief, we rejoice over the unity of our purpose. However, if we conducted a complete analysis, we should find shallow comfort with our agreement. There are millions, even billions, of people throughout the world who do not subscribe to the basic concepts we honor at this conference. Even more serious is the fact that many of these billions deliberately oppose the principles and purposes of preserving cultural resources. With this truism prevalent throughout the world, it is incumbent upon us all to bridge this chasm of doubt; to traverse this canyon of opposition; to cross the valley of misunderstanding. We must provide education, inspiration, and knowledge to convey to all people the conviction of our ideas and ideals for protecting cultural resources.

Most of the speakers and workshop participants assembled here have expressed a common concern: "How can we use the cultural resources while providing for their protection?" This has been a problem for centuries to those responsible for managing resources. We know it is much easier to protect a resource if it is isolated from the impact and influence of man. If the resource is placed under conditions of full security and no one, including tourists, special visitors, scientists, and all others, is allowed to interact or use the resource, then protection is enhanced. However, we know the long-term effects of this type of protection. The result is erosion of public support and reduced citizen understanding necessary to ensure that resources remain protected.

Informed citizens must be advocates for protection and their support is dependent upon education and enthusiasm provided through interpretation; that helps people comprehend the values and necessity of protecting the resources entrusted to our stewardship. Consequently, these resources must be available for public use and must be appreciated by visitors who represent the citizens and the government.

Should we fail to communicate with the public, then we fail to develop understanding and support for policies and programs that ensure protection. In turn, we fail to enrich and inspire the public and we fail to amplify a deep and devoted ethic. These critical elements must be a part of any society to ensure protection of cultural resources.

When we accept the importance of strong public support, it is easy to understand why we allow visitor use, even invite visitors, and more importantly, promote visitor use. The alternative is loss of potential commitment by industry, commerce, and government. The consequence is loss of the resource and once lost, the resource is lost forever.

The value and benefit of cultural resources can be assessed

or measured by many methods. Cultural resources constitute the foundation for understanding human interaction with other resources and provide the most effective medium for communication about natural resource systems. In addition, cultural resources provide the best link to respond to questions and concerns about human resource use. To understand the cultures using the parks today, we must reflect upon the cultures of the past. Most people relate to and become immersed in stories of the old trapper's cabin, the ancient grain mill, remnants of pioneer trails, relics of the battlefield, even charts/records/books/tools of our descendants. These symbols help us relate to history and prehistory and are critical communication techniques.

Cultural resources convey essential information on attitudes, demands, and conditions affecting past societies. Interpretation using cultural resources commands attention from the public and generates reaction and action. These places and events that have been protected represent ideas and values of past and present societies. When they are interpreted to people who visit cultural sites, the result is a powerful influence upon the entire society. It is our task to extend our enthusiasm and knowledge to the public and to share our convictions.

Visitors arriving at a park come with great expectations. They want accessibility because they expect to come in contact with and to experience the resource. They expect to have a safe visit even though limited adventure is desirable. Most important, the visitor expects to learn about or gain appreciation through contact with the resource. These expectations of access, adventure, and learning can be realized and should be provided if we select the proper balance between visitor use and resource protection. Under optimum conditions, visitors will have an experience that will support protection of all cultural resources.

Many opportunities exist to help us accomplish the task of protecting the resources. We recognize that any strong and stable resource management program is dependent upon general understanding and comprehensive knowledge of basic values by all people interacting with the resources. The most effective way can be realized through unified cooperative work of all park employees. This concept of "team resource" can then be extended to organizations such as concessioners, civic clubs, conservation organizations, and the travel industry.

Unified involvement of all members of the park staff has multiple benefits. Let us consider the function of law enforcement assigned to park rangers who take positive and decisive action to correct and reduce civil and criminal activities. The first level of action by a professional law enforcement ranger is through interpretation by explaining the reasons for regulations. Maintenance workers also have a major role in promoting understanding of cultural resource values. These employees can be very effective because of the type of work they perform and the diverse places where they encounter the public. Many people will listen to and believe maintenance

workers before accepting information from other employees. If all park rangers and all maintenance workers in the National Park System provide accurate and appropriate information about resources, a quantum improvement in resource protection and citizen support would occur. There are many permanent and seasonal employees among rangers and maintenance workers assigned to the National Park System. These trained and committed employees should be expected to extend the message of the value of cultural resources to the public at any opportunity.

Major opportunities are available through volunteers who work in the National Park System. These volunteers have the capability of affecting millions of visitors. We know that volunteers must be carefully selected and properly trained to accomplish this task. When their knowledge and skills have been organized and supervision provided, the results are very rewarding. In addition, the tourism industry has a major responsibility to assist in explaining resource values to their clients. These commercial organizations and corporations may be the most effective in communicating with many citizens. We must also work with greater diligence to be certain that cooperation is strengthened so that concessioners have a better understanding of their function and capability of protecting the resources.

The long-term effect of these unified cooperative programs reaches the ultimate level when citizens share ideas and information with each other about the value of resources and when the public can explain the reasons for taking care of our heritage. When strangers begin to talk about the values within the parks, we know that programs designed to protect resources have been successful.

When specialists uniting for a common cause function as a group working together to protect resources, the result is always worth the effort. Coordination and cooperation between a collection of skilled and trained specialized professionals should be an expectation of all resource managers. Let us consider any project related to restoration of a cultural resource. The problem may have been identified and the need for restoration determined through scientific research. A resource management specialist may then determine the specific action needed to correct or mitigate the problem. The project may then be assigned to maintenance workers who perform the corrective action and monitor results in conjunction with scientists and resource management specialists. Eventually this task will be completed, the problem will be corrected, and the public may never become aware of the results. This is a potential opportunity lost, because if the problem deserves to be solved, the public deserves to be informed. Through knowledge of your success, the public develops support for the resource and will endorse programs and funding to provide future protection.

Most of the methods and techniques necessary to integrate interpretation with resource protection must have the endorse-

ment and involvement of park managers. Superintendents have major problems that command extensive time and energy. Those related to resource management can be analyzed and corrected most effectively on a coordinated basis involving the park staff working as a single unit. "Team resource" must involve everyone; when all people work together, the resource benefits. The ideal team consists of the entire park staff, concessioners, volunteers, citizen groups, and the tourism industry—everyone with a direct and continuing involvement with park resources.

Successful teams require clear definition of the rules and procedures, with a common knowledge base, and all members must have a clear understanding of the objectives or the purpose of the project. This may require training and preparation which can be accomplished by several techniques. The National Park System is designing a training program that will encourage a balanced and comprehensive approach to resource management. This training will serve management requirements for all employees and will provide general knowledge of all park programs and activities. This training must be founded upon the fundamental purpose of the National Park System which is to promote and provide for the use of resources and to protect these resources for the enjoyment of future generations.

Success of any program is measured by the degree of compliance from the public and whether all members of the "team" are actively supporting and strongly advocating the program. It is easy to direct or demand that a person or a group complete a task. We simply issue a directive or a strong memorandum that is received as an order. The choice is to follow orders or absorb the penalty. We can be less strict and inform all concerned that their endorsement and support are required. This results in inspections and surveillance to assure compliance, a method which will be met with limited enthusiasm and weak support. Genuine understanding of the purpose and advantages will be absent.

Interpretation builds a constituency of informed, enthused supporters. Legislation is enacted in response to interest and demands from citizens. In turn, we develop regulations based upon this legislation and prepare official doctrine and policy upon the authority granted through legislation; without citizen support this authority may not be granted. We further provide guidelines and procedures on how to conduct activities and programs. This accumulation of control has a powerful influence upon all decisions.

However, in practice we know or soon discover that it is not legislation, laws, policies, documents, and manuals that provide maximum protection of the resources. Effective resource protection is achieved through an informed and enthused public—an intelligent constituency. We know that education and inspiration through interpretation is slow and many years of diligent and persistent work are necessary to establish the roots of understanding for resource protection.

We also know this is the only effective method for providing maximum protection of the resources. The investment in interpretation is worth the effort.

The best method of developing, understanding, and complying with the objectives of resource protection is through appreciation of the values, relationships, and long-term benefits. When we consider the objectives of cultural resource protection, it is clear there is only one method that will ensure that these national and international treasures will be protected. Our commitment must be for the use of "team resource" with interpretation as an essential part of the team.

Protecting Park Resources

Dave Dame

There are some very talented interpreters working at this conference. With their skill at translating the conference papers into the official working languages, they make it possible for us to communicate with one another despite the difference in our languages and cultural backgrounds.

When I first became a National Park Service interpreter, I spent a considerable amount of time and energy explaining to my family and friends that I was not that kind of an interpreter. That I was in fact a park ranger with the special task of helping park visitors understand and appreciate the park's resources. It was our task to teach them about the park so that they could have a more enjoyable visit.

In the many intervening years I have learned a lot about the role and responsibility of park interpretation, especially that it is not as simple a task as I thought it was. And in fact I am the kind of interpreter I just mentioned—a translator of information from one language to another. Not from English to Spanish to be sure, but from the language of ecologist and cultural resource expert to the everyday thought patterns and levels of understanding of our visitors. I learned that park interpretation is not an activity that has a value in and of itself; that it has to be an integrated part of the park's overall management program if it is to be of real value to the Service and to the resources that we are mandated to protect. Ultimately I even accepted the fact that interpretation is not only those programs and services provided by interpreters; that interpretation is the communication interface between the National Park Service and the public who owns and uses the parks we manage for them. Everyone working in a park who communicates with visitors is to some degree functioning as an interpreter. The better that total communication effort is coordinated and managed, the more efficient it will be. Properly vitalized interpretation can be our most cost-effective way to minimize visitor-related protection, maintenance, and resource management problems. Like the old adage says, an ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure.

By looking at the relationship of park interpretation to the overall profession of park management, I have evolved a three-

layered concept of the role and responsibility that interpretation should be performing.

First, if we look at parks as a collection of resources, then we can say that our cultural parks contain the nation's most valued treasures. The richness and diversity of our park resources are the tangible evidence of our heritage; they represent the physical, the intellectual, and even the spiritual basis from which this nation's strength, pride, and continuity of purpose has been fashioned. Visitors to our parks have the right to be stirred emotionally and intellectually by a visit to these sites of our heritage. If they are not, they have been cheated, and both our nation and all the nations of the world are the poorer for this failure. Not because this nation is more important than any other, but because it has a heritage composed of bits and pieces from almost every country and culture on the face of the earth. We are in fact a nation of immigrants. Even the Anasazi came here from somewhere else. A bit sooner than most of our ancestors, but immigrants nonetheless. There was a very successful tourism promotion program a few years ago aimed at enticing Americans to travel to other countries: "Come to the old country, see where your ancestors came from." I have always felt we should say, "Come to the new country, see what your descendants have created."

Instilling an appreciation for our rich and diverse heritage is one of the responsibilities of park interpreters. There are others, and they are important, but instilling an understanding and appreciation for the significance of our park resources—and through this understanding support for preserving them, and thereby the cultural values they represent—is the critical challenge facing park interpreters.

We sometimes forget that the laws and other acts of our government that created and enable us to protect our parks can be changed by the same process that produced them. The only true, long-term protection we can rely on is the support of the people. If enough people value Mesa Verde and the other sites of our heritage, then they will continue to exist and be protected.

Next, if we look at our parks as special human-designed places rather than as a collection of valued resources, then all of our parks can be considered cultural parks regardless of the nature of the resources they contain. They are the creations of our particular culture; the tangible results of a set of values that we have acted upon. They tell us something about who and what we are as a people and a lot about the kinds of people and events and places that we consider important. Wouldn't it be nice if our park systems contained more parks which were established to commemorate the peaceful coexistence between cultures than those established to commemorate conflicts; more parks established to celebrate the rich diversity of our resources than those trying to protect the last remnants of rare and endangered resources? But I'm digressing.

These special places we call parks are dynamic and irreplaceable. They are in many ways very different from the familiar environments that our visitors live in for most of their lives. They are more fragile, less forgiving of misuse, and in some cases more likely to be dangerous due to their unknown or unfamiliar physical, biological, or climatic conditions. The interaction of our diverse visitor groups from diverse cultures and these irreplaceable parks requires substantial adaptation and behavior changes if both the parks and our visitors are to be protected. The exchange of information that is necessary to ensure the successful adaptation of visitors to parks is another of the responsibilities of park interpreters.

Finally, we can look at our parks in terms of the service that manages them. The National Park Service is a professional organization with a cadre of diverse specialists who are responsible for the planning, protection, and operation of the national parks. We have invited our users to participate in making the decisions that affect park resources. To invite them into the decision making process without affording them easy access to the information they need in order to make sound decisions makes little sense. To help our users understand the reasons behind our management policies and decisions, especially when those policies or decisions result in restricting some forms of use, is another responsibility of park interpreters. People are more likely to accept and support a sound, even though controversial, policy or plan when they understand its rationale, the research on which it was based, and the possible consequences of not adopting it. The other side of this coin is also true. If we have made a bad decision, an informed public will let us know and probably prevent us from making a mistake that we could regret one day.

These three major responsibilities of a park interpretive program—

- 1. developing long-term public support for the protection of our parks through instilling understanding and appreciation for the value of the resources;
- providing the exchange of information necessary for the successful adaptation of visitors to the park environment; and
- 3. developing support for the policies and programs of the National Park Service—

can be accomplished simultaneously in a carefully planned program without any loss of the entertainment and enjoyment aspects that are critical to a successful interpretive effort. Our visitors are on vacation. They are not in our parks to hear about our problems. They want to have an enjoyable time and learn something new—if the learning process does not involve too much effort on their part.

Interpretation exists to protect park resources—to make them appropriately available and appreciated by our visitors. If our resources are suffering unacceptable visitor-caused damage, we are failing.

Interpretation exists to communicate with our visitors—to

develop an understanding and support for the policies and programs that the protection of the resources imposes on their management and use. If public support does not exist, we are failing.

Finally, and most importantly, interpretation exists to enrich visitors' park experiences. If enrichment does not occur, if our visitors are not touched, we have failed.



Tourists at the Sun Temple in 1963.

A consideration of the nature of cultural parks and whether or not they are entirely separable from national parks or whether they should be considered as national parks with a predominantly cultural nature. Facing the difficulty of ensuring that the standard of the park and those aspects which it should be demonstrating, e.g., educational and historical way of life, etc., against the economic pressures which may be upon the park. The absolute importance of first of all establishing the significance of the park and then preparing a management plan which takes into account that significance; which does not diminish, but which does if at all possible provide the maximum possible income. The importance of ensuring that the conservation movement properly markets and sells its own products, such as its cultural parks; that it recognises their importance and the fact that they are not only irreplaceable but cannot be reproduced by others with any integrity. Emphasising the importance of the "conservation industry" appearing as an efficient and successful marketer of its products to the outside world and thereby attracting more visitors whilst at the same time not losing sight of the fact that the cultural significance of the property is and must always be the primary concern of the organisation responsible for the cultural park.

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Una consideración sobre la naturaleza de los parques culturales, si se pueden o no separar completamente de los parques nacionales, o si se deberían considerar como parques nacionales de naturaleza esencialmente cultural. Haciendo cara a la dificultad de asegurar la calidad del parque y esos aspectos que debería ofrecer, es decir, educación y modo de vida histórico, etc., pese a las presiones económicas que puden subir. La importancia absoluta de definir, en primer lugar, la significación del parque y luego preparar un plan de gestión que tiene en cuenta esta significación, que no reduzca más que aporte, si sea posible, el ingreso máximo. La importancia de

asegurar que el movimiento de conservación se lance en el mercado y venta sus propios productos de manera apropiada, tal como sus parques culturales, que reconozca su importancia y el hecho que no solamente son irremplazables, sino que no se pueden reproducir con integridad por otros. Haciendo hincapié en la "industria de conservación," apareciendo como un mercader eficaz y exitoso de sus propios productos al mundo exterior y a la vez atraer más visitantes, mientras que al mismo tiempo no pierde de vista el hecho que la importancia cultural de bienes es, y siempre debe ser, la preocupación esencial de la organización responsable por el parque cultural.

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Considération sur la nature des parcs culturels, s'ils peuvent ou non être séparés des parcs nationaux, ou s'ils devraient être considérés comme des parcs nationaux de nature essentiellement culturelle. Faire face aux difficultés d'assurer la qualité du parc et celle des aspects qu'il devrait offrir, c'est-àdire, éducation et mode de vie historique, etc., en dépit des pressions économiques qu'il peut subir. L'importance absolue de définir, en tout premier lieu, la signification du parc et ensuite de préparer un plan de gestion qui tienne compte de cette signification, qui no réduise pas mais qui fournisse, si cela est possible, le revenu le plus élevé. L'importance de s'assurer que le mouvement de conservation lance sur le marché et vende ses propres produits de façon appropriée, tel que ses parcs culturels, qu'il reconnaisse leur importance et le fait qu'ils soient non seulement irremplaçables, mais ne peuvent pas être reproduits avec intégrité par d'autre. Mettre en relief l'importance de ''l'industrie de conservation,'' apparaître comme un mercaticien efficace et qui réussit à vendre ses produits au monde extérieur et à attirer plus de visiteurs, et qui en même temps ne perde pas de vue le fait que l'importance culturelle des biens est, et doit toujours être, le souci essentiel de l'organisation responsable du parc culturel.

Emphasizing the Economic and Cultural Value of Cultural Parks to Tourists

P. C. James

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I begin this morning with a couple of drawbacks from which I do not normally suffer. One is the deep canyon behind me; I was warned last night by the chairman that if I exceeded my time limit he would push me over. As I also intend to commit the unpardonable sin of talking about something quite different from that which I was supposed to speak, he may well push me over earlier, in which case the late start to today's program will not cause so many difficulties.

When I left Australia to come to this conference I was very confident about a number of matters. Since arriving here, I have lost that confidence in respect to a couple of them and it is those matters which I would like to raise before I begin the topic about which I am supposed to speak.

You might look at the front page of either the program or your handbag full of conference papers or your precis booklet, all of which have on them the logo or emblem of this conference, "First World Conference on Cultural Parks—Preservation and Use." I want to talk about those words. I would like to say, before going any further, that the comments I am making at this stage in no way reflect on the conference or its organisers or on any of the excellent presentations we have had so far. I just wish to make certain comments because issues have been raised in my mind which certainly bear upon the paper which I have prepared which I think need to be taken into account by the resolutions committee and which certainly need to be borne in mind if (and hopefully when) further conferences of this nature are organised.

As an Australian, which is in itself a drawback if you are over here, language is a problem. Whilst Americans and Australians once spoke the same language, the English have disowned both of us and we are having more and more trouble communicating. Nonetheless, bearing in mind that I am Australian and a lawyer, I am still able to understand the first words on the emblem for the conference, that it is the "First World Conference," and I can appreciate that as I am sure you all can. I also thought when I left Sydney that I quite clearly understood what "cultural parks" were and I prepared my paper accordingly. But I had not been here for very long, in fact we were only halfway through the sumptuous reception on the first night, when I began to have my doubts—not, I assure you, about the worthwhileness of the conference, but upon my understanding of what is meant by the phrase "cultural parks."

As the conference has progressed (and we have heard a number of most interesting presentations), it has seemed to me that if we were each asked to write down what we thought was the definition of a cultural park, we might get almost as many definitions as there are people here. The issue again came seriously to my mind on Monday afternoon during the excellent paper given by Professor McCallum where she dealt with the various ways in which land can be held, during which an exchange took place between the speaker and Hugh Miller, Chief Historical Architect for the National Parks Service in the United States. Yesterday during the afternoon session on tourism there were a number of excellent papers given, but two of them in particular caused me even more concern about what was meant by "cultural parks." In case any of you wonder why I am going on at some length about what cultural parks are, I assure you there is a point to it. What we may understand by "cultural parks" makes a big difference I think

to both the theme for this conference and to the interpretation we should put on some of the papers we heard.

One of yesterday's papers to which I referred was given by Robert Stipe on various areas he promoted as examples of possible cultural parks in the United States, a number of which areas we in Australia would call Landscape Conservation Areas. I do not wish to become involved in a question of semantics and argue the difference between cultural parks and landscape conservation areas, but it seemed to me that the areas to which he was referring were those areas into which Europeans have moved, where they are still living in an attractive environment, and where they are trying to make sure that the less attractive parts improve and those attractive sections remain attractive. But this type of area is one where it is very difficult to apply strictly the latter words that appear on the emblem for the seminar, "Preservation and Use." I will come back to these words shortly. It seems to me that one could call what Robert Stipe was talking about a "living national park," but that seems rather offensive to ordinary national parks, particularly those which may have people living in them.

The paper in direct contrast to that, but equally informative, was given by Pauline Harrell and dealt with ruins in the area of Luxor in Egypt. I must say it was that sort of area which it seemed to me, when I left Sydney, was probably a cultural park. I suppose if you are going to call the former a living national park, you presumably call the latter a dead national park and that seems equally offensive.

Perhaps the first one was too wide, perhaps the second too narrow, or perhaps the fault is mine in that I have not yet come to grips with the precise meaning of what the term cultural park connotes. I wonder in fact if the whole problem does not go back to something over a hundred years ago in this country (and I am not trying to blame the Americans just because they started it) when the world's first national park was created in the United States of America and it was called a "national" park. Looking at the definition and the words in the American statute which first established national parks, you can see the area which national parks were supposed to cover.

It occurs to me that really what we are considering at this conference are the problems caused and the solutions required for those cultural aspects of national parks. I do seriously question whether or not we should adopt, as if it were in opposition to what are well known as "national parks," the term "cultural parks." If we do, however, we must be very clear as to the meaning of the term. We cannot encompass all those sites we have so far heard about. We cannot go from one extreme to the other as in the two cases I mentioned, from an area which is presently occupied (leaving aside whether it is occupied by indigenous people or people who have moved in or a combination of both) but which is an area of scenic and architectural importance, to an area like Luxor where the civilisation concerned has gone completely and all that is left

is a series of ruins.

I do thus wonder if we should not be giving serious thought to just what is a cultural park. The resolutions committee should also be giving it serious thought as hopefully out of this particular conference will come other conferences because there are undoubtedly an enormous number of problems which have come to light in the first two days of this one. Whether we are looking at America or Indonesia or Africa or even Australia, there are a vast range of problems. I would not like to see us get bogged down in trying to deal with an indefinable category of areas which in turn will require an impossible set of guidelines rather than getting down to the actual practical problems. I merely put forward the thought for the resolutions committee that we are in fact looking at national parks but at particular aspects of national parks which may not in some countries have been properly addressed to date. Some people might think that they have not been properly addressed today in any country.

Now that I have said all that (apart from the fact that it has been worrying me since I got here), we then go on to the second phase of the emblem, which is "Preservation and Use." I hope, and I believe that it is not accidental, that when the organisers were putting the conference together, they intentionally put those words in the order in which they did. Because it seems to me that whatever sort of area, whether it be a national park, a cultural park, or any other area which has natural or cultural importance, you are not going to be able to decide what use you can put that area to until you have first looked at the conservation issues. Surely we are all here concerned primarily with preservation, or as we call it (being different as usual in Australia), conservation; we are primarily concerned with looking at the preservation or conservation of areas or places and undoubtedly in some cases of peoples as well. One cannot deal with the question of use until you have dealt with that particular question of preservation and what it means. Until you have sat down and prepared a document, whatever you might call it in your particular country—a conservation plan, a statement of cultural significance, etc.; until you have done that, it is impossible for you to be able properly to decide just what the uses are going to be.

In the paper I was going to deliver, I took those particular words "Preservation and Use" as being the crux of the particular topic, as I say, about which I was supposed to speak, because if you are looking at the economic and tourism side of parks, then one must have conservation guidelines to begin with.

Tourism is another word with which I have difficulty in the context of conservation issues. I much prefer to use the word visitor rather than tourist; but try and refer to visitism, and it does not have quite the same ring as tourism. If someone here can think of an appropriate word to replace tourism, I would be very grateful and many others would be as well. So I will continue with the word tourism on the basis that we

all understand tourism not just to be busloads of people, whether they be Australian, Japanese, Americans, or anybody else you may like to think of being trundled around the world at a great rate, but include all those other peopleschoolchildren, the groups of senior citizens being taken on an excursion, the people from Durango who are up here on Mesa Verde just for the day. They are not the sort of people perhaps the average person would think of as tourists, but from our point of view they must also be included. They are visiting the park; they are coming to enjoy the park; and they are hopefully bringing in some money towards the running of the park. Because in my innocence I took a narrow view of what a cultural park was; I prepared what is now the second part of this paper on those narrow lines. I presupposed that one only establishes a cultural park, or whatever you might call it, because it is of sufficient significance for it to be what I would call inalienable; in other words, the sort of park which was obviously foreshadowed by the United States Congress back in the 1870s and by the New South Wales government in Australia in the late 1870s when the first national park was created there. If you look at those sorts of parks as being inalienable, i.e., held in perpetuity on behalf of the nation (which is presumably why they were first called "national" parks), then you have one major restriction. Having established why that park is important, why that area is significant, then you must do nothing, nothing at all, to compromise in any way that significance.

Of course this inhibition raises great difficulties when you are trying to run an organisation which has, as part of its responsibility, a number of areas which are parks of whatever nature under its jurisdiction. You have to find money somewhere; and all of us are not in the fortunate position of receiving substantial government grants to carry out the work which we may wish to do. If you have those two fundamental controls—the cultural significance of the park and the need to raise funds to keep that park going—then in some way it is the second of those two which you have to manipulate and work so that you can ensure that the first remains untrammelled and untouched. It is only that factor which

distinguishes those sorts of parks from the whole range of parks, from re-created villages to Disneyland to a place I heard referred to the other day as pseudo-Disneyland—the mind just boggles at what that might be, but I am sure it makes a fortune like Disneyland does.

One reason why those parks make money is that they have an unlimited range of things they can do in their area. We do not. We are restricted by those important factors that have come out in ascertaining the cultural significance of the place we are concerned with. However, there is one thing that we can do and which quite frankly most of us still do very badly, and that is to try and sell the product professionally. That does not mean compromising what you are doing within the area. It means two other things. On the small scale, it means providing perhaps better facilities and more ways of raising monies within the particular area with which you are concerned from the people who come in to that area. That can be done in a whole host of ways. I am not going to bore you now with the ways in which it can be done. I might just mention that we (the National Trust in New South Wales) hold both a real estate licence and a liquor licence because two of the ways in which we can make money are in real estate (not by selling parts of our parks I hasten to add!) and liquor.

The larger problem is to actually sell the concept in the realm of those whom we might call the unconverted—the people who would not in the usual course of events go to such parks. The objectives must be to sell the concept of the cultural park, or whatever we might call it, to the wider population. That is, in my opinion, still very badly done in most countries.

It is in that particular area where it seems to me we have to try much harder to excel than we have done in the past. We have to do it by educating people about the importance of going to areas to see what really is (and was) there—how people lived in the areas where they did live, not only the types of buildings that they lived in but the actual buildings that they lived in, because as I mentioned earlier, it is this factor which distinguishes our parks from the so-called amusement parks.

We have a unique and invaluable product; we must learn to market it properly.

Despite papal bulls, royal ordinances, and Napoleonic edicts to preserve ancient monuments and ruins dating from 1820, many ancient and medieval neighborhoods and ruins were destroyed by the late nineteenth century in Italy. Massive changes in Rome during the Fascist regime destroyed many remains of ancient Rome. In 1981 the Italian Parliament allocated funds to preserve Rome's monuments. Throughout Italy archeological parks are now being created, despite pressures of urban growth and overpopulation. The archeological parks are not intended to turn the cities into museums, but to permit those with ancient monuments to regain their dignity and historical heritage. These require careful land-use planning for future growth and protection of archeological remains.

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A pesar de las bulas papeles, las ordenanzas reales y los edictos napoleónicos destinados a preservar los monumentos antiguos y los vestigios que datan de 1820, numerosos barrios y vestigios antiguos y medievales fueron destruidos para fines del siglo XIX en Italia. Cambios masivos que tomaron lugar en Roma durante el régimen fascista destruyeron muchos vestigios de la Roma antigua. En 1981, el Parlamento italiano designó fondos para preservar los monumentos de la ciudad de Roma. Por toda Italia los parques arqueológicos están en camino de creación a pesar de las presiones del crecimiento

urbano y de la superpoblación. En fin de los parques arqueológicos no es de convertir las ciudades en museos, sino de permitir que las ciudades con monumentos antiguos recuperen su dignidad y su patrimonio histórico. Esto requiere una planificación rigurosa de reglamentación de terrenos para un crecimiento futuro y la protección de los vestigios arqueológicos.

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Malgré les bulles papales, les ordonnances royales et les édits napolèoniens destinés à préserver les monuments anciens et les vestiges datant de 1820, de nombreux quartiers et vestiges anciens et médiévaux furent détruites dès la fin du 19ème siècle en Italie. Des changements gigantesques qui prirent place à Rome au cours du régime fasciste détruisirent de nombreux vestiges de la Rome Antique. En 1981, le Parlement italien alloua des fonds pour préserver les monuments de la ville de Rome. Dans toute l'Italie des parcs archéologiques sont en cours de création malgré les pressions de la croissance urbaine et de la surpopulation. Le but des parcs archéologiques n'est pas de transformer les villes en musées, mais de permettre aux villes qui renferment des monuments anciens de regagner leur dignité et leur patrimoine historique. Ces villes demandent une planification rigoureuse de l'aménagement des terrains pour une croissance future et la protection des vestiges archéologiques.

Archeological Parks in Italy

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No formal written paper was submitted. What follows is an edited version of the English translation of the paper as presented at the conference. The informality of the spoken word over the written is reflected in the language here.

Only around 1960 did the institutionalization of archeological parks in Italy take on shape and substance. The very idea of a park as a place that sets standards for archeological studies and use is intimately linked to the cultural climate of that decade and the need to protect these assets which were threatened at that time by an economic complacency. Often this work was not coordinated because of the lack of a plan respecting the environment and the ancient vestiges while at the same time satisfying the needs of an ever-growing population and its lifestyle. Nevertheless, in a country such as ours, where different cultures follow one another and where we have always lived with the past, we could set quite a number of historical precedents.

The Bourbon finds at *Herculaneum* and *Pompeii* and those of the Pope at *Pallatin* and the *Villa Adriana* in the eighteenth century, to mention just a few of the best-known sites, had a very different origin and were not destined for public usage. Nevertheless, they led to the inevitability of the establishment of archeological reserves. These were true reserves from where the Bourbons and the Popes took artwork to beautify their palaces and museums. In this regard it is worth recalling that laws from antiquity promoted respect for and preservation of ancient monuments. The bulls, the chirographs (those the Pope wrote with his own hand), and the papal decrees came one after another and became more and more specific,

culminating in Cardinal Pacca's edict in 1820, which set the foundation for all successive legislation to protect cultural assets. Two ordinances followed this edict. At the time Italy was divided into many states, which were less visionary and open-spirited. Times changed and even the more conservative monarchs had to confront the wave of enlightenment as well as the lessons drawn from the French Encyclopedists and the French Revolution.

The first explicit mention of an archeological park was in 1809 during the Napoleon Commission for the Conservation of Rome's Monuments. Luigi Canina, who participated with the great sculptor Canova, proposed to create an enormous park from the capitol to the Via Appia. At that time Napoleon's government had begun to build the Trajun Column, the Forum, and the Palatin. For the first time these were considered a public asset. The French Revolution had opened the wealth of the king and the aristocrats to the people and through this restoration they would be able to control their own past, perhaps inspiring the definition in the Encyclopedia Britannica: "The first parks were grants of the royal lands for the enjoyment of people; modern parks are gifts from the people to themselves." But in Roman history we can go even farther back and quote the last will and testament of Julius Caesar who gave his gardens to the Roman people.

Canina's proposal did not go very far but the seed that he planted did not entirely die. In 1871, Rome was the capital of the new Italian monarchy with fewer than 200,000 inhabitants. A commission to establish a general master plan was created, speaking of ancient Rome as follows: "The park reserved for ancient memories should include the Roman

Forum, all the adjacent sites, the *Palatin* mountain, the great part of *l'Aventin* and the *Antonine* baths, the *Celium* and a small part of the *l'Esquilin* where the *Titus* baths are found. This whole area will be free of modern buildings and only public gardens can be built there. These gardens will go up to *Via Appia* and lead to those ancient buildings. The inscriptions, the statues, and the fragments found during these new discoveries will stay in place and will be protected, if necessary, so this whole part will be one continuous museum."

This is quite a modern idea and the project was never carried out. Yet the concerns it raised were the result of frantic construction which was transforming Rome. At that time in that small city, you could still see sheep grazing and carts coming in from the countryside.

Opening new roads and destroying medieval neighborhoods were situations which were repeated elsewhere in European capitals during the same period, for example, Paris and Vienna, thanks to Haussman and Emperor Franz Joseph II. Rome was different. Modest construction dating from before Italy's unification and the modest neighborhoods surrounding the *Fora* helped to maintain the survival of the ancient ruins. The massive presence of ruins in the center of today's city is a very different phenomenon—something unique to Rome. But it is also something which creates a very serious problem for city planners and architects.

The great utopian park project in the master plan of 1871 which would have threatened emerging economic interests was discarded despite a few isolated attempts to introduce the subject again. While Vienna and Paris have maintained a nineteenth-century face, Rome changed during the Fascist period. It was decided that a more striking physiognomy should be a part of the regime's rhetoric. The old houses on the Fora and around the capital were destroyed. A large road was opened between the Venice Plaza and the Coliseum. The ancient monument's ruins were used as side alleys for this road, which had not been created because of the monument but for the opposite reason. The imperial Fora were cut into two pieces and a hill between the Palatin and the Carine was leveled. In other words, for fifty years the via dell'Impero, later called the via dei Fori Imperiali, has been the traffic access through the city.

The most prestigious monuments are found along this road beyond Venice Plaza. We are talking about what Michaelangelo gave us. We go through Marcarelli's Columns, the Forum, etc. The former stones and ruins were squeezed between two chaotic roads surrounded by an atmosphere saturated with poisonous gases. Space is requisitioned for new communication systems. These stones, abused by age and atmospheric conditions, recently began falling apart and their outer parts have now fallen off. First it is the head and the feet. Lime carbonate, which is what marble is made of, becomes lime sulfate, or gypsum, thanks to anhydride sulfur and water. The surface can no longer hold together. Slowly

it turns to dust. This is a continuous and irreversible process. I have just given you the most striking changes that have taken place, but there are a lot of other phenomena caused by pollution which affects the surface of stones.

In 1981, the Italian parliament passed a special law which allocated a considerable part of the budget for the preservation of Rome's monuments. Preliminary work led to careful laboratory and archival research, inventory of damage, temporary protection using scaffolding, scientific studies on the causes and what could be done about this damage, and restoration and preservation work.

Large sections of the city were to become archeological sites under the master plan. That is the case for *Via Appia*. It is only now, because of the deterioration of the monuments, that the archeological park project is resurfacing. It seems to be the only means to assure the survival of the precious art from the Roman period. The project will be called "*Progeto fori*," because it is to safeguard that part of the city.

More than 100 years have passed since the first suggestion. The city with 200,000 inhabitants is now a huge, disorganized city of 3 million. To maintain a "green lung" and the ruins, we must solve huge urban problems. It is no longer merely an urban problem but something which implies a new lifestyle. Civic consciousness and citizen participation has increased. Some people are positive, some are negative, but it has a tremendous implication for the future of our city.

The destruction of the first section of the via dei fori Imperiali is planned so that the integrity, or at least the unity, of the fora, the Trajans, of Caesar, of Augusta at Nerva (which were cut in two by the new road) can be reconstituted. The continuity between the capitol and the Roman Forum, which had been interrupted by a modern road, has already been regained by eliminating the road. A whole series of restrictive measures have been planned to control pollution and to deviate traffic. It is not a question of isolating these monuments; indeed, the park will provide services so that the public can profit from it. Nature has been improved in the sense that grass and plants have been replanted. Near this park are museums which, in any case, are a part of the urban fiber of this ancient city.

This project is most ambitious. It must assure, at the same time, the survival and the growth of a modern city. The object is not to transform a city into a museum, but to permit it to regain its dignity and its historical heritage.

The creation of an archeological park in the center of a capital is a challenge and gives new meaning to the word "progress." Nevertheless, others plan to protect an archeological area in its entirety through ideas which were raised in 1960.

Italy is a country which has heavy traffic. There are 56 million inhabitants and our country covers 300,000 square kilometers. Considering that there are a lot of mountains which are inaccessible, the country is densely populated. At least half of this land is occupied by sites of archeological or historical value. State laws protect these areas, respect and beautify them

thanks to measures and restrictions of different sorts, although they do not totally safeguard the sites nor coordinate with the urban and economic structure of the country. The origin of archeological parks should strike a balance between the needs of the park itself and other economic and social factors.

Concerning the rapid environmental deterioration and the refusal of people to remain in the countryside as they have done for thousands of years, thereby preserving the habitat, parks would represent a new social use and classification for these assets. Monuments can be protected and the environment provided with a flexibility and means which would not succeed without these conservation laws.

A common feature in the implementation of these archeological parks, some of which are now being built and others already completed, is the result of significant community pressure. The parks become for the citizens part of a search for their own social and cultural identity. It is both a political and a social choice relating to a new land use, which brings archeological research and exploration together with the profitable use of a cultural heritage.

This brings us to the importance of ensuring an adequate infrastructure to include visitors' facilities, museums, and everything needed to enhance intelligent and informed public use of these parks. Aside from the interdisciplinary approach needed for this type of project—archeology excepted—nature must be respected by an appropriate selection of flora and fauna where tradition must be taken into account. Typically we find Mediterranean plants such as myrtle, bay trees, oleander, grapes, and olive trees. Here we stress wildlife preservation excluding, of course, exotics—that horrible thing that we have in our countries known as ''safari zoos.'' In fact, these are often placed near archeological sites.

Sicily is the region of Italy which is the richest in remains. The Myceneans, Phoenicians, Greeks, Romans, and Arabs came to this fertile land and left traces side by side with local cultures whose remains we come across increasingly, making this island more culturally and artistically complex. The first archeological projects were born in Italy. The oldest one, which later became the model, is *Selinonte*, the largest Greek colony in Sicily.

In southern Italy are numerous archeological sites. Locri, Croton, Sybaris, Metaponte, Herkalee are all glorious names of Magna Graecia, old Greek colonies. For certain of these areas, building a park represents the means to thwart subdividing or planned facilities. Near Metaponte and Croton they were going to build factories and an industrial port. Elsewhere these parks in central cities offer green space. In Baja near Naples, the archeological park will be extended to the ocean where roads and Roman buildings have collapsed during volcanic

activity.

Just north of Rome in an artistic and cultural climate which is quite different we find great Etruscan cities such as *Vejo*, *Cerveteri*, *Tarquinia*, and *Vulci*. In 1971 a detailed plan was drawn up to build a park which would protect and beautify the archeological and natural resources of *Tarquinia*, a well-known ancient city, where the last Roman kings were born. The planned size of this park is 11,000 hectares.

The park was studied in terms of the multiple resources found there. It includes a medieval city built in the sixth century A.D. where the archeological museum is situated in the Renaissance *Vitelleschi* Palace. Also there are the painted tomb walls of the *Monterozzi* necropolis containing significant examples of painting that would otherwise have been lost. The park also includes the Etruscan and Roman city of *La Civita* with its sacred atmosphere, walls, and rules. And finally, the fourth-century Etruscan port is a Roman port. In other words, these are all found in a climate which is of varied morphology. We can still see some of the ancient countryside—which I described before—covered with thick forests, rich in different trees, vines, shrubs, and thickets. These are the same plants which are vividly represented on the painted walls of these tombs.

Vejo is a most important archeological, historical, and natural site. Close to Rome, this city was one of the first Etruscan cities to fall under the rule of the Romans in 399 B.C. The legends of Fabii, the Emissary of Alban Lake, and many other legends find their origins here.

At *Vejo* Park and *Tarquinia* valuable cultural and educational tours will be organized. They include the oldest painted tombs and there are also temples from which the famous terra cotta statues were removed. *Vejo* is very important since it is so close to Rome (touching the southern part of the city) and it could be a peaceful place for Romans to visit, sort of a green park for people to enjoy.

As you can see, our problems are that of an overpopulated country full of future opportunities but anchored in the past; we are the guardians and trustees of the future. Compared to the limitless cultural and natural parks on other continents—in America, in Australia, and in Africa—compared to this marvelous Mesa Verde where we presently are, the archeological parks in my country are rather limited, but nonetheless are disproportionately rich—culturally and artistically. If I may be allowed a comparison and even a metaphor, I would say that our parks resemble stars called quasars, which compress exceptional concentrations of light and energy into tiny spaces. All our efforts aim at making sure that these stars continue to shine. Their disappearance would be a loss for all of mankind.

The ruins of ancient Carthage are only ten kilometers north of the growing city of Tunis. Given this fact, either the growing city will destroy the ancient city or the two will develop to the mutual benefit of both. A strong park will protect the remains of Carthage. This park must protect the archeological remains and must serve a cultural, a recreational, and a tourist role. Conflict with urban growth must be recognized and addressed at the site of Carthage. Careful control of land development is necessary to allow Tunis to grow and the park to be protected. Perhaps the ''twinning'' of Carthage with another park elsewhere in the world would aid successful urban growth and park development policies at Carthage and Tunis.

Las ruinas de la antigua Cartago están situadas a sólo diez kilómetros al norte de la creciente ciudad de Túnez. En razón de su proximidad, o la ciudad creciente destruirá la ciudad antigua, o las dos ciudades se desarrollarán a su beneficio mutuo. Un parque podrá proteger los vestigios de Cartago. Este parque nacional debe proteger los vestigios arqueológicos y debe desempeñar un papel cultural, turístico y recreativo. El problema que plantea el crecimiento urbano se debe reconocer y tratar en el mismo sitio de Cartago. Un control

riguroso del desarrollo de los terrenos es necesario para permitir a la vez el crecimiento de Túnez y la protección del parque. Quizás el "acoplamiento" de Cartago con otro parque en el mundo ayudaría en el desarrollo de un crecimiento urbano exitoso y a la vez con las políticas de reglamentación en Cartago y Túnez.

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Les ruines de l'ancienne Carthage ne sont situées qu'à dix kilomètres au nord de la ville de Tunis qui ne cesse de croître. En raison de cette proximité, soit la ville grandissante détruira la ville ancienne, soit les deux villes se développeront à leur bénéfice mutuel. Un parc puissant protègera les vestiges de Carthage. Ce parc national doit protéger les vestiges archéologiques et doit jouer un rôle culturel, touristique et de loisirs. Le problème que pose la croissance urbaine doit être reconnu et traité sur le site même de Carthage. Un contrôle rigoureux de l'aménagement des terrains est nécessaire pour permettre à la fois la croissance de Tunis et la protection du parc. Le "jumelage" de Carthage avec un autre parc dans le monde aiderait peut-être à une croissance urbaine réussie et à la mise en place de politiques d'aménagement du Parc à Carthage et à Tunis.

Carthage National Park Confronts the Challenge of the Rapid Urbanization of Greater Tunis

Hamrouni Abdellaziz

National Park of Carthage and Sich Bou Sand Tunis, Carthage

No formal written paper was submitted. What follows is an edited version of the English translation of the paper as presented at the conference. The informality of the spoken word over the written is reflected in the language here.

Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen. Tunisia, my country, is a small one, about 150,000 square kilometers. It is about half the size of the state of Colorado. Still, it has a very long history of civilization and we have quite a few natural and archeological sites that are of great importance. The most important of these and the one that is the most well known is the site of Carthage, which is located ten kilometers north of Tunis. But, unfortunately, since nothing is perfect in our world, the National Park of Carthage is right near Tunis, which is a rather large city. It is the regional and national capital, and it is a problem for the park, a problem that we are going to be talking about soon. Given this fact—a park near a huge city-there are several possibilities. Either the park and the city develop mutually together, the park develops independently, or the city and the park have an indifferent development together and one destroys the other. I am going to describe Carthage to you and I am going to explain a little bit about the relationship between the city and the park.

I have talked to you a bit about the problems of the proximity of Carthage National Park to Tunis, a huge city. However, there are three other problems: 1) the difficult origins of Carthage National Park; 2) how to know what role the park is actually to play; and 3) how can we actually categorize Carthage National Park—is it a national park or a natural-regional park?

The first attempt to set up the park was in 1970. During that time, there was an agreement between UNESCO and the Tunisian government to work together on Carthage National Park. But the park never really became operational because of a lack of finances and institutional infrastructure. However, it did allow us to sensitize the public to the importance of that particular archeological site. The first stage ended in 1975 when Tunisia ratified the Agreement of Worldwide Heritage. The second was in 1977, in the Regional Land Development Plan of Tunis, where we tried to develop Tunis properly. The third, in 1977 and 1978, were what we called Town Development Plans, where we tried to develop the national park and saw the need to safeguard the park.

I also must tell you about the role of the National Institute for Archaeology and Art in Tunisia, which protected the project, the role of Tunis itself, and UNESCO's role, which made it possible to protect the site.

The beginning was very difficult, but where do we stand now? We need to talk about management of the park. Funds were found to develop the park but there are still things that are missing: first, legislation; and second, programming of park activities that do not yet exist along with completing the park's development. That is just the first problem.

The second problem is the role that the park must play. A park has several roles to play—a cultural role, a recreational role, and a tourist role. Which one is the most important and how do they fit in their order? For Carthage, we looked at all these roles very carefully. The national park is inspired by a concern for total protection where we absolutely rejected the idea of a museum and a tourist-type place. We preferred hav-

ing several goals, trying to protect our World Heritage Site within the area of Greater Tunis. We attempted to preserve archeological and historic heritage. We tried to save the wooded areas in the forest and to protect the agricultural productivity of the region surrounding it. We also tried to protect the natural spaces. In summary, first of all there is a cultural role and then a recreational role. We decided to set aside the tourist role because we are talking about a rather fragile site.

The third problem is how to classify Carthage. Is it really a national park, or is it more of a regional-natural park? To make this decision, we have to define some things which are typical of the definitions of national parks throughout history and we have to try to situate Carthage National Park within this context.

First, I would like to give you the definition given in the London Agreement. The definition states, first, that a national park is an area under public control, its borders have not changed, and only legislative authority can make that change. Second, we decided to set this area aside to protect archeology and anything that has to do with prehistoric events and is intended for the enjoyment of the public in general. As to the killing of animals, the third criterion, hunting and destruction is forbidden with the exception of when the park authorities may allow it. That is the first definition.

The second definition was given by the Second Assembly of the International Union for the Preservation of Nature (IUPN) in its New Delhi Assembly. According to that definition, a national park is land which is rather stretched out and where animals, plants, and morphological sites provide a special interest from a scientific point of view. It is a site which the highest authority in the country has taken steps to prevent or eliminate any destruction of and to respect ecological entities which were actually a part of the justification for its creation. It was also set up for cultural and recreational purposes.

The third definition is the one given during the world conference in July of 1972. According to this definition, there are three criteria for a national park. The first basic one is a piece of land under legal statute where no exploitation is allowed by man and no exploitation of the natural resources. That is obviously the basic criterion. Then there are two additional criteria: first the area itself, and then efficiency.

A fourth definition for national parks was the one given in 1940 for the protection of flora and fauna and natural panoramic beauty. According to this agreement, which was signed in Washington, D.C., on October 4, 1940, the expression ''national parks'' means regions established for the protection and preservation of natural panoramic beauty for flora and fauna typical of the nation and which the public might enjoy to a greater extent as long as visitors are placed under public guidance. There are other definitions but they are not nearly as important as the ones I have just given you.

I can also give you a number of definitions for regional parks. The most important is that of the IUPN. For them, a regional park is found in a populated area under a regional land development plan where tourism is very important and urban development is controlled, but more for public recreation than for preservation of an ecosystem. The second definition is the German definition which states that natural parks are areas for relaxation, for hiking far from noise, and which have natural beauty.

I think the most important thing is to try to differentiate Carthage National Park from other types of parks. There are three criteria that are important. The first is how the park is managed; second, the objectives; and third, the financing and funding. Carthage National Park is not a park which is intended to just protect nature. It is a park which is intended to give recreation to the inhabitants of Tunis. The type of management is mainly from the public sector, in other words, the government. The third criteria for funding is government funding. So if we take these criteria, we find that in comparison with international regulations, whether you are talking about the Seattle conference, the London conference, or the New Delhi conference, Carthage Park is really a national park. If you look at the French regulations (because we have taken quite a bit of inspiration from the French), we say that it is a national park because of its objectives. It is not a regionalnatural park. These problems can exist in any park, especially in Italy and France.

But Carthage National Park has a certain number of specific things that make it unique. The first is the difficulty in actually defining it. It is not a national park; it is not a natural-regional park. It is actually both and neither. The second unique aspect is that it plays multiple roles—cultural, recreational, and tourist. And it also has an urban development role, especially because it is so near Tunis—playing the role of a sort of ''no-man's-land'' between Tunis and the rest of the country. Importantly, Carthage is also a park which has remained intact. It is about 600 hectares in area, really in its original state. Tunis has been so highly developed and right next to it, we find something quite the opposite, in its original state. Finally, the park is unique in being so near a huge urban area. Tunis has about 1.5 million people, and since 1970 has been developing rapidly.

I think the city presents a serious danger to the park. From 1890 to 1980, the city grew more than 100 hectares annually. From 1975 to 1982, the city grew 50,000 hectares, or about 500 hectares per year. Growth was mainly due to illegal housing. People built houses wherever they wanted, often on sites that were never intended for urban development. Conflicts arose between urban development and safeguarding the environment. In 1975 I counted about nineteen conflict areas which were very important, especially for the park.

What can be done then to keep Carthage in its present state? We have to plan a strategy for the development of Tunis and

for the protection of the park itself. The strategy must include the following points:

First must be control of land development. Up to the present, the steps that the government has taken in regulating the supply of land and enacting laws to contain and control urban development have not worked at all. Tunis just keeps growing and growing, beyond all official predictions. We need a real land development policy which would include setting aside land reserves and developing financing to set them aside and to develop them for the purpose we intend. (If we are going to obtain this financing, we may need help from the international arena since to date we have not been able to do much ourselves. There are international institutions for housing and sanitation that may be able to help us, but for creating green, verdant areas, there are no international organizations to tap.)

The second part of this strategy would be an urban policy. We have a land policy now but we also need legislation to consider the environment in urban development. In other words, we need to prepare environmental impact assessments so that we can take the environment into account as a part of our land

development plans.

Third in the strategy would be a review of the 1953 law on the protection of sites. This was part of the common law when we were a French colony and is probably outdated. As far as Carthage is concerned, we found that in this law there are some government agencies that do not even exist any more that are mentioned in this particular law. So we definitely need to review this law.

Finally, one other aspect for the protection of sites is a proposal that I would submit to the Congress for the possibility of ''twinning'' parks. If we could ''twin'' parks throughout the world, I think that would be a great idea and advantageous to everyone.

In conclusion, up until now Carthage National Park and the city of Tunis have developed in different ways. The park developed in an isolated manner and Tunis is trying to cover the park. In the future and as a function of the development of Tunis, I think Carthage National Park is going to undergo terrific risks. If these trends continue, we must preserve the park by taking action against the continued urban sprawl in Tunis. Thank you.

Urban Cultural Parks are not oases separate from the city, but are parks created from a city's fabric; parks that illustrate, interpret, and market a city's cultural history. Although New York is the first state to formally designate a statewide system of Urban Cultural Parks, other cities in the United States and abroad have such parks without naming them as such.

New York's program includes preservation, education, and tourism. In this paper Harbor Park in New York City will illustrate the practicalities and benefits of creating an Urban Cultural Park.

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Los Parques Urbanos Culturales no son oasis separados de la ciudad sino parques que se crearon de la tela de la ciudad: parques que demuestran, interpretan y promueven el patrimonio cultural de la ciudad. Aunque Nueva York es el primer estado que designó de una manera formal un sistema estatal del Parques Urbanos Culturales, otras ciudades en los Estados Unidos y en el extranjero tienen tales parques sin

haberlos designados como tal.

El programa de Nueva York incluye conservación, educación, y el turismo. En esta ponencia Harbor Park en la ciudad de Nueva York illustrará lo práctico y lo provechoso de crear un Parque Urbano Cultural.

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Les Parcs Culturels Urbains ne sont pas des oasis séparées de la ville mais sont des parcs créés du tissu de la cité, parcs qui illustrent, interprètent et lancent l'histoire culturelle d'une ville. Bien que New York soit le premier état à désigner formellement un système de Parcs Culturels Urbains pour tout l'état, d'autres villes aux Etats-Unis et à l'étranger ont de tels parcs sans les nommer ainsi.

Le programme de New York inclut la préservation, l'éducation et le tourisme. Dans cet exposé Harbor Park de la ville de Nueva York illustrera les aspects pratiques et les bénéfices de la création d'un Parc Culturel Urbain.

New York State's Urban Cultural Park System: An Innovative Use of Historic Assets to Promote Tourism

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No formal written paper was submitted. What follows is taken from the transcript of the proceedings. The informality of the spoken word over the written is reflected in the language here.

During the 1960s and early 70s, cities in our state and the entire Northeast suffered when our economy began to experience a transition from an industrial-based society to a high technology, service-oriented base; we are still adapting to this change. The cities suffered from an exodus of residents to the suburbs and shops and shopkeepers to shopping malls. They suffered from urban revitalization projects that demolished structures, large and small, instead of saving them.

Some of our main streets in downtown and upstate New York began to look more like ghost towns than the thriving urban centers they once were. This was frightening. What could be done with abandoned stores, homes, and monstrous factories when the original uses were no longer viable? When we developed from an agrarian culture into an industrial society, we built structures. Now came another major change in the culture and many of those structures were of no use any longer. What do you do with those structures?

Historic preservation has provided a partial answer, but I do not think any one answer can solve this problem. This partial answer has been adaptive reuse, an idea that recognizes while we do not and cannot freeze history, neither do we want to destroy it. I believe that the urban cultural park concept is consistent with adaptive reuse and the next logical step in the historic preservation movement.

Early preservation had been centered around preserving a site that perhaps was a shrine to individuals, such as Mount

Vernon. The second step preserved buildings which had architectural significance and illustrated a trend. One example would be Grand Central Station, the symbol of the transportation movement in New York City. Another is the Chrysler Building, an example of a skyscraper. Our third trend focused on districts, not only high-class districts but also working-class neighborhoods.

Two hundred communities were considered by the state Office of Parks, Recreation, and Historic Preservation for inclusion in the statewide system. These were reduced to thirteen parks which were designed in March of 1982, each representing one of nine themes that symbolized a threat to the state's cultural development. Here are two examples.

The theme for Buffalo, New York, is the flowering of culture. In the early nineteenth century, during the days of the Erie Canal, Buffalo was the home of more millionaires per capita than in any state in the country. Now it is the home of great numbers of poor people. There was a time when people, before they played New York City, would play Buffalo.

The other example is Ossining, New York. Ossining was the home of Sing Sing Prison, later changed to Ossining Correctional Institution. Ossining represents the reform movement. Just recently the people in Ossining requested that the prison's name be returned to Sing Sing. In fact, they see this as good for tourism and have a sense of pride in the fact that they are the home of the reform movement.

Each of these thirteen areas within the system represents an important chapter in the historical and cultural development of New York state. And the place in the state's history can be learned from reading the physical landscape. People, through a series of recreational and educational programs, must be taught to read, to see the influence that the natural environment has on the built environment and to make connections between buildings, not just see them in isolation. One of the purposes of the urban cultural park is to permit people to see themselves as part of the continuum. The state Office of Parks, Recreation, and Historic Preservation, which won the American Planning Association award in 1981, projects that \$243,000 in additional tourism revenues could be generated by the urban cultural park program.

In 1980 the Parks Council contracted with the state office of parks and recreation to develop the themes and make recommendations about New York City's urban cultural park. We did a lot of outreach, but I think our eventual choice was pretty obvious, well represented by a quote from Dr. Roland Force, the director of the Museum of the American Indian, who wrote in *The New Yorker*: "Tourists from this country and abroad could reap almost the entire history of our United States by journeying to the foot of Manhattan Island and visiting the Custom House, the Statue of Liberty, Castle Clinton, Federal Hall, Fraunces Tavern, and South Street Seaport Museum." The Parks Council decided to take the harbor and designate six sites around it, with the harbor's theme of commerce and immigration the center of focus.

In 1855 Castle Clinton became the first immigration landing depot and between 1855 and 1890, when the doors closed, 8 million people had come through. Castle Clinton was originally built as a fort during the War of 1812. In the 1970s the National Park Service restored it to its original fort-like shape.

Moving on by boat to the Statue of Liberty and Ellis Island: Ellis Island was built first of pine in 1892; it burned down in 1897. The brick Ellis Island was rebuilt in 1900. It is not just a greeting center, but a whole series of buildings, hospitals, and an administrative center. In its heyday, there were 2,000 people a day coming through Ellis Island. In 1907 some 1.7 million people came through. Half of the people in the United States have ancestors who came in through Ellis Island—something like 16 million people.

Ellis Island is a monument to the United States, a monument to immigrants, telling them "you have come to the promised land." It is an elegant building with an amazing number of details on the outside. It says, "you have arrived." And the people in fact did arrive; they walked up the stairs to the great hall where they began to be sorted out.

In 1924 the employees left, thinking that they would come back. But they never did because with the quota system imposed by the United States, people were no longer processed through Ellis Island; there was a Pompeii-like feeling about the place. Afterward people came in and destroyed the building and took things out. Now it is embarking on a major \$260 million restoration, along with the Statue of Liberty.

Not much need be said about the Statue of Liberty, except that it is one of the world's greatest symbols for freedom. It is a great immigration symbol as well. Interestingly, at the bottom of the Statue of Liberty is the museum of immigration.

Snug Harbor was built in 1833 as the nation's first home for retired sailors. It was built by Robert Randall, whose father was a privateer for the English Crown. The building is Neoclassic architecture—monumental architecture—built for seamen who had been living on boats for years and years. The retirement home closed its doors in about 1950 and moved to North Carolina. What do we do with all these buildings—some twenty-four of them? They are being reincarnated as the Snug Harbor Cultural Center, a regional park of more than 100 acres, an oasis in the city.

Across the street is Fulton Ferry Empire Stores. There used to be a ferry that ran between Fulton Street in Manhattan and Fulton Street in Brooklyn. When people came to New York, they entered through the South Street Seaport, but would not drop off their wares at the seaport, instead register them there and then drop them off at the Empire Store warehouses. The warehouses today are not being utilized but there are several developers who are talking about redeveloping this area again, something like the South Street Seaport. The warehouses are in very good shape.

In the Fulton area, an old bank is now a restaurant; an old warehouse has been converted into a home with a fantastic view. The noise from the Brooklyn Bridge is a bit too much, but there is a picture window in the back so while you are listening to classical music you can see the skyline of New York City in the background. These are adaptive reuses; they are innovative uses. It is not necessary to tear these buildings down.

It is very important for this urban cultural park in New York City to include a boat because it is a water park. If we do not have a boat to tie these six sites together, the park idea will not work.

An urban cultural park differs from traditional parks and other historic attractions. Will this innovative use of historic resources capture the popular imagination? I believe so although it may take a number of years to reach its potential. We are still building the foundation in New York state.

In the city, individual sites are being rejuvenated as in the examples I gave; in upstate New York the parks are even further along. The statewide program must connect all the parks and make them into a system; this is still in the planning stage. I believe though that we need some implementation. I think people need to see that these parks are in fact working or they are going to lose the momentum and that \$243,000 anticipated from tourism revenues will never be realized.

Are people ready to see their history? I think so. I believe there are several reasons why people are searching out their roots and searching out their history. First is the lesson in stability. With the breakdown of the nuclear family and the threat of nuclear war, I think people are frightened. They do not feel that connection to their background so they are looking for roots; they are looking for something to grab on to in their own lives and in their surroundings. In the early twentieth century and until recently, it seemed more important for people to meld into New York City and to lose their roots.

I think the Ellis Island story is a good example. From 1924 when it was closed until recently, people were not interested in seeing it; it was an embarrassment. Now we are spending \$260 million to restore it along with the Statue of Liberty. They plan to have a computer there where people can find out who their relatives were and then write in their own names and the dates that they arrived.

Second, I believe that the distance from the past has given the second and third generation of immigrants' children the self-confidence and assurance to relish the stories of their parents who worked in the Lowells and the Troys, in the working-class towns of the Northeast.

Third, I believe the success of certain events like the Bicentennial in 1976 and the centennial of the Brooklyn Bridge

in 1983 and the publicity surrounding the Statue of Liberty Centennial in 1986 both responds to the searching that is going on and acts as a catalyst for further exploration.

And finally, regarding Holbrook Park in particular, I think the use of the harbor as a recreational resource is logical and consistent with the development of the city as a whole. From the seventeenth to the twentieth centuries we developed the city. Commerce was the natural use of the harbor as ships came in and brought their wares. In the late eighteenth, late nineteenth, and early twentieth century, it was the immigration story. People had to enter through the harbor; it was the only way to get in. Today with more leisure time and an economy in which tourism is a major component in a city where open space is scarce, people look toward the waterfront as a place to relax. In addition, people also want to learn about their past. The harbor as a recreational resource—as an urban cultural park—is in fact a proper use.

The design of cities in Chile generally does not contemplate adequate open space. Public parks and landscaped plazas are scarce. This new concept is based on the idea of urban parks offering a wide variety of cultural activities intending to regain family responsibility for the educational role demanded in cultural affairs. All other efforts have proved to be inefficient in our society.

Based, essentially, on the idea of a center for cultural instruction and orientation for children between three and eighteen years of age, attention will focus on instruction, training, and development of the senses leading to higher sensibility in ecology, art, music, dance, writing, and other cultural activities related to creativity, self-expression, and communication. Includes participation of educational, scientific, and cultural entities; professional services and higher education organizations. It involves efforts by municipalities, businesses, neighborhood councils, and the population in general.

El diseño de las ciudades en Chile generalmente no contempla adecuadamente el espacio abierto. Hacen falta parques públicos y las plazas ornamentadas. Este nuevo concepto se basa en la idea de parques urbanos que ofrecen una gran variedad de actividades culturales con el intento de recuperar la responsabilidad de la familia por el papel educativo que se demanda en asuntos culturales. Todos los demás de los esfuerzos han resultado ser ineficaces en nuestra sociedad.

Se trata de un centro para instrucción cultural y orientación para jóvenes entre 3 y 18 años de edad, donde se enfocará la atención en la instruccion, la enseñanza, y el desarrollo de los sentidos para llegar a una sensibilidad elevada de la ecología, el arte, la música, la danza, el escribir, y otras actividades relacionadas a la creatividad, la expresión de uno mismo, y la comunicación. Incluye participación de entidades científicas y culturales; servicios profesionales y organizaciones de educación avanzada. Involucra los esfuerzos de municipalidades, empresas comerciales, los concejos de comunidades, y la población en general.

Le plan des villes au Chili ne prévoient généralement pas d'espaces verts suffisants. Les parcs publics et les places paysagées sont rares. Ce nouveau concept est basé sur l'idée de parcs urbains offrant une grande variété d'activités culturelles en vue de regagner la responsabilité de la famille pour le rôle d'éducation requis par les affaires culturelles. Tous les autres efforts se sont avérés insuffisants dans notre société.

Basée essentiellement sur l'idée d'un centre pour l'instruction culturelle et l'orientation des enfants entre 3 et 18 ans d'âge, l'attention sera portée sur l'instruction, la formation et le développement des sens conduisant à une plus grande sensibilité dans les domaines de l'écologie, l'art, la musique, la danse, l'art d'écrire et autres activités culturelles liée à la créativité, à l'expression du soi et à la communication. Elle inclut la participation d'entités scientifiques et culturelles, de services professionnels et d'organisations d'éducation supérieure. Elle implique que des efforts soient faits par les municipalités, les entreprises, les conseils de communauté et la population en général.

A Cultural Center Project for Chile

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Concerning oneself with a nation's cultural policy requires a deliberate evaluation of the various threads which together constitute the nation's social fabric. Any analysis must begin with the person as an individual, continue through a definition of what constitutes cultural works per se, and arrive at an appropriate means for development of the nation's general cultural life.

Studying the case of Chile, we have first considered the society itself and the sort of values at work in this society to avoid imposing a solution inappropriate and contrary to the general interests of the population. Concern for cultural affairs in this country has centered mainly on the world of cultural objects, with little emphasis given to a creative environment and less to the interests of the general population. Thus, Chile has become a society lacking in cultural incentives.

The absence of cultural elements in any social context leaves people unsatisfied and uncertain. This obliges them to look elsewhere for channels and means of expression, paving the way for foreign values to take firm root. This, among other things, explains the tendency to political involvement observed in most Latin American societies which is due not so much to a deep-rooted concern for political matters as to the absence of a cultural life of their own. Every society needs to express its feelings, and culture is certainly a form of personal and collective expression. It seems advisable to offer cultural expression as a socially acceptable alternative to other activities.

Culture, however, is not to be offered simply by multiplying facilities, be they books, libraries, or spectacles, if the population lacks motivation in the utilization and application of such facilities. Therefore, an adequate formula should be one that profitably uses individual time, since the main factor which prevents culture from constituting a way of life is the lack of adequate use of individual free time.

The main concept of the project entitled "Cultural Parks" is based on an analysis made of the free time observed in Chilean society. Observations were made from the urban population of the city of Santiago, the country's most important urban center, and, to a certain extent, characteristic of Chilean society in general.

Social Behavior: A Case in Point

The municipality of Santiago refurnished some downtown working community streets, restricting motor vehicle traffic. People erupted onto the streets, utilizing them unreservedly at all times. An almost inexhaustible profusion of people can be seen crossing and recrossing, walking and enjoying these boulevards. Life for a certain number of Santiagoans has changed in relation to the general environment of their place of work.

The example of the municipality of Santiago demonstrates the intensity of public response to certain public social innovations, as well as an atmosphere of relaxation felt on such downtown pedestrian avenues where a society walks, meets, and greets. The essence of this phenomenon is that the strolls along the avenues neither impose additional time obligations on the individual nor absorb free time from other activities.

But the general life of the Chilean population continues to revolve around the family, and thus free time is invested in the form of rest, hobby, or diversion at home, mainly due to a lack of appropriate public sites. The design of cities does not contemplate open, adequate spaces where the family group can get together at the end of the day and share their activities, interests, and diversions. Public parks and landscaped plazas are scarce.

Television also has repercussions on the general scale of values of the country. Habits of reading, communication, studying, research, or of indulging in general community activities have not only diminished but have been notoriously distorted.

Cultural Proposal

In order to rectify the foregoing situation, a formula must be devised to bring together two very important aspects of the life of each citizen: the habit of culture must be developed in each one through the appropriate use and application of free time, and the family nucleus must regain responsibility for the educational role demanded in cultural affairs. In this sense the state and the family share the responsibility for their nation's obligations, and neither one nor the other may be excused from such responsibility.

The state should therefore assume the obligation of providing public space, and the family the responsibility of providing the time of its members. If Chile's cultural problems are critical, it is more due to a lack of concern on the part of individuals than it is to a lack of means or spaces in which to pursue culture. The lack of cultural feeling in the people has displaced the use and services of the great majority of existing public cultural sites in the country, and in order to correct those prevailing conditions, two problems must be addressed: that of existing public spaces and the education of future and potential users.

Cultural Parks

The project entitled "Cultural Parks" has been developed to reconcile these aims. The concept of cultural parks does not exclude the participation of educational, scientific, or cultural entities. It tends to utilize the professional services and academic infrastructure of all existing higher education organizations. It also involves the efforts of municipalities, businesses, neighborhood councils, and the population in general. Culture is an important and delicate phenomenon. By its very nature it calls for commitment from the whole society, and from the best of that society.

Elements of the Park

Space

The park is a common interest center for users differing in age, aptitude, education, and preference. It attempts to offer a wide variety of activities to satisfy the individual's interest without distracting the attention or the time of other members of his family group.

Joint Cultural Educational and Commercial Areas
The cultural park is based on different areas of joint cultural

and commercial activity. Each area is self-sufficient and combines educational establishments with others of commercial connotation.

Culture.

The cultural aspect evolves around three basic nuclei: a) a workshop; b) an exhibition; and c) a corps of professional creators.

Cultural workshops. Different centers of cultural instruction and orientation for children between three and fourteen years of age are established. The responsibility for instruction and training in these centers lies with professionals who carry out their tasks with the assistance of community organizations. These workshops are oriented to focus on all aspects of self-expression: writing, drawing, sculpture, carving, dancing, music, handicrafts, etc. Each child receives guidance on the use of certain materials utilized by artists and is encouraged to freely create according to the dictates of his own imagination. Ecology and related sciences constitute part of the cultural lives of the individual and therefore special instruction and attention is given in these workshops. Each talent will be evaluated by the center periodically for further assistance and grading.

Exhibits. Next to the workshop an exhibition area has been provided for works of the same nature as that being given attention in the cultural workshop. In this way those who have received instruction in a particular field will be inclined to circulate through an environment from which they have recently emerged. Thus the phenomenon of exhibition will come to have a live connotation in the same spectator.

The world of the artist. This new proposal provides artists with appropriate space in the cultural area so that painters, sculptors, ceramicists, writers, artisans, weavers, and others may share their work and illustrate their abilities and conceptions for the spectator, particularly the children. The cultural park intends to search out an equity relationship between the artist, his work, and the public, without giving undue emphasis to the work, the artist, or the public.

Commerce

Commercial culture. A commercial establishment whose operations fall within this framework will be installed in close proximity to the cultural centers. Until now, commercial interests have not taken great risks in the field of culture. In the cultural park, business comes to the assistance of culture and culture to the assistance of business. For example, a bookstore located immediately adjacent to the workshops which give instruction in vocational printing induces the child to enter the store and discover in the book the whole complex and experiences that have been the object of his recent instruction. The same applies to a store selling or renting musical instruments, records, cassettes, radios, or equipment. Businesses of this nature should be located in the same area as the cultural workshops giving instruction on the matter.

General commerce. Business in general is understood as a

source of attraction for the public and also as a form of financing the cultural park. The presence of snack bars and restaurants allows family groups and individuals the opportunity to congregate during hours the family would normally eat. It is also a way of stretching the time individuals would stay in the compound. A selection of the principal stores could also decentralize commerce while providing a service for an important segment of the population that can take advantage of the presence of such stores in the compound.

Cultural Extension Activities

All efforts to reach the floating population visiting the cultural park are made in a free and spontaneous manner. The park offers, besides cultural instruction, recreational and continuing educational services, such as:

Audiovisual Systems. Open-air movie screens located in sites and places where the population normally congregates and passes by is more effective than having a theater with formal seating arrangements. The history of the country, national and international events, may be displayed in movie clips for children in areas provided with simple bleacher seats. These screens, distributed throughout the cultural park, constitute a manner of taking optimum advantage of the visitor's time.

Tableaux of Historical Scenes. A type of cultural education in the form of tableaux reconstructing historical events staged in the manner and form in which they occurred constitutes an important source of illustration for children and adults. Present-day museums are depositories of isolated cultural pieces and not conducive to an overall vision of national institutions, whereas the reconstruction of scenes on the basis of authorized replicas offers a magnificent and unequalled opportunity for presenting a cultural environment of any type. Food, drink, furniture, costumes, and other realia within a historical environment bring history to the people.

Reading Centers. The essence of a library is not the accumulation of books but the winning of new readers and the preservation of those it has. The mission of the cultural park is precisely the winning of new readers, one more child today, all of them tomorrow.

The cultural park contains an ample area where all books are arranged by subject and the subject given ambience and support by an element or two of the world to which it relates. A bird cage with diverse examples of birds creates in the child a greater attraction for knowing written works about the world of birds, their song, and their flight. A small tank is a good way to illustrate the world of aquatic plants; a small domestic

animal exemplifies nature and its origin.

Publications Center. Very few culturally oriented foreign publications find a place among citizens of other countries. Magazines and newspapers constitute a source of undeniable value and must be appreciated both as cultural extensions and as scientific and educational bodies in their specialities. The establishment of a cultural publication center for the use and disposition of artists and creative persons is considered.

Recreation Parks: Botanic and Zoological Gardens. Ecology and nature today are part of the concept of culture, and its understanding is mandatory and necessary to correct harmony and balance in the life of the individual. Therefore, a botanic and zoological garden is considered an integral part and a theoretical and practical foundation for such a cultural center.

Regional Chile

The cultural park devotes sufficient space to allow each region to display its own way of life. Thirteen different environments can be designed, each devoted to the culture, art, handicrafts, business, industry, and agriculture of the region it represents.

The International Community

Like many countries, Chile, since its earliest times, received valuable contributions from foreign cultures through immigration. Communities of such people have assimilated the culture while maintaining certain ways of life and characteristic habits of their own. These colonies have made valuable contributions to the national life of Chile, and thus an effort is made to become more deeply acquainted with their ways of life. The nationalist ideal is not opposed to the phenomenon of interculturalism, a rich source of national enrichment. As a free enterprise, the respective colonies construct and decorate the international community in the styles of their national origins. Small sales outlets offer ethnic food, handicrafts, and all sorts of cultural items. These establishments are attended by sales people in national costume and furnished with appropriate decorative elements and background music to offer the ambience-the true feel-of a foreign culture.

Financing

Each of the facets of this project has its own way of financing. Initiatives of this nature involve capital and efforts of the whole community. The costs of raising such works are what we label social costs. We all agree to their necessity. The cultural park is founded on the idea of social cooperation.

The Massachusetts Heritage State Park System includes twelve parks currently under development, with a total state investment of \$72 million to date. Each park includes cultural and historic exhibits and open spaces focusing on each city's special setting, such as river or harbor fronts, canals, or historic town commons. The unique aspect of the heritage parks program is its link between open space, heritage conservation, education, and economic development. A fundamental concept behind the program is the notion that cultural parks can lead to economic development, one of the principal justifications for state capital expenditures on the program.

Heritage parks are located in older, economically distressed industrial cities characterized by loss of industry, high unemployment, and outmigration. Each park is being developed with an eye towards creating major tourist destinations where they do not currently exist. A major objective of the program is to redirect tourists away from traditional—and overrun—tourist destinations. The long-term goals of the program will be to bring back the economies of these cities, provide high-quality urban open spaces for residents and tourists, and develop a system of parks and related exhibits describing the rich industrial heritage of Massachusetts.

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El Sistema de Parques estatales de Patrimonio de Massachusetts (Massachusetts Heritage State Park System) consta de doce parques actualmente en curso de desarrollo, que representa, a la fecha, una inversión total del estado de 72 millones de dólares. Cada uno de los parques incluye exposiciones culturales e históricos y de espacios libres enfocando la atención en cada uno de los panoramas especiales de la ciudad, tales como el río o la entrada del puerto, los canales o los edificios municipales históricos de la ciudad. El aspecto único del programa de parques de patrimonio es su vínculo con el espacio libre, la conservación del patrimonio, la educación y el desarrollo económico. Un concepto fundamental detrás del programa es la noción que los parques culturales pueden conducir al desarrollo económico, una de las justificaciones mayores de capital por el estado in el programa.

Los parques de patrimonio se situán en las ciudades industriales más ancianes, con dificultades económicas caracterizadas por la pérdida de industria, una tasa elevada de desempleo y una emigración de la población. El desarrollo de cada uno de los parques se realiza en tener presente la creación de destinaciones turísticos tradicionales—e invalidios. Las metas a largo plazo del programa serán de restablecer la economía de estas ciudades, de proveer espacios libres urbanos de alta calidad para los residentes y los turistas, y de lograr el desarrollo de un sistema de parques y de exposiciones conectados mostrando la historia de rico patrimonio industrial de Massachusetts.

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Le Système de Parc d'Etat du Patrimoine du Massachusetts (Massachusetts Heritage State Park System) comprend douze parcs actuellement en cours de développement, ce qui représente, à ce jour, un investissement total de l'état de 72 millions de dollars. Chacun des parcs inclue des expositions culturelles et historiques et des espaces libres attirant l'attention sur chacun des panoramas spéciaux de la ville, tels que la rive d'une rivière ou la jetée du port, les canaux ou les bâtiments municipaux historiques de la ville. L'aspect unique du programme de parcs du patrimoine est son lien entre l'espace libre, la conservation du patrimoine, l'éducation et le développement économique. Un concept fondamental sousjacent au programme est la notion que les parcs culturels peuvent conduire au développement économique, ce qui représente une des justifications majeures pour les dépenses en capital engagées par l'etat pour ce programme.

Les parcs du patrimoine sont situés dans des villes industrielles plus anciennes, connaissant des difficultés économiques caractérisées par la perte d'industrie, un taux élevé de chômage et une émigration de la population. Le développement de chacun des parcs est réalisé tout en gardant en vue la création de destinations touristiques importantes là où elles n'existent pas actuellement. Un objectif majeur du programme est de rediriger les touristes et de les éloigner des lieux touristiques traditionnels—et envahis. Les buts à long terme du programme seront de rétablir l'économie de ces villes, de pourvoir des espaces libres urbains de haute qualité pour les résidents et les touristes, et de réussir le développement d'un système de parc et d'expositions connexes montrant l'histoire du riche patrimoine industriel du Massachusetts.

The Urban Heritage State Park System: A Massachusetts Model for Environmental and Economic Revitalization

Betsy Shure Gross

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The Massachusetts Heritage State Park System includes twelve parks currently under development, with a total state investment of \$72 million to date. Each park includes cultural and historic exhibits and open spaces focusing on each city's special setting, such as river or harbor fronts, canals, and historic town commons. I would like to outline the special efforts being made to promote tourism and economic development in and around heritage park cities.

The unique aspect of the heritage parks program is its link between open space, heritage conservation, education, and economic development. A fundamental concept behind the program is the notion that cultural parks can lead to economic development, this being one of the principal justifications for state expenditures on the program.

The Setting

Heritage State Parks are located in older, economically distressed industrial cities characterized by loss of industry, high unemployment, and outmigration. These cities have become an anchor on an otherwise vibrant state economy. Development of the Heritage Park program has been initiated as part of an overall strategy to revitalize the commonwealth's urban areas.

How Does It Work?

Tourism

Each park is being developed with an eye towards creating major tourist destinations where they do not currently exist. A major objective of the program is to redirect tourists away from traditional—and overrun—tourist destinations such as

Cape Cod and the Boston Freedom Trail.

Example—Lowell Heritage State Park and the adjoining National Historic Park, although only partially developed, attracted in excess of 500,000 visitors this year.

Providing a setting for private investment

One objective in each park is to anticipate sites where park improvements can provide a setting for private development.

Example—Lower Locks in Lowell. A \$2 million state investment in restoration of historic lock chambers and waterways and related park improvements has provided a high-quality setting for a \$20 million Hilton Hotel and the \$12 million Wang Institute of Technology.

Civic Pride/Image

Each park's visitor center contains exhibits on the unique history of its host city. These become sources of renewed civic pride. Heritage State Park developments are occurring in places that have experienced forty or more years of economic decline. A prerequisite for new economic growth is overcoming the stigma that has accompanied this decline. Often the Heritage Parks are the first major visible, positive public investment in years, giving residents a sense that their cities have "turned a corner" and are on the road to economic recovery.

Education/Promotion

We are now working with local school systems in several cities on curricula designed to instruct children about the rich history of their home town. This year we are also beginning a \$1 million promotional program designed not only to bring in tourists but also to inform residents of the historic character of their cities.

Direct Economic Intervention

Early in the development of the program, we obtained special legislation which allows the Department of Environmental Management to contract with cities for urban-renewal-type activities: acquisition, site assembly, relocation, design controls, etc.

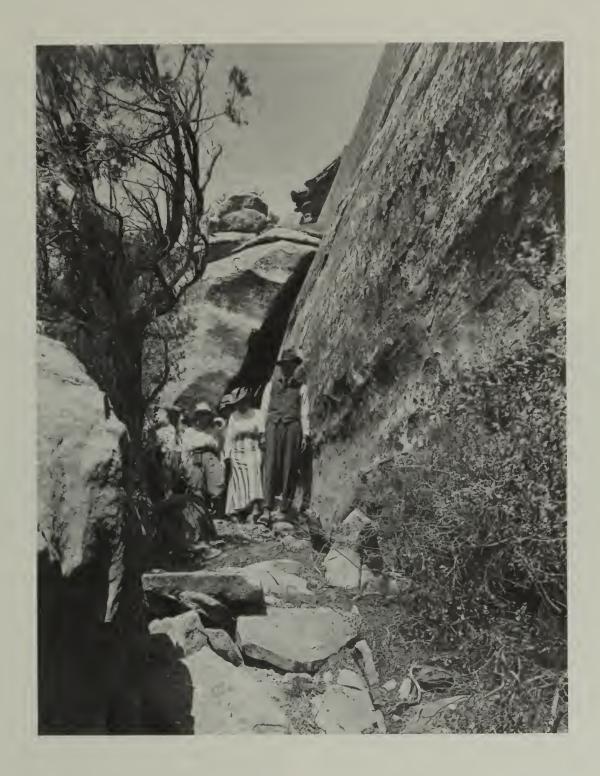
Example—North Adams/Western Gateway Heritage State Park. This project involved acquisition of a site which included six mid-nineteenth-century buildings originally used as a railroad marshaling yard. The whole complex was on the National Register of Historic Places, but largely abandoned and in extreme disrepair. We acquired the site from several owners (involving some eminent domain), relocated the few businesses on the site, and loaned \$2.4 million to a private developer for restoration of the site as a park with historic exhibits and park-related restaurant and retail outlets for local crafts and industries. Success of the project depended in large part on use of federal tax incentives for historic building restoration, and tax-exempt industrial revenue bonds.

Example—Lynn Heritage State Park. The Department of Environmental Management assembled a twelve-acre site from

several owners, and relocated such uses as two billboards, two gas stations, and a fast-food restaurant from the 100 percent location on historic Lynn Harbor. We proceeded to fill some additional land and resubdivided the property into park and development parcels. A landscaped park with continuous public waterfront access and historic exhibits, and a privately developed \$22 million residential/retail development are now under construction. Major interpretive exhibits are now being developed in a historic structure in nearby downtown Lynn.

Long-Term Goals

Our ultimate objective will be to bring back the economies of our cities and provide quality urban open spaces for residents and tourists, and to achieve the development of a system of parks and related historic exhibits telling the whole story of the development—in effect, a Museum of Massachusetts History. We hope to instill in Massachusetts citizens an expanded sense of pride in our rich past and our natural and cultural resources.



Theme 3

The dynamics between native peoples and national parks or reserves that share the same set of resources; the conditions forming development of cooperative resource management; past problems of negative impacts of parks on native people and how to avoid them in the future; and the incorporation of native people into park planning, management, and interpretation.

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La dinámica entre los indígenas y parques nacionales o reservas que comparten de los mismos recursos; las condiciones que forman el desarrollo de la dirección cooperativa de recursos; los problemas del pasado de impactos negativos de parques en los indígenas y cómo evitarlos en el porvenir; y la incorporación de los indígenas en la planificación de parques, la dirección, y la interpretación.

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Les relations entre les populations indigènes et les parcs nationaux ou réserves qui partagent le même ensemble de ressources; les conditions qui prévalent au développement de la gestion commune des ressources; les problèmes passés dûs aux impacts négatifs des parcs sur les populations indigènes et comment les éviter dans le futur; l'association des populations indigènes à la planification, à la gestion et à l'interprétation du parc.

Cultural Parks and Native Culture Theme Summary

This section considers some of the most exciting turns in worldwide efforts to protect valued cultural and natural resources, namely, a recognition that the cultural viability of native and other small-scale communities may require those same resources and that local communities represent unique banks of traditional resource knowledge and practices. Concomitantly, institutions are treating the protection of sites and habitats more holistically, considering particular resources not as isolated features but as embedded in complex systems that include the concerns of traditional user groups.

These users themselves are prompting change by resisting projects that outsiders propose while using political strategies to redefine preservation issues and initiate dialogues with relatively powerful institutions. Australian papers reflect this process in scenarios, already familiar in Canada and the United States, that see resource protection agencies, cultural resource specialists, and Aboriginal groups exploring partnerships and identifying convergent interests despite continuing individual differences. Australian and United States papers also argue for community-level data and alliances to generate local input and develop interpretive programs sensitive to a native or ethnic group's knowledge and sense of custodianship over its own history. Giving legitimacy to the intimate bonds that weld the personal and group identities of ethnic communities to their own heritage resources, including sacred places, inevitably enriches an entire nation.

Change is long overdue, the theme address notes, and incomplete, but collaboration to protect biological and cultural diversity is gaining. In Ecuador an indigenous community is working with public agencies to protect a major archeological

site and, in the process, is forging stronger links to its own distant past. Central American examples describe joint planning involving native and non-native experts to establish national parks and indigenous Biosphere Reserves which protect tropical forests and associated native lifeways from destructive incursions. Concern for local access to subsistence grounds under protected status also has led some agencies in Alaska, Indonesia, and Africa to consider consumptive resource use, sometimes departing from accepted management approaches, in an effort to avert resource degradation and to assure cultural survival in contrast to past practices when native or local groups in Canada, the United States, and Mexico were relocated or otherwise kept from their traditional resources.

Culturally diverse peoples and crafts associated with protected resources attract tourist dollars that benefit the national economy, and often the group as well, the Tanzania paper comments. But unregulated numbers of relatively prosperous tourists can disrupt small communities as the Taiwan and Indonesian papers show, and unprecedented demand for tourist goods diverts craftspeople from their traditional community roles while culturally insensitive visitors invade the privacy of homes and desecrate sacred places, the Native panel notes, thus undermining the very system that draws tourists.

Taken together, these papers challenge us to redefine the relationships between local and national groups, develop local databases, and evolve agendas and strategies to safeguard the world's resources in partnership with those communities whose diverse lifeways generate our future heritage.

Despite the fact that the Mexican Revolution addressed the plight of the Indian and peasant population by legislating agrarian and social reforms for their betterment, economic development of the country often goes against preservation of the culture and the natural resources of the unprivileged ones. A large body of law exists to protect national features such as historic and archeological monuments, national parks, and the ecology. It is a hard reality, however, that at the same time, national values do not also support the protection of nonrenewable resources—not only natural resources but also the material cultural remains of the nation's indigenous people.

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A pesar de que la Revolución Mexicana se dirigió hacia la situación difícil del indio y de la población campesina, legislando reformas agrarias y sociales para su mejoramiento, el desarrollo económico del país muchas veces va contra la conservación de la cultura y el recurso natural de los desvalidos. Un cuerpo grueso de leyes existe para proteger características nacionales como monumentos arqueológicos e históricos, parques nacionales, y la ecología. Es una realidad

dura, sin embargo, que al mismo tiempo los valores nacionales no apoyen también la protección de los recursos no renovables, no solamente los recursos naturales sino también los restos de las culturas materiales del pueblo indígena de la nación.

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En dépit du fait que la Révolution Mexicaine se soit intéressée à la condition difficile des populations indiennes et paysannes en légiférant des réformes agraires et sociales pour améliorer leur sort, le développement économique du pays va souvent à l'encontre de la préservation de la culture et des ressources naturelles des classes non privilégiées. De nombreuses lois existent pour protéger des caractéristiques nationales telles que les monuments historiques et archéologiques, les parcs nationaux et l'écologie. C'est une réalité difficile néanmoins, qu'en même temps, les valeurs nationales n'encouragent pas aussi la protection des ressources non renouvelables, non seulement les ressources naturelles mais aussi les vestiges matériels des cultures des populations indigènes d'une nation.

Reality and Ideology: The Case of Mexico

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The grizzly's range is being reduced by timbering on National Forest land at Yellowstone's borders, an example of the serious new pressures many experts see in the Administration's efforts to increase the economic use of Federal lands surrounding the parks. (*New York Times*, August 24, 1984)

The desire to have money is taking away our desire to be Purépechas. (Excelsior, August 18, 1984)

Frequently, an epigraph or a dedication says more than the contents of an article or a book. These two quotations serve only as an introduction to the theme of this paper. They are included to pique your interest and hold your attention.

Forest commercialization and other activities carried out in the areas surrounding Yellowstone National Park have accounted for a marked reduction in the grizzly bear's range. This compares to the concern of the Tarasco Indians in Mexico who see their very ethnic existence threatened for many of the same reasons. In both cases, the common root of the ecosystem's deterioration is the desire for economic profit. With respect to the Lake Pátzcuaro inhabitants, the Purépecha culture's language, historical monuments, customs, and sense of prehistoric past are rapidly disappearing.

It is a fact that in all parts of the world, progress, development, and modernization have been processes that destroy natural assets as well as cultural artifacts. The loss has frequently been severe because both types of assets are not renewable. Thus, species of flora and fauna have been extinguished; flatlands remain where once there were jungles. Likewise, large populations have been left without a social memory, a written or musical past, or even gods to guide or punish them.

The main theme of this conference implies that from now on when these topics are discussed, it will no longer be possible to separate man from his habitat. It is not possible to think about culture without the mutual transformation of man and nature. In this way, the issue of ecological impact is similar to the problem of use versus conservation of historic places throughout history.

Following the anthropologists' method, I would like to examine the situation in Mexico and explain how nature and our cultural assets are suffering the same fate. Perhaps then a generalization can be made which would be applicable to other parts of the world. In this discussion, I would like to address three points of view: 1) the economic system, 2) the ideology of the classes in power, and 3) the culture itself.

First, many of Mexico's idiosyncrasies can be explained by its alternating role of dependence and interdependence on the world economy since the conquest and especially during the development of capitalism. For native communities, conquest meant the imposition of another social organization and religion, which left new lords to serve and tribute to pay. First, the temples and gods lost their credibility. Then man himself was snatched from his habitat and forced to relocate at the pleasure of the friars. In the name of religion, the native communities were congregated in locations near the Franciscan and Dominican convents so that they could be evangelized with less effort. As early as the sixteenth century, the Crown understood the economic advantages of the separation of man and his ecosystem. This knowledge helped to reinforce

legislative control of the congregations despite the resistance of many Indians who returned to their old homelands.

The practice of paying for a favor with a favor dates back to the sixteenth century. Those who brought gold and honor to the King of Spain were rewarded with generous extensions of land and free labor. At first these extensions were called "grants." Later they were renamed "commissions." A number of determined Indians rendered tribute to the new lord and worked for him without pay on certain days. The "commissionaire" would then, among other things, see that his charges were instructed in the holy precepts of the new "true" religion. The grant system did not last long, primarily because of a decrease in native population brought on by European-introduced epidemics. Even after several centuries, native ethnic groups never again reached the population levels of pre-conquest times.

The Indian and the mestizo soon were working in two other institutions of colonial origin, the *hacienda* and the *real de minas*. Once again, the native and the one who was already a mixture of Spanish and Indian were displaced from their places of origin. Only this time it was a more modern form of exploitation than simple pillaging and forced labor. Silver was now being exported to Spain. The free, forced labor of Indian and mestizo contributed to the beginning of capitalism and a completely new, far-reaching economic system.²

Because of its silver production Mexico, like Peru, has been integrated for some 500 years into a world economic system in which, more than ever, we are the necessary elements. We have contributed to the different stages in the development of capitalism by exporting mineral and agricultural products. By the nineteenth century, the entire country had become totally integrated into the international market through shipping and the railway.

Today petroleum is the product that makes us part of the great system. As in the sixteenth century, the benefits of this system are not obvious. What is seen is the rapid disintegration of communities, with a large number of people emigrating to the United States and the urban centers of the country.³ Another repercussion of this system can be seen in the extensive deterioration of the ecology caused by human contamination, and the destruction of archeological monuments.

The needs of the system are fed by the great mass of unemployed who form an always-available cheap labor force. These millions of compatriots live in vast *colonias*, some larger than a small country, without water, drainage, or electricity. Hundreds of thousands of others sleep on the ground without the benefit of shelter. This misery is not due to a lack of education or because there are still monolingual Indians. That apparent ''disorder'' has its rationale: what is not invested in the infrastructure, in the care of the environment, or in the health of man could serve other goals. Among these would be the importation of corn and the retirement of our billion-dollar foreign debt.⁵

Given this brief outline, it is easy to understand the principal cause of the secular uprooting of man from the ecosystem in which he developed his culture, built monuments, preserved the forests, and planted cornfields. It is difficult to ask the vast majority of Mexico's 75 million people not to contaminate its rivers, streets, and parks when they do not have enough to eat, when there are not enough schools or libraries, and when public sewage runs at street level.⁶

The role that the ruling class ideology plays within such an economic system is easy to deduce. It reflects the class economic interests and justifies or legitimizes the established order. From this perspective other hints of irrationality are readily explained.

Even before the Revolution of 1910, the constant element in upper-class Mexican ideology was a total disregard for the native population, including many scientific and legal contributions. The best European minds justified the conquest of ethnic Mexico using their own philosophy and theology. This was accomplished by destroying native Indian religious and social organization.

When it no longer suited the other faction of the dominant class, the *creole*, they changed the rules; then their ideology developed absurdities similar to those of their predecessors. Now there appeared a Virgin not like those from the Peninsula. This one was dark, like the Indians and mestizos. Even a legend was invented among the people. The apostle Saint Thomas had come to evangelize. Thus, under the pretext of evangelization, the need to justify the conquest by the Peninsulars was eliminated.⁷

Independence from Spain was won. Soon the ruling class forgot the dark virgin from Tepeyac, Saint Thomas, and the court of the King of Spain. Even so, the fate of the Indian and the mestizo did not improve, although they were free. For another long century that set the basis for a more modern Mexico; liberals took the communal lands from the Indians in the name of reform and progress. The Indians' lot did not improve under Porfirio Díaz's thirty-year dictatorship. He put them in debt and shackles under the *hacienda* system. Order, progress, and science were the elements of the new ideology that justified and covered up the reality of those at the bottom of the social scale.

The Revolution of 1910 finally brought justice to the Indian, because Indians and peasants were the ones who did away with the dictatorship. A million lives marked the beginning of the great peasant revolutions of this century. The resulting ideology, after all the commotion and initial benefits, became an institution. That is, as a ruling class it stuck to its power and privileges. A similar ideology in the United States also justifies the unequal established order. However, this new political era has remembered the Indian for the past seventy years. He is painted in murals; his clothing, rather the little that is left of it, is imitated; his cooking utensils are widely used; his dances, or the popular interpretations thereof, are

performed; and institutions exist that study, preserve, and exhibit what has remained after the pillaging. In fact, schools and museums of anthropology have formed brigades that provide education, basic medical care, clean water, and electricity for the Indian population. Not all the ideology is demagogic.

Part of the ideological order in present-day Mexico is represented in the large body of laws that came out of the Revolution. These laws protect the Indians' past and archeological remains, as well as the mestizos' recent history, including their temples, saints, colonial houses, and cities. There are laws and regulations to protect almost everything: the sites of natural beauty, rivers and jungles, the biosphere reserves, and national parks. Without a doubt, Mexico has surpassed many of the more advanced countries in the creation of legislation to protect its history.

Like any ideological element that disguises reality, legal bodies have also become a contradiction of our system. The national parks have been a great failure in that they are used as construction sites and waste disposal areas and have created wastelands through deforestation. Archeological zones and historical monuments exist without legal boundaries, leaving lucre, negligence, and corruption to destroy hundreds of historical monuments in cities, villages, and innumerable archeological sites. To round out the picture, the country just does not have the resources to live up to its laws. It also does not have the money to live in a territory whose foundation is archeological and as such is federal property rather than private property.

Now we must address the issue of what role the Mexican's own culture plays with regard to natural and cultural assets. A notable and constant aspect about the culture that manages to survive is the degree of adaptation individuals have developed as it applies to the social and geographical reality in which they live, or see themselves forced to live. According to the discussion we have been following, the adaptation that I am referring to is that peculiar to the exploited villages and societies that have been physically and culturally invaded and sacked by foreigners as well as their own people.

An example of this can be found with the peasants in some regions of Guatemala who have had to flee their country and cross the Mexican border. Thousands of these natives survive in the Lacandon jungle by cutting down trees and burning small pieces of the jungle. They build huts out of branches, leaves, and sticks, and drink water without knowing whether it is potable or not. While accepting the fact that their children die of worms and malnutrition, they attempt to cure themselves through prayers and the laying of hands. Millions throughout the world in rural areas and in lost cities live much the same as these Guatemalans. But that is not chaos. It is merely the rationality of chaos and the adaptation that is made to a state of institutionalized violence at a world level. It is the culture of misery, of the outcasts.

This cultural behavior towards nature and historical assets

is not only a logical survival response; it also leaves room for other cultural forms which can no longer be explained by external causes, but rather by the culture itself.

This is the case of contemporary Mexico. The philosophical heritage of a Judeo-Christian descendancy with its later Aristotelian-Thomistic transformation and its specific Mediterranean Catholic variant plays an important role. It is a providential, creationist, dualistic, and essential concept, one of resignation to events and history. The attitude towards nature is decisive for our topic. According to this mentality, man is the only one with rights and obligations. He is in the center of the cosmos now, and will also be later on in the heavens. Perishable nature is only a means for the spirit to pass on to an eternal reality. The mineral and vegetable world has little importance. In contrast, the animal world must suffer an anthropocentric vision of the universe. Man sees animals as an asset for his use and the satisfaction of his most immediate needs, which is much different from Anglo-Saxon culture. Often these needs include enjoyment and the dissipation of obscure inner tensions by means of cruelty.

The treatment of animals, then, is seen as highly utilitarian. Only to man, one's peers, do you give love. You do not tell an animal that you love it or that you adore it. The societies that protect animals are a recent importation and apparently without any influence. It seems that man does not understand that animals, flowers, and grass can adorn not only the interior of their homes but the avenues and groves as well. The common Mexican can literally go a lifetime without ever seeing a squirrel in the wild, because others have come before and stoned it to death. It has not occurred to man to stop and think that his needs in the long run will be better satisfied if he would not fish with dynamite; if he would not leave fires burning in the woods; and if he would not throw empty bottles on the beaches and in the parks.9

It is a small step from the lack of respect for nature to the lack of respect for public places, buildings, schools, hot springs, movie theaters, subways, and buses. Many times archeological and historical monuments are most affected because they cannot be as easily replaced as the paint on a house, the windows of a school, or the water faucets in a hot spring.

Diet, the preference for particular foods, personal hygiene, ideas about diseases, and some ritual aspects are other elements of some cultures, similar to the one I am describing, that do not need external causes in order to be appreciated for the effect that they have on air pollution and the transmission of extremely harmful diseases like typhoid and hepatitis. ¹⁰

In conclusion, I have tried to encourage you to reflect on the topic at hand before this congress. I have tried to point out some structural elements of the societies to which I referred that impede the correct use of nature and of cultural assets. I have also tried to emphasize the combination of elements, some outside of the poorer societies, others within them, that can result in a lethal formula for the conservation of nature and man's very existence.

These suggestions and recommendations concerning the conservation of cultural parks, I believe, can be academic if some of the ideas expressed here are not taken into consideration. Without a doubt, you will correct, expand, and illustrate better than I have.

Notes

- 1. Woodrow Borah and Sherburne F. Cook, Ensayos sobre historia de la poblacion: Mexico y el Caribe, vol. 1 (Mexico, 1978), 184.
- 2. Angel Palerm, "La formación colonial mexicana y el primer sistema económico mundial," in *Anthropologia y Marxismo* (Mexico: Editorial Nueva Imagen, 1980), 89-124.
- 3. The most outstanding example is the capital of the country. Mexico City has a population of 17 million. The country has tripled in the last forty years while the metropolitan area increased by a factor of nine and now contains 21 percent of the country's total population. The outlying suburbs grow 10 percent annually.
- 4. According to recent information obtained from the Secretary of Planning and Budget, only 22 percent of the inhabitants living in the capital are economically active. That is to say, approximately 3.5 million work for 17 million. Only 13 percent of the economically active population earns more than 30,000 pesos annually (\$150 U.S.); 62 percent earn between 4,000 and 22,000 pesos monthly (\$22-\$110 monthly). Information published in *UNO mas UNO*, August 22, 1984.
- 5. The Department of Economic Studies from the Banco Nacional de Mexico said that Mexico has not been able to regain its position as grain exporter since 1973. Ibid., April 22, 1984.
- 6. The Secretary of Public Education has published data about the status of education in the country. Fifteen million adults have completed six years of primary education; 7 million have not completed the next three years of secondary education. There are 6 million illiterate persons; the drop-out rate is 48 percent. There are no preschool programs for 48 percent of the children and only 300 libraries in the entire country. This means there are 0.06 books per person. Data published in *PASSIM*, August 16, 1984.

According to the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), 30 million people suffer from malnutrition of which 20 million do not even consume 30 grams of protein or even 200 calories. The FAO recommends 60 grams of protein and 2300 calories

for extremely poor countries. May 1984.

Eighteen million are not able to obtain milk to drink. Mexico has a 150-million liter deficit of milk annually. Information obtained from the president of El Colegio de Médicos Veterinarios y Zootechnistas, May 1984.

According to a reporter, Roman Munguía H., 60 percent of the houses in Mexico do not have bathrooms; 25 percent have dirt floors; 63 percent of the total population has no sewage system; 45 percent of the homes do not have potable water. *UNO mas UNO*, May 12, 1984.

- 7. Antonio de la Calancha, Cronica Moralizada (Peru, 1639).
- 8. See the bulletins published by CARGUA (Committee for Aid to Guatemalan Refugees), 3 Hidalgo Avenue, San Cristóbal de las Casas, Chis., Mexico.

The Secretary of Planning and Budget estimates that, thus far this century, approximately 12 million hectares of forests and 26 million hectares of jungles, that is to say 19 percent of the national territory, has been lost.

9. The majority of the fires in the country are reported as intentional. In the last ten years, more than 7,200 fires consumed 45,956 hectares. From November 1982 to December 1983 there were close to 1,200 fires in the forest surrounding Mexico City that burned 17,000 hectares. The epitome was last April when the national press reported that more than 10,000 square meters of grazing land and trees were burned in the third section of the Chapultepec forest, the most important park in the city.

Of the fifty-five national parks, thirteen have always been abandoned. Sixty-nine percent of the parks have been settled and are inhabited. Thirty-three of the parks are used for raising livestock; thirty-one are used for hunting, and thirty for lumber. Twenty-four inadequate uses of the parks were discovered. Mexico only has 772,887 hectares of national parks which is equal to 0.39 percent of the total territory. Fernando Vargas Márquez, National Parks of Mexico and Equivalent Reserves: Past, Present ad Future (UNAM, at press).

Seventy percent of the 2-million-square-kilometer territory is eroded to different degrees. The land is being turned into a desert at the rate of 375,000 hectares a year. Guadencio Flores Mata, Engineer, "La degradación de las tierras en Mexico," Academia Mexicana de Ingenieria, March 26, 1984.

10. Despite the protein and caloric deficit in the Mexican's diet, Mexico ranks sixth in bottled soft drink consumption in the world.



The prehistoric occupants of Mesa Verde, the Anasazi, appeared about 600 A.D. They abandoned the mesa about 1300 A.D. and based on existing tree-ring dates, ceased building in the 1270s.

Beginning with its creation in 1979, the National Cultural Heritage Institute has dedicated itself to the conservation, investigation, preservation, restoration, and exhibition of the country's artistic heritage. Within the Institute, the Department of Archaeology and History has mainly focused on sensitizing the country's regional authorities to the protection of Ecuador's cultural heritage. Parallel to this action, control of the research activities was initiated in the corresponding areas of archeology and of anthropology, establishing the priority that knowledge of pre-Hispanic cultures, customs, and traditions goes hand in hand with scientific knowledge of the aforementioned. This task has borne fruit in an agreement between the Provincial Council of Pichincha and the Institute to preserve the archeological remains of the province, among them those of Cochasquí, the object of this report.

There still remain many questions to resolve before beginning the restoration of the site, among which is to shed light on the role of Cochasquí in the prehistoric period. In order to do so, exhaustive excavations, prior to any other undertaking, are indispensable. The Provincial Council of Pichincha and the National Institute of Cultural Heritage, aware of this necessity, formed the Cochasquí program, focusing on archeological and anthropological research, and on the conservation and enhancement of the monument. It was declared a National Cultural Heritage Site in 1983 and its control turned over to the Provincial Council.

A partir de su creación en 1979, el Instituto Nacional de Patrimonio Cultural se ha dedicado a la conservación, investigación, preservación, restauración y exhibición del patrimonio artístico del país. Dentro del Instituto, el Departamento de Arqueología e Historia se ha enfocado principalmente a las dos áreas de su nombre sensibilizando a las autoridades seccionales del país a la protección del Patrimonio Cultural del Ecuador. Paralelamente se inicia el control de las actividades de investigación en las áreas de la arqueología y la antropología, estableciendo prioridades que el conocimiento de las culturas prehispánicas y las costumbres y tradiciones vayan acordes al conocimiento científico de las mismas. Esta tarea ha producido frutos como el convenio entre el Consejo Provincial de Pichincha y el Instituto, con el fin de preservar los restos arqueológicos de la provincia, entre ellos el de

Cochasquí, objeto de esta ponencia.

Aún quedan muchas dudas por resolver antes de comenzar la restauración del sitio, entre ellas el aclarar el papel de Cochasquí, en el período prehistórico, lo que vuelve indispensables excavaciones exhaustivas previas a cualquier otra labor. Concientes de esto, el Consejo Provincial de Pichincha y el Instituto Nacional de Patrimonio Cultural forman el programa Cochasquí, enfocado a la investigación arqueológica y antropológica y además a la conservación y puesta en valor del monumento. En 1983 es declarado Patrimonio Cultural de la nación y se delega su control al Consejo Provincial.

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Dés sa création en 1979, l'Institut National du Patrimoine Culturel s'est dédié à la conservation, la recherche, la préservation, la restauration et à l'exposition du patrimoine artistique du pays. Au sein de l'Institut, le Département d'Archéologie et d'Histoire a essentiellement focalisé son attention sur les deux domaines cités dans son nom, l'archéologie et l'histoire, en sensibilisant les autorités régionales du pays à la protection du patrimoine culturel de l'Equateur. Parallèlement à cette action, le contrôle des activités de recherche dans les domaines de l'archéologie et de l'anthropologie a été instauré, établissant comme priorité que la connaissance des cultures, des coutumes et des traditions préhispaniques aille de concert avec la connaissance scientifique de ces dernières. Cette tâche a porté ses fruits tels que par exemple l'accord passé entre le Conseil Provincial de Pichincha et l'Institut, qui a pour but de préserver les vestiges archéologiques de la province y compris les vestiges de Cochasquí qui font l'objet de ce rapport.

De nombreux doutes restent à éclaircir avant d'entreprendre la restauration du site. Il convient en particulier d'éclairer le rôle de Cochasquí au cours de la période préhistorique, ce qui rend indispensable des fouilles archéologiques approfondies. Le Conseil Provincial de Pichincha et l'Institut National du Patrimoine Culturel, conscients de cette nécessité, ont créé le programme de Cochasquí, axé sur la recherche archéologique et anthropologique ainsi que sur la conservation et la mise en valeur du monument. En 1983, Cochasquí fut déclaré patrimoine culturel de la nation et son contrôle est passé au Conseil Provincial.

Communal Participation in Cultural Projects: The Case of Cochasqui

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Introduction

The National Institute of Cultural Heritage (Instituto Nacional de Patrimonio Cultural), created in 1979 as a result of governmental interest in increasing the protection of the nation's cultural heritage, was entrusted to "investigate, maintain, preserve, exhibit and promote the cultural heritage in Ecuador; and regulate, in accordance with the law, all activities of this nature which are carried out in the country." These quiteextensive objectives recognize that the pre-Hispanic remains in all of Ecuador are threatened by the avarice of national and foreign traders and also that the customs and traditions that culturally identify a people are in danger of disappearing because consciousness about these values is not being raised by communication and education agencies. The institute's National Department of Archaeology and History has initiated a campaign directed at the regional Ecuadorian authorities with the goal of sensitizing them to the need to defend these values which make up the national identity and are part of the nation's cultural heritage in order to spread the campaign into schools and academies.

In conjunction with this project is the initiation of controlled research activities in the areas of archeology and social anthropology, establishing priorities for spreading scientific knowledge about pre-Hispanic cultures, as well as customs and traditions, and promoting the creation of local and regional museums that pedagogically spread this heritage. This task, even though in its initial phase, is already bearing valuable fruit for the national culture. This is reflected in arrangements for national and international research agreements, such as the one between the University of Illinois and the National

Institute of Cultural Heritage, to exchange professionals and their research in the fields of archeology and social anthropology. At the national level, the Provincial Council of Pichincha, with the aid of the Department of Archaeology and History of the National Institute of Cultural Heritage, is engaged in the protection, investigation, and promotion of several archeological sites within the province, such as that of Cochasquí, the subject of this report.

Geographic Location

The ruins of Cochasquí are located in the province of Pichincha, specifically in the area called Hoya del Guayllabamba, seventy kilometers north of Quito, capital of the Republic of Ecuador. Hoya del Guayllabamba is an inter-Andean basin whose axis is formed by the river Hoya. To the east it is bordered by the following volcanos: Cayambe (5,840 meters), Saraurco (4,676 meters), Antizana (5,750 meters), Sincholagua (4,988 meters), and Cotopaxi (6,005 meters). To the west is Pululagua (3,250 meters), Pichincha (4,850 meters), Atacazo (4,457 meters), Corazón (4,816 meters), and Illinizas (5,305 meters). The Hoya is bounded on the north by the Nudo de Mojanda Cajas, and on the south by the Nudo de Tiopullo.

Ecologically, the region embraced by the rivers Guayllabamba, Pisque, and Nudo de Mojanda Cajas corresponds to three subzones: the central one, which can be described as a group of small plateaus of a dry nature; the more humid eastern one, or Valle de Cayambe; and finally those sub-Andean areas internal to the western ridge, which open up towards Guayllabamba Pass.² Currently this valley is devoted almost exclusively to dairy cattle raising, except for the Valle del

Guayllabamba whose temperate climate supports the cultivation of fruit.

In summary, Cochasquí is located in the northern inter-Andean region of Ecuador, on the southwestern slopes of the Mojanda, some 3,000 meters above sea level. The spurs of the Mojanda Range are covered with volcanic tufa which, over vast expanses, has hardened to form a mass similar to sandstone, known as *cangahua*.³

Place Description

From the archeological point of view, Cochasquí forms part of the Sierra Norte zone, whose limits go from Quito towards the north as far as part of the Department of Nariño in Columbia. In Ecuador, the zone includes Pichincha (north of Quito), Imbabura, and Carchi provinces. Due to evident homogeneous cultural characteristics, the zone's vertical geographic limits are known, but horizontally they still have not been established with clarity. The ceramics that predominate in the region belong to what Jacinto Jijón y Caamaño called ''Carchi Negative Culture'' and what Alicia de Francisco later called ''Capulí.''⁴

The settlements are both nucleated and dispersed. One of the characteristics of the nucleated settlements is the existence of *tolas* (mounds), as in the cases of Cochasquí, Vega, Zuleta, and Pinsaquí.⁵ Pit burials are common funeral customs. From what one can deduce from recent archeological investigations, these might represent small independent settlements that shared the same cultural pattern and perhaps joined together against a common danger.⁶

In the case of Cochasquí, the site might have served ritual-habitational uses, as suggested by the *tolas* with ramps and platforms. Other remains are yet to be identified. The *tolas*, or pyramids as Oberem⁷ called them, have been constructed by taking advantage of the natural slope, that is to say by using the foot of the Nudo de Mojanda Cajas Range to build up dirt mounds that were topped off with *cangahua* (hardened volcanic tufa) blocks. They reached an average height of twenty meters. A sheet of tamped baked clay was used to surface the floor of the dwelling. The latter was possibly supported by poles, whose impressions are still visible, and *bahareque* (stick and dirt) walls. It is supposed that the roof was of thatch, still used on traditional Indian houses.

The archeological remains of Cochasquí have been known since the colonial period. Cieza de León spoke of the *tambos* or roadside shelters of Cochasquí; later Jijón y Caamaño cited them in his study of the Sierra Norte. Max Uhle also became interested in them and carried out excavations in 1932. Finally in 1964-65, the "Ecuador Group," directed by Udo Oberem, excavated in the archeological site of Cochasquí.⁸

Despite all these investigations, many questions remain to be resolved. It is imperative, therefore, to exhaustively excavate the site to clarify the role that Cochasquí played during the pre-Hispanic period in the Sierra Norte before initiating a plan of monument restoration. Aware of this necessity, the Provincial Council of Pichincha created the Cochasquí Program with the aid of the Department of Archaeology and History of the National Institute of Cultural Heritage. The program's objectives are not only an archeological investigation but also include social anthropology, as well as the preservation, restoration, and public appreciation of the targeted archeological remains.

With this purpose, in 1983 the National Institute of Cultural Patrimony declared that the archeological site of Cochasquí belonged to the national cultural patrimony. The institute delegated control of the site to the Provincial Council of Pichincha through its highest representative, the Provincial Prefect.9

Current Population

Characteristics

The advantages of local participation in the protection of tangible or spiritual cultural property lies in having owners of such property become aware of its value and place in national history as well as in the future of Ecuadorian peoples. Aware of this truth, it becomes necessary to conduct social-anthropological research paralleling the archeological studies. The goal of social-anthropological research is to make the cultural environment and context known so that programs to popularize traditional values and add new ones will not be culturally damaging. Such awakening awareness among area inhabitants is vitally important to the protection of tangible and intangible culture.

The inhabitants of the Cochasquí zone represent the genetic results of Indian and white intermixing and cultural exchanges which dates from the beginning of the colonal period and continues to the present. Based on this, we can say that the Cochasquí ethnic groups show a minor percentage of the indigenous traditions characteristic of the Sierra Norte and, therefore, a predominance of western cultural features.

Throughout the historic period, the small village economy of Cochasquí has been sustained by agricultural production, both on small private plots and on the extensive holdings incorporated into Hacienda Cochasquí, the area's major landowner. Traditionally, peasant laborers worked for the estate or hacienda owner in return for the right to cultivate, for their own needs, a plot of estate land. Subsequent to the 1964 Law of Agrarian Reform, and its 1973 amendments, title to the meager parcels of hacienda land were distributed to the peasants.

The agrarian reforms had ruptured the interdependence of hacienda owners and laborers by distributing marginal land to the peasants, and terminating their rights to use pasture and other subsistence resources within the hacienda. Meager landholdings, combined with continuing population growth among the peasantry, encouraged migration towards the cities in search of new sources of work. Parallel to these developments, agricultural production on the still-large ha-

cienda became mechanized, reducing the demand for manual labor and accelerating the male laborers' movement into the rural-urban stream. The transformation of Hacienda Cochasquí from a traditional labor-intensive agricultural and cattle enterprise to a mechanized farm producing and processing pyrethrum for insecticides generated a radical change in the traditional rural economy. Bit by bit the workers abandoned the traditional systems in order to adopt new ways of life as day-wage laborers in the fields and factory.

The population is characterized as quite young, with a high annual growth rate. Infant and maternal mortality rates remain high. The nutritional situation has been worsening in recent years, due to increasing poverty, migration, and the aforementioned changes. The disregard for many native foods traditionally used by the rural population contributes to a marked deterioration in the diet, especially in infants, which means a progressive decrease in nutrition.

On the peasant's small private properties (an average of two to six hectares), farming is intensive and devoted to obtaining the greatest quantity of products useful for family subsistence. Corn and potatoes predominate. However, because this land is located in the least arable, driest zone, crop production is low. The family income is derived from two sources: products from the agricultural property, and cash salaries obtained as day laborers, primarily in the pyrethrum industry.

The existing system of cultivation can be characterized as 75 percent traditional and 25 percent semitraditional, linking single-crop with multi-crop cultivation, in accord with family demands, as well as the small-scale combining of diverse crops of legumes and cereals. In addition to crops, some family plots also support a few head of cattle, goats, and fowl. The predominant animals are sheep, rabbits, chickens, and ducks. Households also commonly keep guinea pigs for festive domestic consumption. It is interesting to note that on each parcel generally 40 percent of the land is used for growing corn, 20 percent for wheat, and the remaining 30 percent for legumes, lupine, oca, onions, etc.

The surplus production is sold in neighboring towns or used for trade among members of the community. The population's complementary nutritional needs are satisfied by cash purchases in the marketplaces of nearby towns such as Otavalo, Cayambe, and Guayllabamba.

Since Hacienda Cochasquí ceased operating along traditional lines, all craft activities, generally in the hands of the women, have disappeared. This phenomenon is due primarily to two factors: women must assume the farming chores on their own plots of land because men now migrate to the cities to look for sources of wage income. In addition, the raw materials for the craftwork formerly were provided by the hacienda and upon changing its business objectives and cutting its relationship with the peasants following the implementation of the Law of Agrarian Reform, the hacienda froze the source of raw

materials for peasant crafts.

Social Structure

Some 34.6 percent of the population is composed of day laborers, of which 16.7 percent are temporarily located in Quito. The peasantry represents 61.8 percent of the total population, with small local businessmen barely 3.6 percent of the total. The from this data it is deduced that the village of Cochasquí presents a non-homogeneous economic and social structure. The quantitative and qualitative weight of the rural sector combines an agricultural proletariat with an urban semi-proletariat linked to rural property and the peasant economy. These economic levels do not affect village levels of life.

The monthly income levels are low, which also affects the population's capacity for consumption, especially with regard to clothing, health, education, nourishment, recreation, and housing. The infrastructure services are incipient: electrical lighting and sewage are absent, and drinking water is drawn from one faucet located in the public plaza.

As to its formal political structure, the municipality of Cochasquí legally belongs to the parish of Tabacundo (canton Pedro Moncayo). It also is administered loosely by the Ministry of Agriculture and Livestock in accordance with the Law of Municipal Organization (Ley de Organizacion y Regimen de Comunas). As a result of this duality, neither the central government nor the regional government has concerned itself with municipal progress or endowed Cochasquí with basic services.

The Community and Its Integration into the Cultural Program

Provincial Council of Pichincha: Cochasqui Program

As expressed earlier, in 1982 the Provincial Council of Pichincha, a regional entity charged with caring for the province's material and spiritual progress, joined the National Department of Archaeology and History of the National Institute of Cultural Heritage to help create the Cochasquí Program to develop programs for the protection of the Cochasquí Archaeological Monument Site. Under the program, work is underway in archeology, history, and social anthropology, with the goal of making a general diagnosis of the problem.

Among the immediate objectives, in addition to scientific research, is building the community's awareness of the cultural task. To attain this objective, motivational conferences have taken place over the importance of physical pre-Hispanic remains as sources of ancestral knowledge and income for the region, and especially for the community. On another front, programs have been formulated to help integrate the population into a united group that pursues common objectives, leading to progress for each and every one of its members. These actions are based on the reestablishment of traditional customs, for example, the *mingas* (unpaid corvee labor)¹² which, in addition to reducing expenses, efficiently increases group cohesion. These actions, developed in conjunction with the community, have not only centered on cultural property, but also on the development of programs that help the

socioeconomic progress of the Cochasquí community. With everyone's effort and contribution, the proposed objectives will be achieved in an adequate and effective way.

On the other hand, experience has shown that if cultural programs are combined with others which meet the socioeconomic concerns of the village, inhabitants take a greater interest in collaborating in all of the programs. Such programs must be developed after discussion between community members and the researchers in charge of the project, taking into account not only the concerns of the promoters but also those of the villagers, and keeping in mind that when projects are adopted as one's own, the results attained will be more positive and effective.

In order to strengthen the Cochasquí Program, the importance of its actions has been spread via the communication media, who also promotes the archeological site's accessibility to tourists. As a result of these joint actions, through *minga* service and community donations, an ethnographic museum has been constructed, representative of the area's traditional dwellings and of the zone's domestic and agricultural implements, which are in danger of disappearing. In this way, including the community in the protection, promotion, and maintenance of the museum has again been successful.

Results Attained

In the year and a half of constant labor, some gratifying results have been achieved with respect to the Cochasquí community. In comparison with other communities that do not form part of the common cultural ancestry (knowledge transmitted to the children and older youths), there is a general awareness that the value of the cultural, spiritual, and material property for the identity of a people leads to a spiritual enrichment.

A program to reestablish certain crafts has been initiated, with the goal of creating new sources of family income, maintaining the zone's traditional handicrafts, and selling these products to the tourists who come to visit Cochasqui's ethnographic museum and archeological ruins. We believe that the forthcoming results will serve not only to increase the family economy but also help to unify the community, creating an economic responsibility that should be administered corporately.

With the goal of improving the access road to the archeological monument site, the village repaired the road by using *mingas*, demonstrating the advantage of community work. In addition, the cost savings to the Cochasquí Program meant that other basic and necessary services could be implemented for the village.

Finally, a series of lectures has begun so that the residents of the zone become aware of the importance that volunteer work has in today's world; that it will not only benefit others but also themselves. These measures are already bearing fruit, above all in the population's adult sector, who has assumed responsibility for taking turns guiding tourists to the ar-

cheological site as well as to the ethnographic museum on weekends. This job requires previous training given by the members of the Cochasquí Program and helps the community feel more and more involved in the zone's cultural projects.

It is hoped by the end of 1984 and the middle of next year that not only will the programs in process be fully implemented, but new ones begun with the help of the municipality of Cochasquí, in an attempt to improve the living conditions of the village by implementing health, nutritional, and educational programs.

Acknowledgments

I should make record of my gratitude to the members of the Cochasquí Program, and especially to its director, Licenciate Lenín Ortiz, without whose determined contribution the Cochasquí Project would not have taken place, nor would this report. It is also important to thank Dr. Patricio Romero Barberis. When he was Provincial Prefect of Pichincha, he provided impetus and help for beginning and developing the project, serving as an example and a stimulus so that other regional authorities became interested in the protection of the cultural properties of their respective provinces.

Notes

- 1. Ley de Patrimonio Cultura publicada en Registro Oficial No. 865, Quito, 2 de julio de 1979, p. 5.
- 2. Teodoro Wolf, Geologia y Geografia del Ecuador (Quito: Casa de la Cultural Ecuatoriana, 1975), 130-31; Miaael Acosta Solís, Sinopsis de Fitogeografia y vegetituto Panamericano de Geografia o Historia Mexico (1962), 203-4; Conferencias Fitogeograficas (Biblioteca Ecuador, IPGH, Sección Nacional del Ecuador, Quito, 1977), 66-67.
- 3. Udo Oberem, "Cochasquí: Estudios Arqueológicos," Coleccion Pendoneros No. 3, vol. 1 (IOA Otavalo, Ecuador, 1981): 127-28.
- 4. Jacinto Jijón y Caamaño, Antropologia Prehispanica del Ecuador, (Quito: La Prensa Católica, 1952), 232-35; Alicia Endertón de Francisco, "An Archaeological Sequence from Carchi, Ecuador" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1969).
- 5. María del Carmen Molestina Zaldumbide, "Investigaciones Arqueológicas en la Zona Negativo del Carchi o Capulí, Ecuador," ponencia presentada en el Congreso Arqueológico, Carlos Zevallos Menéndez, Guayaquil, Ecuador, 1982, p. 30.
 - 6. Ibid., 37-38.
 - 7. Oberem, 82.
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Sun Temple. This mesa-top ruin is a mysterious structure. Its exacting symmetry indicates a carefully planned and built purpose. It may have served as some sort of ceremonial structure although this may never be known with certainty.

Siberut, off the coast of West-Sumatra, is the largest of the four Mentawai islands. The indigenous people of Siberut, who belong to one of the most archaic cultures in Indonesia, represent a cultural tradition which was common to much of the archipelago during the New Stone Age. A conservation master plan for Siberut has been prepared by the World Wildlife Fund and the government of Indonesia. This plan suggests conserving the natural and human resources of Siberut through a form of economic development designed to benefit the local people through the rational use of renewable natural resources, threatening neither the wildlife nor the traditional culture of the indigenous people. As part of this overall conservation plan for Siberut, a project of Survival International has been initiated to stimulate self-sufficiency and improve the traditional economy of the Siberut islanders with due respect to their culture. On December 15, 1981, the whole of Siberut was officially designated as a Biosphere Reserve, part of UNESCO's "Man and the Biosphere Program."

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Siberut, a lo largo de la costa occidental de Sumatra, es la más grande de cuatro islas Mentawai. Los pueblos indígenas de Siberut, que pertenecen a una de las culturas entre las más antiguas de la Indonesia, representan una tradición cultural que era común a la parte mayor del archipiélago al curso de la Nueva Edad de Piedra. El World Wildlife Fund y el gobierno indonesio han preparado un plan Director de conservación de Siberut. Este plan sugiere la conservación de los recursos naturales y humanos de Siberut por medio de una forma de desarrollo económico orientada hacia el beneficio de los indígenas. Este desarrollo estimula la utilización racional de los recursos naturales renovables, sin amenazar ni la fauna,

ni la cultura tradicional de los indígenas. Un proyecto de Supervivencia Internacional, que forma parte del plan general de conservación de Siberut, a sido encaminado para estimular la auto-suficiencia y para mejorar la economía tradicional de los insulares de Siberut, aún respetando su cultura. El 15 de diciembre de 1981, Siberut en su totalidad ha sido oficialmente designado como una Reserva Biosfera, perteneciente al el Programa del Hombre y la Biosfera (*Man and the Biosphere Program*) de la UNESCO.

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Siberut, au large de la côte occidentale de Sumatra, est la plus grande des quatre îles Mentawai. Les peuples indigènes de Siberut, qui appartiennent à l'une des cultures parmi les plus archaïques de l'Indonésie, représentent une tradition culturelle qui était commune à la plus grande partie de l'archipel au cours du Nouvel Age de la Pierre. Le World Wildlife Fund et le Gouvernement indonésien ont préparé un plan Directeur de conservation de Siberut. Ce plan suggère la conservation des ressources naturelles et humaines de Siberut au moyen d'une forme de développement économique orienté vers le bénéfice des indigènes. Ce développement encourage l'utilisation rationelle des ressources naturelles renouvelables, ne menaçant ni la faune, ni la culture traditionnelle des indigènes. Un projet de Survie Internationale, qui fait partie du plan général de conservation de Siberut, a été lancé pour stimuler l'autosuffisance et améliorer l'économie traditionnelle des insulaires de Siberut, tout en respectant leur culture. Le 15 décembre 1981, Siberut dans sa totalité a été officiellement désignée comme une Réserve Biosphère, faisant partie du Programme de l'Homme et la Biosphère (Man and the Biosphere Program) de l'UNESCO.

Siberut Reserve Impacts on Indigenous People in West-Sumatra, Indonesia

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Introduction

The four Mentawai islands of Siberut, Sipora, North Pagai, and South Pagai have a total landmass of about 7,000 square kilometres and 37,000 inhabitants, of whom approximately 33,000 are indigenous. Siberut, off the coast of West-Sumatra, is the largest island (approximately 4,800 square kilometres), primarily covered with rain forest and inhabited by endemic forms of fauna, especially primates, which are not found outside of the Mentawai Islands.

The indigenous people of Siberut, who belong to one of the most archaic cultures in Indonesia, represent a cultural tradition which was common to much of the archipelago during the New Stone Age. The first written account of Mentawai is by some English sailors who tried to start a pepper plantation on the Pagai islands between 1749 and 1757, but Crisp (1799) made the first attempt to investigate the islands and islanders.

Resources

Since 1970 there has been widespread interest in the unique nature of both the indigenous culture and the natural history of Siberut Island. Survival International, an organization based in the United Kingdom whose aim is to help conserve aboriginal cultures, entered into an agreement with the government in October 1977 to stimulate self-sufficiency and improve the traditional economy of the Siberut Islanders with due respect to their culture. In 1979 the World Wildlife Fund (WWF) prepared a conservation master plan for Siberut and drafted a management plan for Siberut reserve from 1983 to 1988 for consideration by the Indonesian government. This

plan suggests conserving the natural and human resources through a form of economic development designed to benefit the local people with the rational use of renewable natural resources, threatening neither the wildlife nor the traditional culture of the indigenous people.

Natural

The incredibly diverse tropical rain forest of Indonesia comprises one of the world's major plant genetic resources, largely because the many islands allow the evolution of numerous local endemic species through restricting gene flow. Each island tends to have its own floral composition and many have rich endemic florals. Siberut is an outstanding example, with perhaps 15 percent endemic plants, numerous remarkable forms with many important values for man.

Siberut's forest is also clearly essential for the continuing existence of its rich endemic wildlife. Of 31 terrestrial species of mammals, 28 are dependent on the forest. A similar situation exists for the 107 species of birds found on Siberut (WWF 1980). But this dependency is not only one way. Many of the rain forest plants are dependent on the animals for seed dispersal, pollination, insect control, and in other ways. Thus Siberut's tropical rain forest comprises a complex interacting system of plants and animals which are dependent on each other for their continued existence.

The most remarkable elements of a generally remarkable fauna are the mammals; about 65 percent are endemic at some level. All four of the Mentawai primates are endemic, namely, bilou (*Hylobates klosii*), joja (*Presbytis potenziani*), simakobu (*Simias concolor*), and bokkoi (*Macaca pagensis*) form a very special element of Indonesia's natural heritage.

Cultural

There is no clear indication when man first arrived on Siberut, but judging from language, cultural level, and physical characteristics, the people seem to be representative of some of the earliest Homo sapiens to come to Indonesia. Most anthropologists classify them as "proto-malay," having essentially a neolithic culture with some Bronze Age influence, but not affected by Buddhism, Hinduism, or Islam. This indicates that they arrived on Siberut at least several thousand years ago.

Social life was centered around the *uma*, a communal longhouse which held a group of people related through a common ancestor. Each family of five to fifteen people had its own section in the *uma* and other field houses in the forest near their cleared fields and along a river where pigs were tended. Each *uma* was located within a clan territory well upstream on one of the major rivers that provided the main transportation network. The clan territories tended to occupy a complete river catchment basin, and over time each of these evolved into distinct linguistic regions with their own dialects. There is a very strong identification with the territory and considerable competition between the regional groups.

The Perception of Indigenous People Toward the Resources

The people of Siberut have traditionally lived in harmony with their environment. This respect for the harmony of nature has important implications for living in balance with the available resources. For example, souls live in the forest but are invisible, so felling a tree could unknowingly destroy a soul's house. Thus cutting trees is taboo without first holding a ceremony to apologize to the souls for any damage that might be done. The expense and complexity of these ceremonies serve to help limit the number of trees that were cut.

It is the desire of the government to maintain this harmony as far as is possible under the new conditions now being imposed and to keep the sacrifices of the people to a minimum.

Traditional Economy

The traditional economy of Siberut was ecologically sound, provided a good living for the people, and was kept in essential balance with nature through religious and cultural controls on exploitation. In the traditional economy, the forest is used for collecting a wide range of forest fruits, vegetables, medicinal plants, and building materials. The replacement of the traditional religion with its complex set of regulations controlling the exploitation of nature by established religions has led to a basic change in the economy of Siberut, with considerably stronger emphasis on producing a surplus for sale, clearing more land, gathering more rattan, producing more copra and other cash crops, and settling down close to churches in established villages under government control.

The traditional economy was based on sago and taro as principal crops, with fishing, pig-raising, and hunting providing most of the protein. Because sago and taro particularly grow in the swampy lowland areas naturally fertilized by the run-

off from the surrounding forested hillsides, the people are less dependent on dry-field cultivation than are people in other parts of Indonesia and have thus evolved a balanced, stable relationship with the land which is rarely encountered elsewhere in the country. However, sago production and processing should be improved and plantation development encouraged.

Traditional Religion and Conservation

The people originally were animists, believing that everything from people to monkeys, rocks to weather, had its own spirit which was quite separate from its "host" and was free to wander as it wished (Schefold, 1972). The basic principle of the religion is a concept of internal harmony in creation, with one religious force behind all things. But as in most archaic religions, it concentrates more on the various manifestations of the creation—the spirits or souls. These spirits are in constant harmonious contact with each other, but man's activities constantly threaten to disturb this harmony. In order to reduce the disturbance and to restore the balance, the people accompany all their activities with various religious ceremonies.

For example, a complex set of rituals was required before hunting primates. Hunting is a major social activity for the men of Siberut, closely tied to the traditional religion. An animal was ceremonially conjured to call the souls of game into the uma so that these animals would allow themselves to be shot and join the spirits in the uma. A chicken was then killed and a ritual specialist "read" the signs in the intestines to see if the conjuring was successful. After the hunting trip, the skulls of the three monkey species (joja, simakobu, and bokkoi), deer, and feral pigs were cleaned, hung in the longhouse, and decorated with colourful leaves of plants possessing "magical" properties, to persuade the soul of the dead animal to stay in the uma rather than wander into the forest. The men ritually implore the skulls' souls to summon their living relatives' souls to the uma so that the monkeys will allow themselves to be shot in order to re-unite with their souls in the uma.

The connection of hunting with rituals and the many accompanying taboos prevented overexploitation of the primates by reckless hunting. The human and primate populations were able to live in a dynamic equilibrium, where cultural restraints allowed man and nature to live in harmony. It is only in recent times that this harmony is beginning to break down.

It should also be realized that the interior settlement pattern is not based on a destructive shifting cultivation system as found in, for example, the hills of Sumatra. The people of Siberut are closely tied to a definite permanent site—the *umas* and associated swamps which produce sago, taro, and bananas, and the dry fields supplementary to the main swampy production areas.

Modern Development

Traditionally, conservation was assured by cultural sanctions

and a complex system of taboos. But in today's world, where change is the only constant, new methods of conservation of resources are required. These methods will work best if they take into consideration the traditional system of balanced exploitation, recognize the rights of the indigenous people, and are based on ecologically sound principles of development aimed at improving the living standard of the people. The process of modernization should be based on systems with which local people are already familiar. Many traditional methods of resource management should be retained, either in original or improved modified forms.

The traditional system of regulations governing human activities on Siberut has always aimed toward balancing these activities with nature. These original conservation laws have been very effective for centuries but are beginning to disintegrate rapidly through recent population growth and modernization.

Hunting for centuries has been controlled by traditional regulations that prevented overexploitation of wildlife. But with the disintegration of these regulations through the process of modernization, recent and continuing human population growth, and the destruction of suitable forest outside the reserve, new hunting controls are urgently needed to ensure that population levels of endangered and vulnerable species do not reach critically low levels.

The socioeconomic development plan for Siberut is designed to elevate the people well above the neolithic level and bring them as gracefully as possible into the twentieth century. Tourism can help this process, but there is a danger that the attractiveness of the people will be diminished and their culture, an irreplaceable part of the world's human heritage, will be lost.

The effects of tourism and the rapidly changing culture are likely to be profound on the local people. The low population density makes it difficult to absorb very many tourists without stress. Large investments in the development of a tourism infrastructure by the government may be misunderstood by the subsistence-level people, since many of their basic needs for health and schooling have not yet been met. The goods required to support tourists may stimulate a so-called "demonstration effect," where the local people quickly learn to desire goods imported from outside. The great disparity in culture and material wealth between local people and tourists, whether Indonesian or foreign, may stimulate feelings of resentment or envy towards visitors.

Siberut Reserve Development

The government created a 56,500-hectare game reserve on Siberut on December 5, 1979. WWF (1980) outlined in detail a land-use proposal in the conservation master plan. The plan suggested the creation of a nature reserve on Siberut which would meet international criteria for protected areas. It also recommended that a system of zones be developed to control

land use and to reconcile the conflicting needs of conservation and exploitation. Although accepted in principle by the government, the WWF proposal was not precisely followed.

Following the conservation master plan, WWF (1982) proposed a Siberut Nature Conservation Area Management Plan 1983-1988, which is now under limited implementation for action by the government of Indonesia. The proposal is to increase the area of the reserve on Siberut to a total of 138,000 hectares. The aim of reserve management combines the goal of protection of natural ecosystems with provision for traditional needs of people living around the boundary. Protection should be based on sound principles of ecological management and be aimed at improving local welfare.

Conservation Value

The major conclusion is that the physical factors account for the importance of Siberut as a source of endemic forms while possibilities for economic development are limited in the area proposed as a reserve. The area, however, has a high value for conservation for the following reasons (WWF 1982):

- 1. The reserve is the largest undisturbed area of rain forest remaining in the Mentawai islands.
- 2. Due to long isolation from mainland Sumatra, the high level of endemism of Siberut is an important source of potentially useful plant genetic resources.
- 3. As a complex interacting system of plants and animals, the forest is essential for the continued existence of a viable population of the island's endemic wildlife, particularly the four species of primates found only in Mentawai.
- 4. As a protected area of particular scientific interest, the reserve would play an important role as a centre for research and environmental training.
- 5. By providing the indigenous people with the opportunity to continue certain ecologically nondisruptive forest-based practices, which are essential to their culture and subsistence economy, the reserve will provide important sociocultural benefits.

Management Problems

As population increases and traditional restraints break down through modernization, new controls and regulations should be implemented to reconcile the maintenance of natural ecosystems and traditional use. With the reserve as a system of zones and with due respect for the traditional system of regulations to the area, a resolution can be found. Therefore, the manager of the reserve should consider traditional use a basic right in some parts of the reserve; many people require continued access to the forest within the reserve, and traditional paths should be kept open.

Traditional use of land has occurred to varying degrees within the reserve for centuries. Use, however, was governed by the traditional system of regulations and by religious observances which avoided the overexploitation of resources and allowed utilization to continue at a natural ecological balance. Some utilised areas within the reserve, found primarily along

the rivers, are only moderately disturbed. In fact, most of the reserve remains essentially undisturbed.

Local pressure on resources within the reserve are not great at present. Forest needs by villages surrounding the reserve should be met through the control of regulations governing traditional use within the reserve and through the development of conservation buffer zones outside the reserve. People should not be confronted with government modernization schemes in such a way to cause them to move farther away from established villages and deeper into the reserve.

Traditional hunting and cultivation practices are widespread in some parts of the reserve and its proposed extensions. Although such exploitation has been controlled by customary regulations, these are beginning to disintegrate through modernization.

Conservation Plan

The entire conservation plan aims to minimize adverse effects on the culture of Siberut and determine measures to improve the welfare of the indigenous people while maintaining the structure of the existing culture. The following objectives were recommended to guide development of the resources of Siberut without threatening them (WWF 1980):

- 1. To promote the socioeconomic development of the people of Siberut in such a way that they can maintain traditional harmony with their environment;
- 2. To maintain a functioning tropical rain forest ecosystem where all species are conserved, with special emphasis on the four endemic species of primates;
- 3. To utilize Siberut's unique qualities to their best advantage through education, research, and tourism.

The conservation plan provides for certain human groups to maintain their traditional culture and to become modernized only at the rate they themselves desire. Along with the introduction of new technology based on locally available resources, this is designed to contribute to the evolution of a new, environmentally sound way of life. Obviously, the conservation plan is used to help meet the needs of the people, showing how man can live in sustainable balance with the resources available to him (Sumardja 1981). The conscious use of conservation techniques for sound socioeconomic development is a new approach which needs to be constantly analyzed, evaluated, and modified as needed. Once it has been shown to be worthwhile in practice on Siberut, the approach will have broad application elsewhere in Indonesia.

As an illustration of tourism impacts on indigenous people, the following specific steps can be taken:

- 1. Provide a certain part of the island where the people may continue living in their traditional style if they so desire, without disturbance from tourists (traditional use zone).
- 2. Provide visitors with sufficient guidance so that they can consciously minimize their adverse effects on the culture.
- 3. Establish a "Siberut Cultural Centre" at Sarabua, the initial port of entry for all tourists to Siberut. The Cultural Cen-

tre will have an outstanding example of a traditional *uma* and an intact example of the traditional culture will survive at least as a demonstration. The ''living museum'' can include an interpretive centre, a handicrafts centre where the handicrafts are sold to tourists, a museum containing traditional artifacts, and an entertainment centre with traditional songs and dances presented nightly. The fascination that tourists have with the traditional culture of Siberut will demonstrate to the local people the value of their culture and help counteract the other influences which tend to deprecate the value of the traditional culture.

Population Pressure on the Reserve

In 1979 people from the Simalegi interior began moving to an area on the northwest coast, previously undisturbed for the most part, and there established a small village named Bataet. This small resettlement village was ordered by the local government and established before the declaration of the present reserve in December of 1979. Since that time, scattered small fields have been opened along the coast from Bat Gobgob (to the north of Bataet) to Bat Lembeceo (to the south), and forest destruction continues in the area. There are about sixty-five houses but many are neglected since the people being resettled from the upper Simalegi river currently spend much of their time at their old fields over the hills to the east. Inhabitants of this village have now found themselves in the middle of a reserve where, in theory, they and their villages are illegal. In early 1982 nature conservation guards and the local people established and provisionally demarcated a twenty-fivekilometre boundary, more or less, between the proposed special development zone and the traditional use zone.

Although there are no other villages in either the existing or the proposed reserve, some traditional activities such as small gardens and pig farms are present. Population pressure is currently not very great and such activities could be accommodated by creating a reserve comprised of land-use zones. However, careful consideration must be given to the future use of land surrounding the reserve. The main function would be to provide local people with alternate sources of forest products traditionally harvested from areas included within the reserve, thereby reducing pressure on the reserve.

Human Impact on the Vegetation and Animals

The people of Siberut have had a close association with the forest for 2,000 years or more, so most of it has been disturbed to various degrees. The degree of disturbance is a continuum. Traditional culture on Siberut chiefly governs personal and clan rights to the use of trees and other forest products as well as land for cultivation. Rights of use are constantly changing and the conditions of use appear to be flexible. According to the people, all land on Siberut is owned by individuals or clans. An owner has full rights to make fields, build houses, and collect rattan, and has priority on suitable dug-out trees and fruit trees on his land.

Gardens and small pig ''farms'' are found along most of the rivers. Traditional dibble-stick agriculture requires that only small patches of forest (0.25-0.50 hectares) be cleared, but not burned. This is quite different from most other tropical shifting agriculture systems where fire is a vital part of the process, but on Siberut this system allows the people to live in a more harmonious relationship with the forest. Therefore, indigenous systems of agriculture which do not require the burning of forest and which leave the land fallow for long periods are not excessively harmful to the environment and should be allowed to continue.

A major activity of Mentawai people is to tend pigs far from their village at a pig "raising" which is usually located by a river. Here pigs are tended, but not penned. They are fed with split sago trunks at the pig "raising," but otherwise the pigs spend most of their time foraging in the vicinity. When a pig is needed it is lured into the cage, where it is trapped. It is common for Mentawai people to spend the majority of the week at their pig "raising" and only the weekend at their village.

The Importance of the Reserve for Humans

The establishment of the reserve on Siberut is actually for:
a) the conservation of the climatic and physical conditions of
the island; b) the preservation of the integrity of the indigenous
ecosystem containing such a high degree of endemism in both
flora and fauna; and c) the conservation of some traditional
patterns of culture (e.g., gathering traditional medicine, extracting timber for the construction of dwellings and dugouts,
hunting animals for religious purposes, etc.).

The reserve protects a highly erodible watershed that will sustain future agricultural development outside of the reserve. In this respect its major benefits are indirect and the success of the reserve in supporting development will require provincial government recognition and support at all levels.

Local people should be employed in the reserve management to the maximum extent possible, and when outsiders must be employed, they should immediately begin training local people to take over their positions within a reasonable period. Furthermore, benefit the local people by respecting customary rights to the forest within the reserve and allow traditional use which does not threaten the conservation values of the reserve. Moreover, training, demonstration, and the strengthening of extension services must be sensitive to indigenous social and cultural characteristics. Local talent for management and administration should be developed.

On December 15, 1981, the whole of Siberut was officially designated as a Biosphere Reserve, part of UNESCO's "Man and the Biosphere Program" (MAB). Obviously, a reserve on Siberut would be an important component of provincial development and human welfare. As the core of a Biosphere Reserve, it would be of national and international significance as an environmental research and training site. Therefore, the

management of this reserve should be closely related with national and international research institutes as well as universities. The protection of the reserve and sustained rural development should be seen as mutually supportive to ensure both long-term conservation and local socioeconomic development. Traditional use zones of the reserve would meet controlled subsistence requirements for the people living near the border of the reserve.

Conclusion

An ecologically stable environment should be maintained by moving the traditional subsistence economy to greater efficiency to provide a base for future development rather than changing it. Local people should be allowed to create an economy based on a combination of traditional and modern practices. Improve the welfare of the people through providing new alternatives for obtaining protein and for producing cash crops.

A large reserve of protected forest will provide important sociocultural benefits by providing the indigenous people with the opportunity to continue certain ecologically nondisruptive practices, which are essential to their culture and subsistence economy. Therefore, cooperation among local government, development planners, and university researchers to develop a conservation-based rural development plan for improving the subsistence economy should be encouraged.

Acknowledgment

I gratefully acknowledge Dr. Soedjarwo, the Minister of Forestry; Prof. Dr. Ir. Rubini Atmawidjaja, the Director General of Forest Protection and Nature Conservation; and Mr. Sudjadi Hartono, the Director of National Park and Recreational Forest, for their permission and support for me to attend the First World Conference on Cultural Parks. I wish also to express my thanks to UNESCO for their sponsorship in order to enable me to participate at the conference.

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Contact with local people during a folklife survey revealed that planners of the Big South Fork National River and Recreation Area lacked awareness of local concerns and interests. Conflict between local citizens in Kentucky and Tennessee and planners from the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers might have been prevented with greater cultural awareness from the project's inception. The original motivation for a federal project along the Big South Fork of the Cumberland River was economic development to counter depressed conditions in the coal and timber industries. When plans for a hydroelectric dam were abandoned in favor of a recreation area, local citizens felt betrayed.

Dissatisfaction with planning crystalized in opposition to the location of an eighty-room lodge in Kentucky. Although the protesters' attempt to change the lodge site was unsuccessful, they did secure promises that a mining museum would be built. Local involvement in planning for the museum has been intense and enthusiastic, with citizens contributing ideas, artifacts, and local history interviews. Basic economic issues are also being addressed constructively with more initiative from the private sector. The debate over the lodge site taught the planners valuable lessons about local culture and public participation in planning that has increased local support for the Big South Fork project.

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En el curso de un estudio de la vida popular, los contactos con las poblaciones locales han revelado que los planificadores de Big South Fork National River and Recreation Area no han estado conscientes de las inquietudes y los intereses locales. Los conflictos entre los ciudadanos locales en Kentucky y en Tennessee y los planificadores del Cuerpo de Ingenieros del Ejército (U.S. Army Corps of Engineers) estadounidense, se podría haber prevenido si una consciencia cultural muy grande hubiera existido al comienzo del proyecto. La motivación de origen para un proyecto federal a lo largo de Big South Fork del río Cumberland era el desarrollo económico para contraer las condiciones depresivas de las industrias de carbón y del madera. Cuando los planes para una prensa hidroeléctrica fueron abandonados en favor de una zona de deporte, los ciudadanos locales se sintieron tradicionados.

El descontento sucedido por la planificación se cristalizó en la oposición de la construcción de un hotel de 80 habitaciones en Kentucky. Aunque la tentativa de los protestadores para cambiar el sitio del hotel fue sin éxito, sí lograron obtener promesas que un museo de la mina sería construida. La participación local en la planificación del museo ha sido intensa y entusiasta, los ciudadanos dieron ideas, objetos, y las entrevistas sobre la historia local. Las cuestiones económicas de base también se están examinando de manera constructiva con más iniciativa del sector privado. El debate sobre el sitio del hotel les enseñó a los planificadores lecciones de valor sobre la cultural local y la participación del público en la planificación que ha aumentado el apoyo local para el proyecto de Big South Fork.

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Au cours d'une étude de la vie populaire, des contacts avec les populations locales ont révélé que les planificateurs du Big South Fork National River and Recreation Area n'étaient pas conscients des soucis et des intérêts locaux. Les conflits entre les citoyens locaux, au Kentucky et au Tennessee, et les planificateurs du Corps des Ingénieurs de l'Armée U.S. (U.S. Army Corps of Engineers) auraient pu être prévenus si une conscience culturelle plus grande avait existé dès le début du projet. La motivation d'origine pour un projet fédéral le long du Big South Fork de la Rivière Cumberland était le développement économique pour contrer les conditions dépressives des industries du charbon et du bois. Lorsque des plans pour un barrage hydro-électrique furent abandonnés en faveur d'une zone de détente, les citoyens locaux se sentirent trahis.

Le mécontentement suscité par la planification s'est cristallisé dans l'opposition à la construction d'un hôtel de 80 chambres au Kentucky. Bien que la tentative des protestataires pour changer le site de l'hôtel se soit soldée par un échec, ils réussirent à obtenir des promesses qu'un musée de la mine serait construit. La participation locale dans la planification du musée a été intense et enthousiaste, les citoyens donnant des idées, des objets, et des entretiens sur l'histoire locale. Des questions économiques de base sont aussi examinées de façon constructive avec une plus grande initiative du secteur privé. Le débat sur le site de l'hôtel a enseigné aux planificateurs des leçons de valeur sur la culture locale et la participation du public à la planification, qui ont accru le soutien local pour le projet de Big South Fork.

The Anthropologist As Advocate for Local Interests in National Park Planning

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National parks are intended to serve the needs of a national constituency, so it is understandable that professional planners and park management agencies tend to adopt uniform evaluative criteria and operating procedures nationwide. Yet each park is firmly rooted in a particular local environment, and citizens of that area are certainly as entitled as any other citizen to enjoy the park's benefits. One might even argue that because the local people are asked to sacrifice land or cultural continuity so that others can enjoy the park, they should be given special consideration. Be that as it may, it is better to secure the goodwill and cooperation of local citizens than to contend with their hostility, so for pragmatic if not altruistic reasons, park planners and managers should be particularly sensitive to local interests and seek to accommodate them whenever possible.

As a contract cultural anthropologist involved in planning for the Big South Fork National River and Recreation Area in Kentucky and Tennessee, I had an opportunity to represent local culture and interests to the project planners. My research did not begin until preliminary planning was almost complete, however. Some of the conflict between local citizens and planners that occurred might have been prevented with greater cultural awareness from the project's inception, but conflict can be instructive. Such was the case in the Big South Fork project, where planners from the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers learned as much from a proud, stubborn citizenry as from the resident anthropologist.

The Big South Fork Region

The Big South Fork of the Cumberland River, one of the few

remaining wild rivers in the eastern United States, cuts an impressive gorge through the ridges and knobs of the Cumberland Plateau as it flows from north central Tennessee into southeastern Kentucky. Today's visitor may experience this area as a near-wilderness, but its cultural history is long and varied.

Numerous archeological sites, many located in dry rock shelters, affirm that the Cherokee, the Shawnee, and their forebears had hunted along this river for millenia before white explorers first visited it sometime after 1755. Permanent settlers began to take up land grants near the Big South Fork during the first quarter of the nineteenth century. For the most part, these pioneers combined hunting with subsistence farming on the narrow floodplain of the river and its major tributaries, but commercial activity was not entirely unknown. Following a salt shortage during the War of 1812, Kentucky offered incentives to settlers who would develop brine wells and salt works near the river. The first commercial oil well in the United States was an unintended by-product of salt exploration. Crude oil was sold for medicinal purposes between 1819 and 1821, but the enterprise failed because there was no means of transporting the product to market.

The Cincinnati Southern Railroad was not completed across the Cumberland Plateau until 1880, but immediately thereafter outside interests began establishing large-scale commercial logging and coal mining operations near the Big South Fork. The Stearns Coal and Lumber Company, founded in 1902 by an industrialist from Michigan, began acquiring surface and mineral rights to vast stretches of the river drainage. The company built the Kentucky and Tennessee Railroad to link

its domain to the southern tracks. Many locals took jobs as miners or timber cutters, moving to Stearns, Kentucky, or to coal and logging camps along the K&T railroad. But the company also fostered subsistence farming by leasing tracts of land on generous terms and by employing farmers during the winter months. A decade after the Stearns Company established itself in Kentucky, stockholders of the Tennessee Stave and Lumber Company built the Oneida and Western Railroad to bring timber from Fentress County, Tennessee, across the Big South Fork to the Southern Railway terminal at Oneida. Many independent coal mines and sawmills also sprang up along this railroad.

From 1900 until the 1930s, the Big South Fork country experienced growth and prosperity, but the best and most easily exploited timber and coal resources were depleted at about the same time that the Great Depression curtailed market demand for these products. World War II brought a temporary economic recovery, but many families joined the stream of Appalachian migrants seeking factory jobs in northern and midwestern cities. Many mines, logging camps, and sawmills closed in the 1950s. The Kentucky and Tennessee Railroad pulled up miles of track, and the Oneida and Western was abandoned altogether. As early as the 1930s, farm families had begun to move from old communities in the river gorge to the surrounding tableland. They were forced to relocate when schools, post offices, and stores in their communities closed and unpaved roads near the river were allowed to deteriorate. By the mid-1970s, fewer than forty households of year-round residents remained where once there had been dozens of communities, but many area residents still owned and used land that had belonged to their families for generations.

The Big South Fork National River and Recreation Area

Beginning in 1933, local legislators tried to win congressional approval for one or more hydroelectric dams on the Big South Fork as a means of attracting industry and stimulating economic recovery. These proposals surfaced periodically until 1968, when environmentalists succeeded in focusing congressional attention on the river's aesthetic and recreational potential. After preliminary studies, Congress in 1974 authorized the Big South Fork National River and Recreation Area to preserve and develop the region's natural, cultural, and recreational resources. The U.S. Army Corps of Engineers was authorized to acquire up to 123,000 acres and to plan and construct recreational facilities which would then be transferred to the National Park Service for management. The master plan, unveiled in 1979, called for construction of 3 visitor centers, 2 eighty-room lodges, 5 campgrounds, 200 miles of hiking and equestrian trails, and several canoe access points, as well as some road and bridge construction.

Cultural Resource Planning and the Folklife Survey

My involvement with the Big South Fork recreation area began

in 1979 when I contracted to direct a folk culture survey to complement archeological work already in progress. The archeologist who prepared the scope of work for folklife research specified that investigations should cover the gamut of ethnological topics, including structures, cemeteries, food, medicine, speech, folklife, oral history, music and dance, and social customs. The stated goals were the familiar ones of archeological resource management: identifying resources, determining their significance, assessing potential development impacts, and recommending means for mitigating adverse impacts. The scope of work proposed a very modest role in planning for the folklife survey, primarily providing documentation that would later be used in presenting local culture to the public; but circumstances created a larger role for the cultural anthropologist, that of representing local interests to the planners.

Preliminary design plans for the recreation area had been based on an environmental impact statement submitted in 1976, which gave only the most cursory attention to sociocultural data, mostly drawn from published statistical sources.1 Interviews had been restricted to a few local government officials and major landowners, many of them corporate or absentee; there had been virtually no contact with the local populace, not even with those families living inside the proposed recreation area boundaries who would be forced to relocate. In the following years, neither the Corps of Engineers planning office nor the landscape architecture firm preparing the master plan had much contact with local citizens. In contrast, the folklife project began with visits to all households remaining within the proposed project boundaries. A letter explaining the folklife project and requesting assistance was sent to all landowners. As each contact suggested others, well over a hundred local residents contributed information on traditional skills, local history and lore, and details of their own experiences from around the turn of the century to the

Folklife survey fieldwork did not begin until the summer of 1979, only three months before hearings were to be held on the project's draft master plan, but this marked the first real opportunity for communication between the local grassroots and project planners. Most of the people I was interviewing took the opportunity to ask many questions about the Big South Fork project and to volunteer their own opinions. Although technically I was a subcontractor to the National Park Service Southeast Archeological Center, I worked directly with personnel from the Corps of Engineers, who ultimately would receive my report. Thus I was in a position to transmit local sentiment to the planners, and I felt duty bound to do so. In this paper I will describe and account for local objections to certain features of the project master plan and show how the region's cultural resources ultimately provided common ground for reconciling local interests with the planners' objectives.

Local Response to the Big South Fork Master Plan

Public hearings on the draft master plan were scheduled for September and October 1979. Two hearings in Tennessee were sparsely attended. Aside from dirt bikers and four-wheel drive enthusiasts who opposed the policy of closing roads in the gorge to vehicular traffic, few rose to speak at these meetings. So the planners were shocked and dismayed when they faced a torrent of criticism in Kentucky at the McCreary County hearing. After months of passing along unbidden various local concerns which I felt the planners should consider, now I was asked to look into the reasons for this protest and report my findings formally to the planners.

Debate centered on the site selected for the Kentucky lodge. Recommendations in a feasibility study prepared by contractors had led McCreary Countians to expect a lodge to be located near Blue Heron; however, the master plan placed the lodge several miles upstream at Bear Creek. The protesters argued that Bear Creek was so close to the Tennessee state line that visitors would approach the recreation area from the south and spend virtually no time and money in Kentucky. They also pointed out that it would be expensive to provide road access and utilities to the Bear Creek site, whereas existing services could be upgraded at Blue Heron. The planners countered that they had never indicated the lodge would be built at Blue Heron. Furthermore, there simply was not enough land on the bluffs overlooking Blue Heron to accommodate the lodge. Bear Creek, on the other hand, offered a stunning view of the river and ample construction space. Road improvements would be made on a route approaching the lodge from the north, through the county seat; there would be no direct public access from Tennessee. Not satisfied with this explanation, members of the McCreary County Hiking Club offered a third lodge site for consideration, this one located at the extreme northern end of the recreation area, near other scenic attractions and recreation facilities in the county.

Throughout the month of November, the weekly McCreary County Record reported the comings and goings of Corps of Engineer personnel who visited the three rival sites with various groups from the county. Some pointed correspondence with Washington even brought representatives of the Kentucky congressional delegation to join the site visits. Although these meetings did not alter the decision to locate the lodge at Bear Creek, they did open up a dialogue between locals and planners. Surprise over "relocation" of the lodge crystalized resentments that had been building for years, and the debate opened the way for constructive dialogue about the real issue: whether the recreation area has any responsibility to address local needs. Recall that local legislators originally sought a federal project to stimulate economic growth in a chronically depressed region. When the federal project was transformed from a hydroelectric dam into a recreation area, economic development goals were retained in theory, but in fact they were subordinated to environmental protection goals. Local citizens looked at the master plan and saw few benefits, economic or otherwise, accruing to themselves.

While overt protest was limited to a small group of activists, I was able to point out that their views were shared by a silent majority who had been convinced that the public hearings were merely a formality, that any attempt to modify the master plan to accommodate local interests would be futile. It is not surprising that the strongest opposition to the recreation area came from persons whose homes, farms, and timberland were acquired for prices they considered to be too low. But a broad cross-section of the populace resented management policies announced by the Park Service, particularly restriction of offroad vehicles and prohibition of hunting near developed sites. These policies were viewed as "locking up" the area, preventing local citizens from pursuing their accustomed recreational activities and substituting activities that appealed to outsiders-canoeing, whitewater rafting, backpacking, and equestrian camping. Most doubted that millions of visitors would be drawn to the recreation area for these purposes, but even if they came, such visitors would contribute little to the local economy. As one of the McCreary County protesters put it, "We don't need backpackers with their sunflower seeds and dried fruit who don't spend a nickel for nothing."3

Balanced against doubtful revenues from visitors, local residents saw their shrinking tax base as a definite liability. They pointed out that much of McCreary County already was national forest. When land acquisition for the recreation area was complete, over 70 percent of the county would be federal property. And at the same time land was being removed from the tax rolls, the county was being asked to assume the burden of providing services to the recreation area. The news that the Kentucky lodge would be built at Bear Creek added insult to injury. Now it seemed that instead of addressing McCreary County's special hardship, the planners were intent on bypassing Kentucky in favor of Tennessee. According to one protester, the Corps had chosen Bear Creek because it was "the closest to Tennessee they could get and still be in Kentucky."4 Moreover, the protesters thought that if the lodge were not located at Blue Heron, no development would occur at the old coal camp other than measures to protect the public from safety hazards posed by the abandoned tipple, bridge, and open mine shafts.

A preliminary design memorandum had proposed reconstruction of the tipple and part of the mine camp as an alternative to minimum maintenance at Blue Heron.⁵ These structures would house an interpretive center featuring the history of coal mining in the Big South Fork region. The railroad would be refurbished, permitting an excursion train to run the six miles from Stearns, Kentucky, to the interpretive center. Although the fate of Blue Heron was not in fact linked to placement of the lodge, the planners were still undecided about Blue Heron when the lodge debate began. Reconstruc-

tion on the scale envisioned in the design memorandum would be quite expensive, and one could assume that the newly elected Reagan administration would cut the budget for the Big South Fork project, certainly not increase it.

While weighing the alternatives for Blue Heron, the planners asked for my recommendation. Given what I had learned of the importance of coal mining in the region's history and the wealth of cultural resources that could contribute to the Blue Heron interpretive center, I favored the museum complex. But my support was not based solely on evaluation of data from the folklife survey. I also pointed out that there was enthusiastic local support for a coal mining museum at Blue Heron. Among the many retired coal miners I interviewed, skepticism about the Big South Fork project as a whole was often coupled with the feeling that Blue Heron could be a tribute to their hard work, a reminder for future generations of the hardships and joys that had marked their lives. Most also felt that the old Stearns Coal and Lumber Company should be remembered as it was in its heyday. Other McCreary Countians, particularly the protesters, saw the museum as a legitimate tourist attraction, one that could boost the local economy. It seemed to me that appropriate treatment of local culture at Blue Heron could secure some much-needed good will for the Big South Fork project, decrease the threat of vandalism, and increase the likelihood of voluntary compliance with Park Service management policies.

Planners' Response to Local Protest

Looking back, I cannot say what most impressed the planners: threat of political pressure from Washington, meetings with the protesters, or my assessment of more broadly based local sentiment. However, even before the final decision to keep the lodge at Bear Creek was announced, the Corps of Engineers had, according to one of the protesters, "promised to restore the Mine 18 Blue Heron mine and village and establish a museum."6 This promise was honored, and ultimately it proved to be more significant than the failed protest regarding the lodge site. Budget cuts forced a substantial scaling back of the Big South Fork project; only 110,000 acres will be acquired. Construction will be limited to a high bridge across the Big South Fork and associated road improvements, the trail system, five canoe access points, one large campground in Tennessee, and the Blue Heron complex (including a second campground) in Kentucky. It now appears unlikely that a lodge ever will be built at Bear Creek. Instead, the private sector will satisfy the demand for such accommodations.

Compromises also have been necessary at Blue Heron, but since the fall of 1982 when detailed planning for the Blue Heron interpretive center began, local citizens have been involved. Ideas for the interpretive exhibits were developed in a series of public workshops held at the McCreary County Library. Participants in these workshops have drawn many other local residents into the project to share their memories and

mementos—old photographs, scrapbooks, mining paraphernalia, and other artifacts of their own experience living and working at Blue Heron. Because this particular coal camp existed only from 1938 until 1963, oral history is a crucial element in interpreting the past. Instead of restoring the coal processing tipple and reconstructing other buildings at great cost, the planners have taken their cue from the naked steel structure of the tipple. A number of ghost structures will be erected on their original sites, and these will house appropriate graphic exhibits and audio speakers that will allow the former residents to tell their own story. In the words of the Blue Heron supplement to the master plan,

producing actual voices of residents in the interpretive facilities makes the local people an integral part of both the collection of the story, and its public presentation. This will, if effectively produced, encourage a popular support base for the interpretive elements of the Blue Heron site and for the entire project.⁷

Response to the Blue Heron plan and to the Corps of Engineers' new encouragement of public participation in planning has been enthusiastic. Even the economic issues that divided the planners and the public are now being addressed constructively. Instead of expecting the federal project and federal funds to remedy all of the county's economic woes, local officials and private citizens who have joined the Big South Fork Development Association are working with regional planning agencies to encourage private business ventures that will complement federal spending in the region.

Two examples relate directly to the Blue Heron complex. The Big South Fork Scenic Railway (an offshoot of the Kentucky and Tennessee) already operates excursion trains over 5.5 miles of K&T track from the town of Stearns to the river gorge. The Corps of Engineers will rehabilitate one abandoned bridge, reconstruct the old spur into Blue Heron (approximately onequarter mile of track), and build a depot near the tipple so that visitors can enter the Blue Heron site via train. All other aspects of operating and maintaining the Big South Fork Scenic Railway will remain the responsibility of the private corporation. Second, the town of Stearns is exploring means of turning the old Stearns Company office building, built in 1906, into a museum that would tell the story of Stearns Coal and Lumber Company, timbering, pioneer farming, and other aspects of local culture not related to coal mining. The Corps of Engineers supports these efforts, but the community will have to secure funds for design and construction from other sources and is now working toward this goal.

Local Interests and the National Interest

Planning for the Big South Fork recreation area raises a question which is fundamental to all national park planning: to

what extent should projects intended to serve the national interest accommodate local concerns? In the case of the Big South Fork recreation area, a primary purpose was conserving the natural environment. Abuses to the area such as acid runoff from strip mines, erosion caused by off-road vehicles, garbage dumping, poaching, and pothunting led planners to take the position that the national interest was best served by rescuing the area from its inhabitants. They saw a conflict between local and national interests, and their responsibility was to promote the national interest. This assumption worked while the planners were concerned with environmental protection, but they were also charged with preserving cultural values and promoting tourism to stimulate the local economy. These aspects of the recreation area plan were vitally linked to the interests of local people; and much to their credit, the planners gradually realized that these were legitimate interests.

When McCreary County citizens objected to the proposed location of the Kentucky lodge, they forced planners to justify their thinking and listen to competing ideas; but this dialogue, though more intense, basically followed the public hearing style of interaction. The lodge controversy did, however, lead planners to rethink the whole concept of public participation in planning. Thus when the Blue Heron interpretive center presented an opportunity for planners and the public to work together for a mutually desirable goal, the planners were ready to draw local citizens into genuine collaboration. The cynic might point out that success of the interpretive center's oral history program and exhibits depended on public support, but I prefer to think that the planners experienced a genuine change of heart in their evaluation of local culture. In losing the battle over the lodge, the citizens of McCreary County won the war.

Notes

- 1. U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, Nashville District, Big South Fork National River and Recreation Area, *Final Environmental Impact Statement* (Nashville: U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, 1976).
- 2. Detailed descriptions of the folklife survey can be found in previous publications listed in the bibliography.
- 3. McCreary County (Kentucky) Record, 27 November 1979, 7.
- 4. Ibid., 23 October 1979, 3.

- 5. U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, Nashville District, Big South Fork National River and Recreation Area, *General Design Memorandum* (Nashville: U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, 1976), 10:1-3.
- 6. McCreary County (Kentucky) Record, 27 November 1979, 1.7. Scruggs and Hammond, Inc., and GRW, Inc., for the U.S.
- 7. Scruggs and Hammond, Inc., and GRW, Inc., for the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, Big South Fork National River and Recreation Area, *Blue Heron Supplement to the Master Plan* (Nashville: U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, 1984), 25.

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Precis

Western Australia is the largest state in Australia (2,525,500 square kilometers). It occupies one-third of the Australian continent. The population, however, is only 1.4 million, with 75 percent located in the Perth metropolitan region. The remaining area represents a frontier in park and wilderness development which includes some of the country's most majestic scenery, in part still untouched by westerners but understood by Australian Aborigines in their unique way. Australia's administration is only now beginning to understand the complex and individual nature of the cultural and mystic relationship that exists between the Aboriginal and the land. This paper will demonstrate how this emerging understanding is now being developed.

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Australia occidental es el estado más grande de Australia (2.525.500 kilómetros cuadrados). Ocupa la tercera parte del continente australiano. La población de este territorio no alcanza sin embargo más que 1,4 millón de personas, donde 75% están concentrados en la aglomeración de Perth. El resto del estado, que encierra paisajes entre los más majestuosos de Australia y, donde una parte todavía no ha sido tocado por el hombre occidental, representa una frontera en el desarrollo de los parques y de las zonas naturales. Estos paisajes han

sido incluidos de una manera única por el Aborígen Australiano. La administración australiana comienza solamente a comprender la naturaleza compleja e individual de las relaciones culturales y místicas que existen entre el Aborígen y la tierra. Esta ponencia demostrará como esta comprensión naciente se desarrolla actualmente.

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L'Australie-Occidentale est l'état le plus vaste de l'Australie (2 525 500 kilomètres carrés). Il occupe le tiers du continent australien. La population de ce territoire n'atteint cependant que 1,4 million de personnes, dont 75% sont concentrées dans l'agglomération de Perth. Le reste de l'état, qui renferme des paysages parmi les plus majestueux de l'Australie et, dont une partie n'a pas encore été touchée par l'homme occidental, représente une frontière dans le développement des parcs et des zones naturelles. Ces paysages ont été compris de façon unique par l'Aborigène australien. L'administration australienne commence seulement à saisir la nature complexe et individuelle des relations culturelles et mystiques qui existent entre l'Aborigène et la terre. Cet exposé montrera comment cette compréhension naissante est actuellement développée.

Park Development in One Third of Australia

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Introduction

Australia, or "Down Under," as many probably know it, comprises a land area of 7,682,300 square kilometres, lying between latitudes 10° 41' South (Cape York) and 43° 39' South (Cape Tasmania) and between longitudes 113° 09' East (Sleep Point) and 153° 39' East (Cape Byron). It is about 3,180 kilometres from north to south and 4,000 kilometres east to west. Australia in area is almost as great as the United States, 50 percent greater than Europe (excluding the U.S.S.R.), and 32 times greater than the United Kingdom.

The average altitude of the Australian landmass is only about 300 metres with approximately 87 percent of the total landmass less than 500 metres and 99.5 percent less than 1,000 metres. The highest point is Mount Kosciusko (2,228 metres) and the lowest is Lake Eyre (-15 metres).

The climate is predominantly continental. It is relatively dry with 50 percent of the area having a median rainfall of less than 300 millimetres per year and 80 percent less than 600 millimetres. Extreme minimum temperatures are not as low as those recorded on other continents because of the absence of extensive mountain masses and the expanse of ocean to the south. However, extreme maxima are comparatively high, reaching 50° C inland, mainly due to the great east-west extent of the continent in the vicinity of the Tropic of Capricorn. During the summer, prolonged high temperatures and humidity around the northern coasts and high temperatures inland cause physical discomfort. In winter, low temperatures and strong cold winds over the interior and southern areas can be severe for relatively short periods.

Australia contains six states and two territories. Western

Australia is by far the largest of the states, being 2,525,500 square kilometres in area—approximately one-third of the whole of the Australian continent. It is also one of the least populated states, with 1.4 million of the total 15 million in Australia (1983 figures). Of the state's population, 75 percent live and work in the Perth metropolitan region, which is also the seat of government.

National Park Management

Within Western Australia, as of July of this year, there were fifty national parks and thirteen reserves under the responsibility of the National Parks Authority. The Authority is the last in a line of administrative bodies, beginning with the State Gardens Board which was formed on December 15, 1920, under the Parks and Reserves Act 1895. This board was replaced in 1956 by the National Parks Board, also under the Parks and Reserves Act, to control and manage the national parks and some other reserves. The National Parks Authority Act became law on August 1, 1976. With its proclamation, the National Parks Authority assumed the functions of the National Parks Board.

The National Parks Authority Act of 1976 controls the maintenance and management of national parks to preserve and enhance their natural beauty and allow for developing facilities for the enjoyment of that beauty by the community. This is the principal objective to which the Authority has aimed since its establishment.

The Indigenous Population and European Settlement

When Europeans first settled in Australia, the Aboriginal

population is believed to have numbered at least 300,000. They suffered a drastic decline in numbers over the next 145 years so that by 1933 the population was estimated to total about 67,000. In 1981, however, nearly 160,000 Aboriginals were counted in the census. The population of Australia reached 1 million in 1858, 5 million in 1918, 10 million in 1959, and 15 million towards the end of 1981.

The date of arrival of the ancestors of the Aborigines remains a matter of speculation. There is no doubt that they came from Southeast Asia, probably crossing during a time of low sea level. Possible routes were across the Timor Sea or through New Guinea to Cape York. An ability to cross by either route implies the use of some form of watercraft and it is generally held that the development of such skill postdated the evolution of man. For this reason it is held that Australia was not colonised during earlier periods. As sea levels were generally below the present level some 120,000 years ago, the crossing or crossings may have taken place at virtually any time within the period although most estimates place the crossings at between 50,000 to 58,000 years ago, or later, with not so low levels, from 30,000 to 39,000 years ago.

A population balance had apparently been attained long before European settlement and anthropologists accept that there were at least 250,000 to 300,000 Aborigines in Australia in 1788. They were divided into some 500 small groups, speaking a variety of languages and dialects. These groups, or tribes, were further divided into bands—families or clusters of family groups—who formed the basic self-sufficient economic unit and ranged within territorial limits as hunter-gatherers. Labour was divided between the sexes: the men hunted while the women foraged for yams, seeds, and small animals which formed a basic part of their subsistence.

When abundant food or water supplies were available or when ceremonial obligations demanded, local groups would congregate; in leaner times they scattered (i.e., go walkabout). Ceremonial exchanges of goods at these gatherings led to their wide dispersal. Religious and ceremonial activities related to the land were a vital part of Aboriginal life. For instance, there is evidence that they had developed the use of ochre as a ritual painting material as early as 25,000 years ago, and some forms of ritual burial were also practised at this time.

The Mystic Relationship

The Aboriginal relationship to land is based on a number of things:

- 1. Tribal association with certain lands through patrilineal descent, or upon extinction of the landowning tribe, a succession which is regarded "as a form of trusteeship, rather than a transfer of rights."
- 2. Belief that mythical things created many physical features in the landscape during the Dreaming (e.g., Kimberley Aborigines mystical beings called Wandjina whose "laws directly define Aboriginal life").²

- 3. Totemic relationships with various natural species and associated places. The noonkanbah dispute is a good example: the Aboriginal community believed that drilling on the site would kill mythical goannas living underground which in turn would cause the death of all goannas.
- 4. Rights to use and occupy, involving economic and residential activities often extending beyond tribal boundaries.
- 5. Spiritual belief that the spirit of an unborn child lives in a specific site to which it returns after death. The site is considered to be the source of the person's life force.

Endemic to these relationships are responsibilities to protect and maintain the land and its sacred sites, i.e., preserving land in its present state, gaining and passing on religious knowledge, and performing land-sustaining rituals.

Areas rich in rock art are extensive, e.g., the Kimberley Wandjina art region, the Pilbara rock engravings found on the Abydos-Woodstock Reserve, Depuch Island, Burrup Peninsula, around Dampier, and the Dampier Archipelago. Many animals dating from the last Ice Age (e.g., the Tasmanian tiger) are depicted.

In protecting these areas (in cultural parks or reserves) it is important to note that a site sacred to Aborigines may have no outward visible sign of relevance to the white community. It is essential that those areas which are not perceived as important to whites but are important to the Aboriginal community be preserved. Difficulty also arises in relation to secret sites, since Aborigines cannot divulge their location or information about them. Large areas need to be set aside without exposing their existence.

Traditional Aboriginal life was severely disrupted by the expansion of white settlement which caused loss of hunting grounds and desecration of sacred sites. It is not surprising, therefore, that land rights have become a controversial issue in the past decade. This controversy stems from the fundamental bond with land which has only recently been more clearly understood by non-Aborigines and has culminated in the "Aboriginal Land Inquiry" in Western Australia. The outcome of this inquiry may affect large tracts of land considered to be of significant cultural heritage. The potential number of sites could be more than 1 million, but baseline data are poor.³

Principles of Conservation Relevant to Aboriginal Sites

J. Flood (1979) stated that Aboriginal sites are a finite, nonrenewable, and fast-disappearing cultural resource—from rapid decay and erosion of sites exposed to the elements; rapid natural deterioration of rock paintings which are no longer repainted regularly by Aborigines as part of a living culture; looting by private collectors of skulls from burials and artifacts from occupation sites; vandalism; and the impossibility of physically protecting remote, widespread site complexes. She outlined the following principles of cultural resource management which are as applicable to Western Australian sites as to those in the rest of Australia:

- 1. Sites should not just be allowed to become used by tour operators or tourists but should be deliberately chosen for that purpose.
- 2. Factors such as possible adverse effects on local inhabitants and the site itself should be taken into account in the selection of sites for development.
- 3. In the case of Aboriginal sites, there should be close consultation with Aborigines at all times and they should, where possible, be involved extensively in the field of site conservation, development, and presentation. This is done in Western Australia with the use of Aboriginal wardens.
- 4. Sites already threatened by uncontrolled visits should be selected for development as protected tourist destinations in preference to remote unthreatened sites which should be kept as unknown as possible.
- 5. No site should be opened to the public until a detailed management plan has been prepared and implemented.
- 6. The diversionary aspect of opening one site tends to protect other similar sites in the vicinity.
- 7. Educating tourists, tour operators, and the general public concerning the heritage value and significance of sites is extremely important.
- 8. The acquisitive instinct is as strongly developed in humans as in magpies and most tourists want to take something away from a visit to a place. This instinct may be channeled into harmless activities by the sale of souvenirs, postcards, handicrafts, etc.

Flood cites vandalism as a special problem and proposes that methods for combating it are education and protecting sites through anonymity, physical protection, inaccessibility to vehicles, and distance and expense.

The physical barriers of distance and aridity within Australia itself were responsible in part for the cultural isolation and linguistic diversity of its people. European exploration and settlement was for most Aboriginal societies their first contact with an outside culture. The impact of this settlement led rapidly to the disappearance of the traditional Aboriginal way of life in those areas where the colonists established themselves most successfully. The history of the relationship between the indigenous Australian and the European has been ambivalent and the subject of much debate and recrimination. Suffice it to say that the dominant European view was paternalistic, tinged with mild selective scientific curiosity, and the legislation reflected this view.

Legislation

In the 1901 constitutional agreements, the commonwealth parliament was precluded from legislating on behalf of Aborigines or even counting them in a census. In the 1920s and 1930s, as the population continued to decline despite "protection," the state and federal governments were urged to take more positive action to improve the situation of the Aboriginals. A policy of assimilation was adopted on

designated Aboriginal reserves. With increased government expenditure on health services and housing, education, and training, the population decline by the 1950s was reversed and the number began to increase until, as the last available census figures show, there are now nearly 160,000 Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders in Australia.

In 1967 the national referendum seeking amendments to two clauses in the Australian constitution had far-reaching effects on the future role of government in aboriginal affairs. Over 90 percent of Australians voted to accept the amendments, the effect of which was that Aboriginals were to be counted in the census and the federal government was to include Aboriginals among "the people of any race" for whom it could pass, concurrently with the states, special laws.

The suggested aim of the referendum was to eradicate Australia's bad image by eliminating two clauses from the Australian constitution which discriminate against Aborigines: Section 127 which reads, "In reckoning the numbers of people of the Commonwealth or of a State or other part of the Commonwealth, Aboriginal native people shall not be counted;" and to delete the discriminatory words from the clause which reads in part, "The Parliament shall, subject to the Constitution, have power to make laws for peace, order and good Government of the Commonwealth with respect to the people of any race, other than the aboriginal race in any state."

No referendum was needed to enable the government to count the Aborigines and it has legislated for Aboriginal natives in the Northern Territory for nearly fifty years, but for the first time the commonwealth government had the power to legislate with respect to Aboriginals throughout Australia. This is seen as a benchmark in Aboriginal affairs.

Shortly after the referendum, the government set up an Office of Aboriginal Affairs, responsible directly to the prime minister, for the installation of special federal programmes of assistance for Aboriginals. This was followed in late 1972 with the establishment of the first separate Department of Aboriginal Affairs with its own minister and its own budget. Funds for Aboriginal affairs were thus greatly increased and the first steps taken towards granting land rights to Aboriginals.

Of all the injustices done to Aboriginals, dispossession of their traditional land is the loss they feel most keenly. Thus, the question of land rights is seen by many Aboriginals as the priority issue still to be resolved satisfactorily. This is particularly true in those states where Aboriginals do not have secure tenure of their reserve land.

The commonwealth government's Aboriginal Land Rights Act was proclaimed on January 26, 1977. The act provides for Aboriginals in the Northern Territory to gain title to existing reserve land and to make claim to other land—Aboriginal-owned pastoral leases and vacant Crown land—on the basis of traditional ownership. In introducing the legislation, the

government acknowledged the special cultural identity of the Aboriginal people within the life and laws of Australian society. It also acknowledged the affinity with the land that Aboriginals feel is fundamental to their sense of identity which characterises their traditional society.

The Dilemma

The dilemma facing Western Australia and indeed Australia as a whole is how it will resolve the competing demands on land use and whether the Aboriginal people will be given a type of land rights outside the current Torrens System. These decisions cannot be taken lightly when one sees the complex land tenure arrangements that already exist. Moreover, the ramifications will not be clear for some time until after any decision-making has taken place.

In Western Australia, the state government has tended to assert that its Aboriginal people are adequately protected under existing arrangements on reserve land and the other Aboriginal groups who hold pastoral leases (bought for them on occasion by the commonwealth government) should not expect to enjoy any special privileges, such as the right to negotiate mining arrangements, which are not enjoyed by other leaseholders. The current labor government has launched an inquiry into land rights, which will be reported in the near future.

New Direction

In 1972, the Environmental Protection Authority in Western Australia began to review land areas which might be reserved for the purposes of conservation reserves and national parks. For this purpose, the Authority set up a Conservation Through Reserves Committee (CTRC) and divided the state into twelve areas. The committee reported to the Authority over a period from 1975 to 1984. The techniques of investigation and public review were varied and changed according to circumstances. The processes of scientific and social investigation involved the Western Australian conservationists over a large geographical area. Following is some of the criteria used.

The proposed reserves should place Western Australia in conformity with the standards accepted throughout the world. These standards take into account reserve size and adequate representation of various ecological variations in the natural environment.

The Authority has been concerned that these standards should acknowledge the particular requirements of residents of this state. Accordingly, the Authority considers natural areas which are accessible to the public to be managed by three authorities, each having different skills and responsibilities:

The National Parks Board, which has as its principal role maintaining in an aesthetically pleasing state those areas of Western Australia which have and should have important recreational facilities and which are dedicated as national parks and vested in the Board.

The Western Australian Wild Life Authority, which as its principal role maintains scientifically interesting and valuable representative associations of native plants and animal populations in reserves under its control.

The Forests Department, whose primary function is the exclusive control and management of the 1.9 million hectares of state forest and timber reserves in Western Australia. In general, the concept of multiple-use management is adopted. Provision is made for protecting water catchments, conserving flora and fauna, providing access and facilities for public recreation, and developing tourist attractions in the state forests.

In light of the above, the Authority has seen it appropriate that in all areas of the state, the lands vested should be so distributed among authorities that the interests of the public and the scientific community are looked after by those appropriately qualified and financed to perform these tasks. Further, the Authority noted that the desert reserves proposed by CTRC are very extensive and felt that considering large size is the only way to take into account the following peculiarities of desert ecosystems:

- 1. Many of the rarer floral and faunal elements of the ecosystem are very sparsely distributed. Large areas are needed to ensure their inclusion in the reserve.
- 2. The desert ecosystems are subject to natural catastrophe, e.g., fire and drought of varying intensity and extent.
- 3. Natural regeneration following such normal catastrophes are by means of plant successional stages which in the desert environment are slow and of long duration, and of course different plants develop and regenerate at different rates.
- 4. Much of the diversity found within the desert ecosystems can be attributed in part to differences in age of the regeneration following natural disturbances in the distant past.
- 5. Desert ecosystems are finely and delicately balanced, and management can only be achieved by allowing natural processes to proceed at natural intervals and rates without significant human modifications of a natural quasi-equilibrium situation.

Accordingly, the Authority has supported the CTRC in its recommendation for large reservations in the semi-arid and arid desert areas where the size of these reservations must be regarded as realistic.

Department of Conservation and Natural Land Management

In mid-1983, the state government announced the formation of a task force on land resource management in Western Australia. In January 1984 the task force presented its report to the government, and in July a new Department of Conservation and Natural Land Management was established with appropriate legislation.

The task force believed that a major improvement in efficiency and coordination could be achieved by incorporating agencies concerned with public land management and

associated research into one governmental organisation. It proposed the formation of a Department of Conservation and Natural Land Management, which would incorporate the Forests Department, the National Parks Authority, and the wildlife section of the Department of Fisheries and Wildlife, and administer the Waterways Commission, the Kings Park Board, the Bush Fires Board, and smaller elements of other agencies involved in land management or natural resources research. The new department would be responsible for management and advice to the government on disposing of land currently vested in the Forests Department, the Western Australian Wildlife Authority, and the National Parks Authority, and of vacant Crown land and nonvested reserves. It would be responsible for land management planning of Rottnest Island and coordinating management of the regional parks. It would have statewide responsibility for management and research for wildlife and would provide land management expertise to other public agencies and the community as

The major features of the new department would be: 1) a commission consisting of one full-time director and two part-time commissioners; 2) policy-forming groups concerned with recreation in the national parks, conservation of nature, and forest production, each headed by a conservator; 3) corporate departmental policy formation by the commission, the deputy director, assistant director (research), and the three conservators; 4) operations based on integration of land management services at regional centres throughout the state; and 5) land management according to plans which would be open for public comment and subject to formal approval.

The task force further proposed the establishment of a Land Resource Policy Council chaired by the Director-General of the Department of Premier and Cabinet and comprised of representatives of government departments who have a responsibility for land resource management or land use. The council will be serviced by an executive support group. The Land Resource Policy Council's primary role will be to coordinate government land use and management policies and to ensure that regional land use plans are in accordance with them.

Conclusion

Much is expected of this new departmental structure and no doubt the staff who will make up the organisation will work in a positive and creative way. However, they face immense problems in the overall management of land in Western Australia under existing pressures.

I hope I have given you an impression of the scope of the problem of park development in one-third of Australia. I may not have been able to take you further than other speakers on the matter of cultural parks, but I believe until the controversy on Aboriginal land rights within the Australian community is resolved, it is unlikely that the significant Aboriginal contribution to Australian cultural wealth will find expression. I have no doubt that action to precipitate the creation of such parks would be seen as inopportune tokenism at this particular time and in the extreme by interest groups. Until then, we in Australia have to rely on the European "Cultural Parks" of Ballarat which look remarkably like examples seen in the American "Wild West" that you know so well.

Notes

- 1. "Aboriginal Land Rights in the Northern Territory," Department of Aboriginal Affairs, p. 15.
 - 2. M.E. Lofgren, "Patterns of Life," p. 5.
- 3. Museum data: numbers registered between 1979 and 1983 = 4,300; total registered as of June 1984, +9,250 sites.

Precis

In 1838 George Catlin, the early American artist and ethnographer, proposed creating a national park system as a way to maintain American Indian cultures. Catlin's proposal was ahead of his times. The national park concept was not crystallized for another thirty-two years, and then focused upon preserving natural wonders. The National Park Service still does not explicitly recognize the preservation of Indian cultures as a major park mission.

But the national parks seem to be playing some role in the reawakening and revitalization of American Indian cultures. In fact, the recent expansion of the size and mission of the National Park System has led to a park role quite like Catlin envisioned almost 150 years ago. This paper surveys some of the ways in which the parks of the Southwest affect Indian fortunes. Some of the important relationships are as follows: 1) the national parks of the Southwest are important outlets for Indian arts and crafts, providing livelihoods to traditional craftsmen, and stimulating markets elsewhere; 2) of the 33 park units in the area, 24 have significant interpretive programs about contemporary Indians, 7 parks host festivals and powwows; 3) at least half of the park units in the Southwest protect religiously significant sites for contemporary Indians; and 4) under various authorities, subsistence harvesting and uses occur in many of these parks. In these ways and more the National Park Service is affecting the future of American Indian cultures.

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En el 1838, George Catlin, uno de los primeros artistas y etnógrafos americanos, propuso crear un sistema de parques nacionales como medio de conservar las culturas de los indígenas americanos. La propuesta de Catlin era avanzada para su época. Durante treinta años, el concepto del parque nacional no se cristalizó, luego se concentrará en la preservación de maravillas naturales. El Servicio de Parques Nacionales (National Park Service) no reconoce todavía explícitamente la preservación de las culturas indígenas como una misión capital del parque.

Pero, los parques nacionales parecen desempeñar un papel en el despertar y la revitalización de las culturas de los indígenas americanos. De hecho, la expansión reciente del tamaño y de la misión del Sistema de Parque Nacional ha conducido a un papel de parques hechos tal como Catlin había imaginado hace casi 150 años. Esta ponencia examina cada uno de las maneras por las cuales los parques del sudoeste afectan los destinos de los indígenas. Algunas de las relaciones importantes son las siguientes: 1) los parques nacionales del

sudoeste representan mercados importantes para el arte y la artesanía indígenas, proveeyendo así los medios de existencia de los artesanos tradicionales y estimulando los mercados en otros lugares; 2) entre los 33 parques de la región, 24 tienen programas interpretativas significativos sobre los indígenas contemporáneos, 7 parques patrocinan festivales y "powwows"; 3) un mínimo de 50% de los parques del sudoeste protegen los sitios religiosos significativo para los indígenas contemporáneos; y 4) en función de diversad autoridades, cosechas para su propia subsistencia y el uso de parques toma lugar en un buen número de estos parques. De estas maneras y para las que siguen, el Servicio de Parques Nacionales afectan el futuro de las culturas de los indígenas de América.

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En 1838, George Catlin, un des premiers artistes et ethnographes américains, proposa de créer un système de parcs nationaux comme moyen de conserver les cultures des Indiens d'Amérique. La proposition de Catlin était en avance sur son époque. Pendant trente années encore, le concept de Parc National ne se cristallisera pas, puis se concentrera sur la préservation des merveilles naturelles. Le Service des Parcs Nationaux (*National Park Service*) ne reconnaît toujours pas explicitement la préservation des cultures indiennes comme une mission capitale du parc.

Mais, les parcs nationaux semblent jouer un rôle dans le réveil et la revitalisation des cultures des Indiens d'Amérique. En fait, l'expansion récente de la taille et de la mission du Système de Parc Nationaux a conduit à un rôle des parcs tout à fait tel que Catlin l'avait imaginé il y a presque 150 ans. Cet exposé examine quelques-unes des façons par lesquelles les parcs du Sud-Ouest affectent les destinées des Indiens. Quelques-unes des relations importantes sont les suivantes: 1) les parcs nationaux du Sud-Ouest représentent des débouchés importants pour l'art et l'artisanat indiens, fournissant ainsi des moyens d'existence aux artisants traditionnels et stimulant les marchés dans d'autres endroits; 2) parmi les 33 parcs de la région, 24 ont des programmes interprétatifs significatifs sur les Indiens contemporains, 7 parcs accueillent des festivals et des "pow-wows"; 3) au minimum 50% des parcs du Sud-Ouest protègent des sites religieux significatifs pour les Indiens contemporains; et 4) en fonction des diverses autorités, des moissons pour leur propre subsistance et l'usage des parcs ont lieu dans bon nombre de ces parcs. De ces manières et par d'autres encore, le Service des Parcs Nationaux affecte le futur des cultures des Indiens d'Amérique.

American Indians and the National Parks of the Southwest

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In 1838, George Catlin, the early American artist, ethnographer, and friend of American Indians, proposed the creation of a national park as a way to protect and preserve American Indian cultures. He proposed to establish a home for native tribes on a wide strip of the western plains, grazed by great herds of wild buffalo which would support them. Catlin is quoted as saying:

What a splendid contemplation, when one imagines them as they might in future be seen, preserved in their pristine beauty and wildness, in a magnificent park where the world could see for ages to come, the native Indian in his classic attire, galloping his wild horse, with sinewy bow, and shield and lance, amid the fleeting herds of elk and buffalos. What a beautiful and thrilling specimen for America to preserve and hold up to the view of her refined citizens and the world in future ages. A Nation's Park containing man and beast, in all the wild and freshness of their nature's beauty.¹

His rhetoric is a little florid for our day.

For a short period Catlin was a significant voice in Washington, championed by people like Henry Clay and Daniel Webster. His proposal initially was greeted with interest and enthusiasm, but it went nowhere.

Catlin was ahead of his times in a number of ways. He was promoting the development of a national park some thirty-two years before the Washburn-Doane expedition into Yellowstone, which is usually credited as the genesis of the national park concept. He was also promoting a park system

which would use the park as a haven not only for protecting natural features but also to preserve existing Indian cultures—a park mission still not coherently acknowledged by the U.S. National Park Service. National parks were first created without regard to existing Indian peoples although living Indians have been a major part of the romance and attraction of many of the national parks at least from the earliest days of the National Park Service (NPS).

Catlin's proposal in 1838 was based upon a widely shared premise of the time and long thereafter. Without a substantial (and unlikely) benevolent change in U.S. policy, Indian peoples and cultures were doomed to destruction. His whole career was devoted to preserving a record of those "vanishing" peoples. But Catlin was clearly mistaken in his expectation that Indians would vanish from the United States. Despite fifty years of warfare, followed by another fifty years when Indians lost their land and prerogatives as independent cultures, American Indians as individuals and as cultures have survived. They have regained land and their prerogatives. Within the last twenty years there has been a significant revitalization of Indian cultures, and American Indians have become an important and powerful force in American political life, particularly over issues involving natural resources—land, fisheries, water, etc.

Neither the survival nor this reawakening was predicted nor is it well understood today. What caused this reawakening? What are the sources of political power for American Indians? While the sources of support and power are surely diffuse, I believe that the National Park System has been and is playing a modest but significant role in the maintenance and

revitalization of American Indians. For despite the lack of a formal general mission to protect and preserve contemporary American Indian cultures, the expansion of the National Park Service in both size and mission in recent decades has led to a park role—or so it seems to me—which is very much like what George Catlin envisioned almost 150 years ago.

I believe that the NPS is playing a significant and basically positive role in supporting Indian efforts, but I also believe that the Park Service could, with modest effort, become an even more positive force for American Indians. I would like to focus on park relations with Indian groups in the southwestern United States in considering the hypothesis that the national parks are a significant force in Indian life. But first it should be clear that there are intense and significant dependencies between national park units and Indian groups in virtually all parts of the country. In fact, the new park units in Alaska actually have mission statements concerning protection of both natural values and traditional cultures in interaction which could have been written by Catlin, if they were just a bit more flowery.

It is not only in the Southwest that traditional Indian peoples actually live within national parks. A Shoshone band, only recently acknowledged as a political entity, lives within Death Valley National Monument in California. The Miccosukee live in the Everglades and Big Cypress in Florida. The reverse pattern is also very common. There are park units located within Indian lands not only at places like Canyon de Chelly, Navajo National Monument, Hubbell Trading Post on the Navajo Reservation, and the Pipe Spring National Monument on the Kaibab Paiute Reservation in this region of the country, but also at places like Grand Portage in Minnesota, the mainland section of Apostle Islands in Wisconsin, the south unit at Badlands, South Dakota, etc. So Indian-park relations are extensive and important throughout this land, not just in the Southwest. This survey, however, examines relations in the old Hispanic Southwest.

I have surveyed Indian-park relations from parks in west Texas (i.e., Chamizal in El Paso) west to Lake Mead in Nevada. This is a total of some forty southwestern park units (within three separate National Park Service regions). I began the survey by reviewing planning and environmental documents for these parks. On that basis I eliminated seven that did not seem to have any mission or likely involvement with contemporary American Indians. I left in this southwestern sample all the major park units (operationally, all the national parks and national recreation areas) even if there was no obvious Indian connection. I have done fieldwork in most of the remaining thirty-three units, interviewing Park Service staff and Indians where possible, and I have conducted a survey in all of them. This work has convinced me that a lot of little things add up to quite a big thing.

How do the parks affect the fortunes of contemporary American Indians? Let me highlight some aspects of this relationship.

1. The Parks as Outlets for Indian Arts and Crafts. At most park units and at all the major parks in the Southwest (all the parks with concessionaires providing lodging or meals) Indian arts and crafts are sold. Please note that such sales are important at all parks in the region with concessions, whether they are ostensibly cultural with an Indian theme (Hubbell Trading Post) or not (Carlsbad Caverns, the Grand Canyon, Petrified Forest, Zion).

In the aggregate these sales bring in a considerable amount, that is clear. And the sales of Indian products by park concessions have a ripple effect because the parks initially expose far more tourists to Indian arts and a valuable part of Indian life than are ever reached at trading posts on the reservations or even in places like Santa Fe, Taos, and Sedona. This indirectly helps create markets throughout the country and the world.

Sale of Indian arts and crafts is also valued for the income it provides to the tribes and artists. It also provides a means of livelihood and support based upon traditional values (distorted to some degree, it must be noted, but still not imposing the lifestyle requirements of a Euro-American vocation). Finally, it reflects a part of Indian life which is significantly related to tribal and individual self-esteem and to tribal history, customs, and religion.

The NPS concession policy on Indian arts and crafts is not without its flaws and problems. Despite what seems to me to be haphazard NPS involvement in quality control of Indian arts and crafts, the quality of the Indian products sold by park concessions is quite consistently high. In recent years there have been only two park unit outlets for Indian arts and crafts in the Southwest where to my eye the quality of the goods was suspect. One was at Bandelier where there is now a new concession and I understand the quality of goods is high. The other was at Montezuma Castle, where the sales outlet is in a building outside the park, built and operated by the Yavapai-Apache and not really subject to NPS control.

If the quality of Indian arts and crafts is quite uniformly high, there is also quite a uniformity in the arts and craft offerings. Art of Navajo, Hopi, Papago, and about three Rio Grande Pueblos are featured at parks throughout the region. That is undoubtedly because of the artistry and workmanship of these people. But it would be possible and I think desirable to promote a wider array of arts and crafts, particularly including arts and crafts of Indians from in and around the individual parks. For instance, to bring it close to home, two Indian trading posts in the Cortez, Colorado, area-just down the line—have traditional Ute Indian flutes, which are carved by an Indian man living on the Ute Mountain Reservation adjoining Mesa Verde. He seems to be the only flute carver presently working in this area. I think it would be desirable to have his flutes for sale here and at Far View in Mesa Verde Park. This is desirable for a number of reasons, among them

helping to keep the skill from dying out. This park does not feature Ute beadwork either. That is the type of thing I advocate, geared more to the Indian products produced right near the parks.

Another issue of Indian arts and crafts sales within the parks peaked about a year ago, but still persists. This concerns Indians coming into the parks, laying down a blanket in the back of a pickup or on the ground at some pull-off, and commencing to sell beads, jewelry, and other things. This has been a tremendous nuisance to the Park Service, and to some tourists, but a significant source of revenue for some poor Indians.

The issue—the invasion—has been most pronounced at Grand Canyon, but it is reported to have occurred to some extent at about twenty different park units in the Southwest. There has been a tremendous range of (inconsistent) park response to this, from arrests at places like Grand Canyon and Petrified Forest to letting them sell their wares to allowing the numbers to be controlled by market forces at other parks. Because these sales are of such economic value to many Indians, because they can be rendered environmentally benign, and because the park visitors for the most part like them, I advocate the creation of Indian marketplaces within developed areas of parks. This obviously is not an easy matter, given existing agreements with non-Indian concessions for exclusive sales rights within parks, but nevertheless desirable.

2. Interpretive Programs. In at least twenty-four of the thirty-three parks which constitute the southwestern sample, there are significant interpretive programs on contemporary Indian cultures and issues, not counting historical Indian or Indian-European issues or the interpretation of prehistoric Indians. Parenthetically, the NPS in 1982 developed an elaborate set of themes, including Indian themes, to be interpreted at specific parks. I discerned little or no relationship between what is actually being done at the parks and the provisions in that interpretation plan.

From listening to many talks by seasonal rangers and reviewing far too many "interpreter prospectuses" and "statements for interpretation," it seems clear that the messages being sent out by the National Park Service are relatively well informed and quite sympathetic to the Indians. Indians are used as part of the interpretive program at two-thirds of the parks in the southwestern sample in a variety of ways—from staff interpreters to crafts demonstrators.

Indian arts and crafts demonstrations are one of the weakest or at least most unstable parts of the interpretive program. Frequently they are scheduled and then cancelled because of cost or some other reason. They do not produce a predictable source of work or income for craftsmen and artists. But they are very valuable and very popular when done right.

Indian fiestas, festivals, and powwows occur at seven different park units in the Southwest. These are pan-Indian and sometimes Hispanic-Indian events featuring contests, dances, sales, and fellowship, with Anglo observers and buyers

welcome. Fiestas, festivals, and powwows are important cultural events for contemporary Indians and the seven Park Service ones are among the most significant in the region. These events could profitably be expanded to other units.

3. Protecting Religiously Significant Sites. At the core of many Indian cultures is a deep spirituality involving a mystical relationship between Indians and the land in general and specific features of the land in particular. Many specific sites of religious significance to contemporary American Indians are protected on lands administered by the Park Service. Religiously significant sites managed by other agencies have not fared as well.

NPS informants report that they protect sacred sites at sixteen of the thirty-three park units in the Southwest—to their knowledge. Indians could surely identify more sites if they would. The need for secrecy no doubt shields the importance of many additional sites. But significant known ones include Spider Rock in Canyon de Chelly, the home of Spider Woman; the Stone Lions of Bandelier, of importance to Cochiti, San Ildefonso, and other Pueblo people; Montezuma's Well within the Montezuma Castle National Monument, where the Hopi water clan emerged; and the Hopi salt deposits in the Grand Canyon. Incidentally, the NPS also protects and preserves active Indian Christian shrines in at least two southwestern units—Tumacacori, to which the Papago return; and Pecos, to which the Pecos descendants also return.

4. Protecting and Providing for Special Uses. Subsistence harvesting and use occurs in many park units. These include Apache acorn harvesting at Fort Bowie; Navajo piñon harvesting at Walnut Canyon; Papago and Pima harvesting cactus fruit at Oregon Pipe Cactus and Saguaro National Monuments; Havasupai and Paiute gathering minerals in the Grand Canyon; Navajo medicine men gathering plants and seeds at a variety of park units. These are special uses only available to Indians. Bandelier National Monument seems to be the only unit in the sample which has denied requests for such uses by Indians in recent times. In most cases this type of use is significant for cultural and religious purposes. There also appears to be some slight increase in the number of Indians seeking to use spiritual sites in the southwestern parks, particularly at Anasazi ruins, for vision quests and the like. Park superintendents and other park employees seem to be entirely tolerant and supportive of such use, a far cry from what were often government practices vis à vis Indian religious activities in the past.

These types of activities and uses of the parks by American Indians seem to be significant in the ongoing and important cultural revitalization of American Indians. That is the good news. But there also are some real shortcomings, frustrations, and even failings in Indian-park relations. Interestingly, the difficulties and failures which occur and seem significant are not what you might expect. The major problems as I see them are not primarily over border trespassing of Indian stock on-

to park lands, the American Indian Religious Freedom Act demands to take eagles for ceremonial purposes, or demands for the return of artifacts and disturbance to Indian burial sites. The major failings, as far as I can see, are in such matters as employment practices of the National Park Service, the unsuccessful and abortive efforts of the Park Service to assist Indians in developing the recreational and cultural resources on Indian lands adjoining or related to national park units, and the almost total lack of any developed advisory relationship between park superintendents and Indian tribal leaders, even at units where the Indian interest is obvious.

There are a fair number of Indian employees in the national parks working for both the concessionaires and the Park Service. While most are seasonal and/or relatively unskilled positions, there are Indians who supervise park units and hold other professional positions. From observation, I would guess that there are more Indians at all levels in the southwestern parks than either Hispanics or blacks. The NPS may well be achieving its affirmative action goals. But the failure comes in the opportunities lost. I could discover no projects linking particular Indian employees with the lands or areas under Park Service control which were somehow special to those particular Indian groups, say, in protection of former homelands or spiritually important sites. Sensitive recruitment of trail crews and seasonals could contribute far more to maintaining and restoring tribal values and connections while probably improving services at the same time.

In a number of cases the Park Service has committed to assist tribes in the development of recreational areas and cultural and natural features on Indian lands, usually where there is a relationship to nearby park lands. While written plans are sometimes prepared, and the Park Service has surely helped the Navajo Nation in developing the Monument Valley Tribal Park, its gem, basically these assistantship programs have done

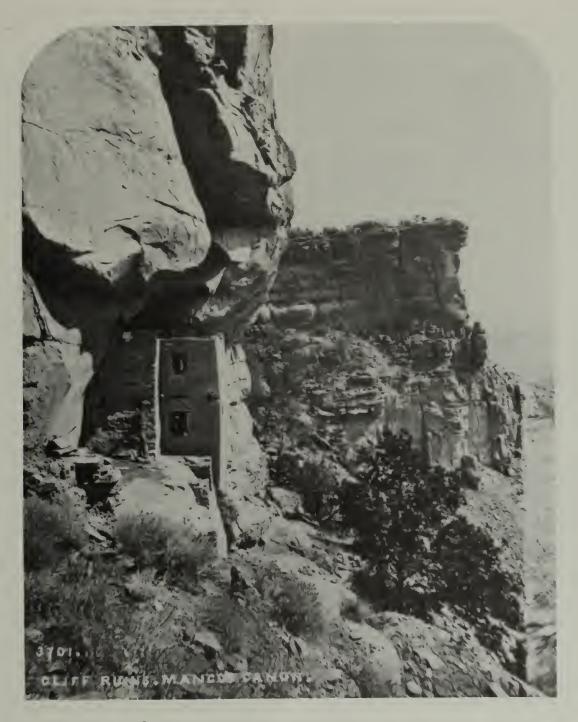
very poorly in the Southwest. There are many reasons for these failures, but a lack of Park Service commitment and follow-through is apparent.

While there are special relations between Indian tribes and a great many of the parks in the Southwest, there are no satisfactory consulting or advisory systems whereby Indian values and concerns are regularly presented to park superintendents. An advisory panel is being implemented at Canyon de Chelly at this time. But the Indian relations specialist at Grand Canyon has recently taken different employment. Only in the regional office at Santa Fe does there seem to be any senior Park Service staff who appear to have widespread trust relations with many Indian leaders. There are no southwestern analogues to the Alaska subsistence resource commissions, nor even to the Native American advisory committees in some of the California National Parks (Redwood and Santa Monica Mountains). The value of such consultation is clear and its absence is a large problem to Native Americans at many parks in the Southwest. Few Park Service people even note its absence.

So there are a number of areas where there is room for improvement in National Park Service-Indian relations in the parks of the Southwest. These issues can be addressed if first, there is a broader awareness of the importance of the national parks for American Indians, and second, a realization of how vital American Indians are to the success of the National Park Service. This paper has tried to highlight some of those interdependencies.

Notes

1. Loyd Haberly, Pursuit of the Horizon: A Life of George Catlin, Painter and Recorder of the American Indian (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1948).



Cliff ruins at Mancos Canyon

Precis

The Yami of Orchid Island are an aboriginal people of Polynesian origin who live on a small island approximately sixty kilometers off the southeast coast of Taiwan. They support themselves primarily by wet farming of taro and fishing from small plank-built boats. They have no written language and only a small number of pictographs. They are generally a peace-loving society, communal in structure with no formal island-wide leaders. The 1983 Yami population was 2,756, distributed over six coastal villages.

In the last twenty years, the lives of the Yami have changed considerably. The Yami are caught between their traditional culture and the modern world. Like aboriginal people all over the world, the transition into modern society has been and is a painful experience that has disrupted their social structure and population. If present trends continue, much of the traditional Yami culture will perish with the existing older generation. The government of Taiwan is committed to providing the Yami with the benefits of the modern state in housing, health, education, and industry. The government is also committed, through the Council on Cultural Planning and Development, to preserving Yami culture and heritage. In the past, government policy has suffered from a lack of direction and overlapping jurisdictions in dealing with the Yami. Future success will depend upon centralized and coordinated government planning.

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Los Yami de las Islas Orquídeas son un pueblo aborígen, de origen Polinesio que vive en una pequeña isla aproximadamente 60 kilómetros lejos de la coste sureste de Taiwan. Ellos sobreviven principalmente por el cultivo inundable de taro y por la pesca realizado sobre pequeños barcos en tablones. No tienen un idioma escrito y sólo tienen un pequeño número de pictografías. Ellos fomentan generalmente una sociedad que ama la paz, de estructura comunal y sin jefe. La población de los Yami (2.756 habitantes en 1983) está repartida en seis pueblos costeñas.

En el curso de los últimos veinte años, la vida de los Yami ha cambiado considerablemente. Los Yami están presos entre su cultura tradicional y el mundo moderno. A la imagen de los pueblos aborígenes en el mundo, la transición a la sociedad moderna ha sido y es una experiencia dolorosa que ha perturbado sus estructuras sociales tanto como la población. Si las tendencias actuales prosiguen, mucha de la cultura tradi-

cional de los Yami desaparecerá con la generación más anciana que vive ahora. El gobierno de Taiwan se ha comprometido a hacer beneficiar a los Yami de las ventajas de un estado moderno en alojamiento, la salubridad, la educación y la industria. El gobierno también se ha comprometido, por el intermediario del Consejo de Planificación y de Desarrollo Cultural (Council on Cultural Planning and Development), a preservar la cultura y el patrimonio de los Yami. En el pasado, la política del gobierno ha sufrido de la falta de dirección y del encaballamiento de jurisdicciones de sus relaciones con los Yami. El éxito futuro reposerá sobre una planificación gubernamental centralizada y coordinada.

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Les Yami des Îles Orchidées sont un peuple aborigène, d'origine Polynésienne, qui vit dans une petite île à environ 60 kilomètres au large de la côte sud-est de Taiwan. Ils subviennent eux-mêmes à leurs besoins principalement par la culture inondée de taro et par la pêche réalisée sur des petites barques en planches. Îls n'ont pas de langue écrite et n'ont qu'un petit nombre de pictogrammes. Ils forment généralement une société aimant la paix, ayant des structures communales et sans chef. La population des Yami (2756 habitants en 1983) est répartie dans six villages côtiers.

Au cours des vingt dernières années, la vie des Yami a considérablement changé. Les Yami sont pris entre leur culture traditionnelle et le monde moderne. A l'image des peuples aborigènes dans le monde, la transition en société moderne a été une expérience douloureuse qui a perturbé leurs structures sociales ainsi que la population. Si les tendances actuelles se poursuivent, beaucoup de la culture traditionnelle des Yami disparaîtra avec la génération plus âgée qui vit encore. Le gouvernement de Taiwan s'est engagé à faire bénéficier les Yami des avantages d'un état moderne dans le domaine du logement, de la santé, de l'éducation et de l'industrie. Le gouvernement s'est engagé, par l'intermédiaire du Conseil de Planification et de Développement Culturel (Council on Cultural Planning and Development), à préserver la culture et le patrimoine des Yami. Par le passé, la politique du gouvernement a souffert d'un mangue de direction et du chevauchement des juridictions dans leurs relations avec les Yami. Le succès futur reposera sur une planification gouvernementale centralisée et coordonnée.

The Yami of Orchid Island: Past Problems and Future Hopes of Government Policy

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Yami Culture

Orchid Island (Lanyu) is shaped roughly like a fist. The island is volcanic in origin and the highest point is Huntou Mountain (548 meters). Most of the island is steeply sloping except along the coast where agriculture and settlement are concentrated.

The Yami live in small villages divided by households. Their traditional residences are unique in design and each has several units. A cellar dug into the ground, a workshop and a covered porch mounted on posts, and the courtyard are the essential living spaces in their basic daily life. In the summer heat, they spend most of their time on their porches.

Several activities of Yami economic life are communal, including boat-building, home construction, village repairs, and certain types of seasonal agricultural work. Boat-building is a central part of Yami culture. Preparations for building and launching a new boat are begun three years in advance.

The boats are canoe-shaped with high pointed sterns and bows painted red, black, and white. The plank-built boats are made with twenty-four planks and three keel pieces but no nails. They are small and flexible for use near the shore along the coral reefs. The boat-launching festival includes the gathering and display of taro, ritual pig slaughtering, expiation of evil spirits, and a communal launching of the craft. The fishing season lasts from March until June and the primary catch is flying fish.

The Yami are a peace-loving society, the only aborigines in Taiwan without formal leadership, and so communal that they share foods and labor. The Yami are said to be the center of the taro culture in Southeast Asia. Agricultural production,

mostly taro cultivation in wet fields, is women's responsibility. Children are left with fathers or grandparents. Men do the cooking.

Traditional Yami life is governed by ritual and superstition. There are rules about which kinds and size of fish various social groups may consume, about burial, and about travel at night. (For more information, see De Beauclair, 1970.) The material culture of the Yami is complex and has been discussed extensively by Chen (1968).

Government Policy and Problems on Orchid Island

During the Japanese occupation, the Japanese left the Yami alone, both because they resisted attempts at administration and because the isolation of the island made them no threat to Japanese control of Taiwan. The Japanese posted two policemen on the island and allowed professors to conduct anthropological research for up to six months at a time.

In the early 1960s, the government of Taiwan began to assert control over Orchid Island. It improved the port facilities and later constructed an airstrip. It placed the administration of the island under the local provincial government of Taitung, the closest large city on the island of Taiwan.

Government policy was aimed at making the Yami, and the other aborigines who together make up 2 percent of Taiwan's population, part of the Chinese society thriving on Taiwan. Government policy was the same for all nine aboriginal groups; the government did not differentiate among them. Because of the paternalistic nature of government aid to the aborigines, housing, electrification, and public works projects were uncoordinated. Part of this was due to the lack of any

formal leadership structure in Yami society. Further complicating matters was the overlapping jurisdiction of various government agencies. With no centralized and coordinated government direction, different agencies often worked at cross purposes, leading to the lack of a coherent government policy for the people of Orchid Island. Preparations for formulating a unified and coordinated policy are now in process and will be discussed in the next section.

While the island has been mostly undeveloped, several government projects have been undertaken. For fifteen years there was a prison on the island but recently the prison site has been abandoned. VACRS (Vocational Assistance Committee for Retired Servicemen) had several agriculture projects on the island introducing rice and vegetable farming techniques to improve local diets. An ambitious harbor construction project is now underway to widen, deepen, and expand the harbor at Yeyu. The objective of the project is to provide a supply station and a safe harbor from summer typhoons for the Chinese commercial fishing fleet from Taitung.

The government has built more than 500 units of public housing for the Yami. The housing units are concrete blocks in a western geometric pattern. Eighty percent of the Yami, all but the older people, now live in these housing units. Many units have been modified by the addition of traditional elements of Yami architecture such as the summer porch on posts or a covered "garage" for their boats. All of the housing costs are paid by the government. The housing has not been satisfactory because of its unimaginative design: it is hotter in the summer and colder in the winter than the traditional Yami design. The Langtoo and Yehyin villages are still maintained in good shape, where traditional Yami houses are preferred by the older people. However, the preservation of these houses is threatened by the custom that, on a parent's death, the sons tear down the existing home and build a new one.

The government has attempted to improve Yami fishing techniques, but the program has not been a success. The government provides money for power motors for the boats, but the Yami have not taken advantage of the increased fishing mobility gained from power motors because their traditional reef-fishing practices involve communal groups of fishermen. In addition, the beaches are not suitable for landing power craft. Landing facilities would first have to be constructed at much greater cost.

Agricultural improvement is limited by the steepness of the topography and the limited amount of land.

The government has constructed four primary schools on the island, from kindergarten through ninth grade. Students must attend senior high school on Taiwan. Education is compulsory for nine years. The curriculum is the same as that used on Taiwan and there is no present attempt to educate the children about Yami culture or heritage. So far, only two Yami have graduated from college and two are presently enrolled. Parents are unable to support their children if they continue in higher educaton; however, the government will provide financial aid to those who are willing to continue receiving their education in Taiwan.

The most pressing problem on Orchid Island for the preservation of Yami culture is the emigration of almost all young people to the main island of Taiwan. Following the required period of schooling, the young people leave for Taiwan to take low-paying jobs as laborers for the men or as waitresses for the women. Most change jobs often and are frustrated by their inability to find better employment. They return to Orchid Island infrequently for festivals or family occasions, but not to work in the taro fields. When they do return, they bring social problems from the main island such as alcoholism. Few of the children send money back to their parents since this is not a part of their social values; thus, there is an increasing burden of government support.

The other major threat to traditional Yami culture is unregulated tourism. Until the late 1960s there were few tourist visits to the island and tourists were generally well-received by the Yami. However, with the construction of the airport and the scheduling of a number of daily flights from Taitung, only twenty minutes away by plane, tourism has increased dramatically. There are a number of tourist agencies in Taitung which promote one-day tours to the island. On the island there are two tourist hotels, both high-priced and with a poor level of service. Tourism is heavier in the summer than winter and most of the tourists are Chinese from Taiwan. On the average, there are 500 tourists per day, or about 100,000 per year. Tourists usually visit one or two of the villages, circle the island on a bus, shop at one of the souvenir stores, and then return to Taiwan. There are no interpretive programs, no tourist guides, and no regulations on tourists. Some Yami children have taken up begging from the tourists. Older people may demand payment for picture-taking, and unaware or insensitive tourists often cause problems by taking pictures without permission. The Yami also have taboos against photo-taking.

The Yami are on the brink of losing their culture to the modern industrialized world of Taiwan. A generation ago, in the 1950s, they were essentially untouched and little changed. Today, the older people still live in traditional houses and carry out traditional agricultural and fishing practices while maintaining their cultural beliefs. Yet only a few remain who know the old songs and the complicated boat-building techniques. Many of the traditional material culture items have been sold to tourists or investigators. The challenge facing the government is how to preserve this unique culture but still give its Yami citizens the benefits of modern life. Some of the possibilities for doing this are discussed next.

Future Hopes for Government Policy

In September of 1983, the Council for Cultural Planning and Development formed a committee of ten persons from different government ministries to examine the future of the Yami of Orchid Island. The Council issued a 4.5 million NT dollar (US \$110,000) contract to National Taiwan University to investigate education, tourism, and general development on the island. The planning team released a final draft of its findings and suggestions in May of 1984. The final report will be finished in September. The suggestions mentioned below are taken from the final draft and from interviews with people concerned with the project.

The major recommendation of the planning team is the creation of a nonprofit, nongovernmental organization to oversee the centralized management of the island. This nonprofit organization would supplant many of the roles now taken by government agencies on Orchid Island. It would provide technical skills, research, and information for the Yami in agriculture, fishing, tourism management, and other areas. The nonprofit organization would provide educational materials more suited to Yami life and culture. It would manage the police force on the island and would have the power to impose a tax on tourists to pay for the costs of interpretation and maintenance. The advantage of placing control in a nonprofit group is that overall control will be placed in a single organization whose primary concern is the welfare of the Yami, as opposed to the present system where government agencies with different constituencies compete with each other and often work at cross purposes. The members of the nonprofit group would be appointed by the Chairman of the Council for Cultural Planning and Development, a branch of the national government.

The planning team has made specific recommendations in various problem areas. In education, the final draft suggests the creation of a bilingual curriculum so that the young people will not lose their ability to speak the Yami language. At present, there are many grandchildren who cannot communicate with their grandparents. The draft suggests more curriculum materials on local culture. For on the island, the draft suggests the creation of vocational programs which emphasize traditional Yami crafts and skills to provide an employment base so that not all the young people leave for Taiwan. In the area of higher education, the draft suggests providing increased opportunities for Yami to study at Taiwan colleges by providing scholarships and reserving a certain number of places for Yami in some universities. This sort of affirmative action program would guarantee greater access to higher education which is presently denied them because of competitive testing at which the Yami do not do well.

In the area of housing, the final draft suggests the creation of a set of planning and design criteria to guide the construction of all public works on the island by all government agencies and private groups. The draft urges improvements in sanitation and increased attention to public health. Infant mortality rates in the Yami villages are high. The draft suggests that housing construction techniques be simplified by dispos-

ing with building permit requirements. The nonprofit group should provide advice on building and show the Yami how to improve the existing public housing units. For future construction, traditional building techniques should be encouraged in cooperation with the Yami.

The final draft contains a number of suggestions for improving tourism. The existing situation creates many costs for the Yami but almost no benefits. The tourists freely wander through the Yami villages, snapping pictures, and occasionally making insulting comments about the hygiene and appearance of the people. The draft suggests placing limits on the number of tourists allowed on the island per day. This could easily be done as access is only by ferry or airplane. The number of tourists allowed would be determined by the ability of the facilities to absorb use and the willingness of the Yami. Two villages, Yeyu and Lantao, would be completely closed to tourism. In the other villages, tourists would be allowed to enter the villages only when accompanied by a guide and in a small manageable group.

Tourists would be educated during their stay on Orchid Island by guides, preferably local people locally trained, and by interpretive materials which describe Yami culture and stress its unique characteristics. They would be instructed on what to do and what not to do. Photography would be prohibited altogether but slides and photos, both individually and in books, would be available for sale in the stores. The money from the sale of these pictures would go to the Yami.

The nonprofit organization would arrange to preserve certain typical homes in the villages for display to tourists. It would reward families who allowed tourists to visit their homes and it would provide incentives to families to maintain their traditional residences.

The nonprofit organization would also investigate other tourism opportunities on the island such as water sports, skin diving, and sailing in order to encourage longer visitor stays and to bring more tourist income to the Yami. It would carry out training programs for guides and interpretive staff. It would construct a hostel for young people to stay in and would encourage youth groups to come to the island to learn about Yami culture and the natural environment. The nonprofit group would encourage the local people to own and operate their own hotels. The present two hotels are owned and totally staffed by people from Taiwan. Yami-operated hotels would provide employment opportunities and perhaps help stem the tide of Taiwan-bound outward migration.

The nonprofit organization might also start a museum or a working craft center for clothing and wood carving. The products could be sold to tourists and the training would encourage the transmission of skills to the younger generation.

The draft also suggests the cultivation of orchids for which the island was once famous but which have now been reduced by overpicking. It also suggests the imposition of a Yami fishing zone at a certain radius around the island where fishermen from Taiwan would be prohibited from fishing. And in agriculture, the report recommends research into the productivity of the several varieties of taro as well as diversification of agriculture, both for nutrition and for increased monetary return.

The report suggests closer cooperation between the government and the Yami people and places an emphasis on hiring young Yamis for government positions.

Conclusion

The Yami of Orchid Island are caught between their traditional culture and the modern world. Like aboriginal people all over the world, the transition into modern society is a painful experience that has disrupted their social structure and population. If present processes continue, much of the traditional Yami culture will perish with the existing older generation.

The government of Taiwan is committed to providing the Yami with the benefits of the modern state in housing, health, education, and industry. The government is also committed, through the Council on Cultural Planning and Development, to preserving Yami culture and heritage. In the past government policy has suffered from a lack of direction and overlapping jurisdictions. Future success will depend on centralized and coordinated government planning, perhaps through a nonpartisan, nonprofit agency, that can focus on the specific problems facing the Yami and suggest creative solutions in cooperation with the people. This will be a difficult but important task.

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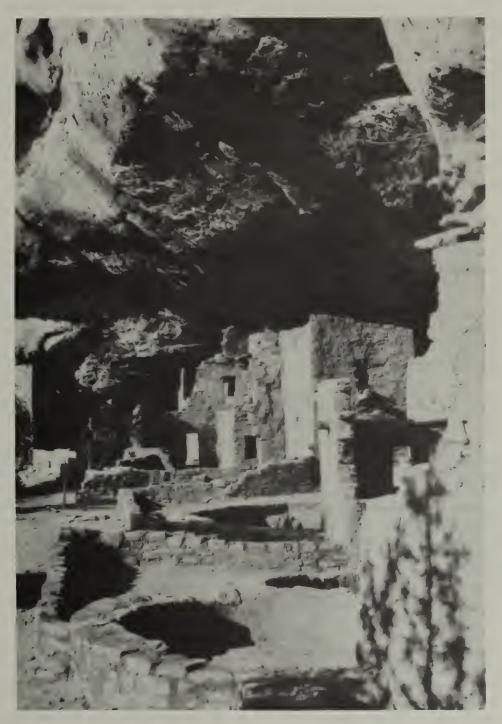
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The ancient rooms of Spruce Tree House, some as tall as three stories beneath the sandstone ceiling, reach far back into the caves.

Precis

Today the U.S. National Park System is composed of 335 parks; nearly 200 are considered cultural parks. Many commemorate the achievements and contributions of racial and ethnic minority cultures while many of the other parks set aside primarily for their natural, scenic, or recreational resources also contain significant cultural resources. Management and operation of cultural parks requires compliance with the management policies of the National Park Service. Each park is required to have a general management plan, a resource management plan, and an annual statement of interpretation.

Cultural parks speak particularly to mankind, his achievements and interaction. Knowledge about how these resources affect today's visitor will enable the manager to do a better job. Research, therefore, is needed to determine both the role of cultural parks in illustrating a cultural event, group, or achievement to the larger society, and new insights, understanding, and appreciation of an ethnic group that are derived by visitors to cultural parks.

If the ideals and objectives are to be fully realized, management must be true to history. The parks can and do serve as places for individuals and groups of diverse interests and heritage to gain a better insight into themselves, their heritage, and that of their fellow citizens. This will allow for a celebration of cultural diversity, but at the same time recognize the strength of our combined heritage in the development of one nation/one world.

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Hoy día, el Sistema de Parques en los Estados Unidos se compone de 335 parques. Entre estos cerca de 200 se consideran como parques culturales. Muchos commemoran los logros y las contribuciones de culturas de minorías raciales o étnicas. Además, muchos otros parques seleccionados, principalmente por sus recursos naturales, pintorescos o de reposo, contienen recursos naturales importantes. La gestión y el funcionamiento de los parques culturales exigen que aplican las políticas de gestión del Servicio de Parques Nacionales (National Park Service). Se le exige a cada parque tener un plan general de gestión, un plan de gestión de recursos y un informe anual para la interpretación.

Los parques culturales hablan, en particular, de la humanidad, de sus logros y de sus interacciones. El conocimiento de cómo estos recursos afectan al visitante de hoy día permitirá al director efectuar un mejor trabajo. La investigación, en consecuencia, es necesaria para determinar el papel de los parques culturales en la ilustración de un acontecimiento cultural, de un grupo o de una hazaña ante una sociedad más vasta, y cual serán los datos nuevos, la

comprensión, y la apreciación de un grupo cultural que los visitantes sacarán de su visita a los parques culturales.

Si los ideales y los objetivos deben ser plenamente alcanzados, la gestión de los parques culturales debe ser conforme a la historia. Los parques proveen y sirven eficazmente de sitios donde los individuos y los grupos, teniendo intereses y un patrimonio variado, pueden adquirir un mejor conocimiento de ellos mismos, de su propio patrimonio y de sus conciudadanos. Esto deberá permitir la celebración de una diversidad cultural pero, al mismo tiempo, permitirá reconocer el peso de los patrimonios reunidos en el desarrollo de una nación y de un mundo.

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Aujourd'hui, le Système des Parcs aux Etats-Unis se compose de 335 parcs. Parmi ceux-ci près de 200 sont considérés comme des parcs culturels. Beaucoup commémorent les accomplissements et les contributions de cultures de minorités raciales ou ethniques. De plus, beaucoup d'autres parcs sélectionnés, principalement pour leurs ressources naturelles, pittoresques ou de détente, contiennent des ressources culturelles importantes. La gestion et le fonctionnement des parcs culturels, exigent de se conformer aux politiques de gestion du Service des Parcs Nationaux (National Park Service). Il est demandé à chaque parc d'avoir un plan général de gestion, un plan de gestion des ressources et un compte-rendu annuel pour l'interprétation.

Les parcs culturels parlent, en particulier, de l'humanité, de ses accomplissements et de ses interactions. La connaissance de comment ces ressources affectent le visiteur d'aujourd'hui permettra au directeur d'accomplir un meilleur travail. La recherche, en conséquence, est nécessaire pour déterminer le rôle des parcs culturels dans l'illustration d'un événement culturel, d'un groupe, ou d'un exploit auprès d'une société plus vaste, et quelles nouvelles données, quelle compréhension, quelle appréciation d'un groupe culturel les visiteurs retirent de leur visite aux parcs culturels.

Si les idéaux et les objectifs doivent être pleinement atteints, la gestion des parcs culturels doit être conforme à l'histoire. Les parcs peuvent et servent effectivement de sites où les individus et les groupes, ayant des intérêts et un patrimoine variés, peuvent acquérir une meilleure connaissance d'euxmêmes, de leur propre patrimoine et de celui de leurs concitoyens. Ceci devra permettre la célébration d'une diversité culturelle mais, en même temps, permettra de reconnaître le poids des patrimoines réunis dans le développement d'une nation et d'un monde.

Cultural Parks in the U.S. National Park System: Their Values and Influences on Intergroup Relations in a Multi-Ethnic Society

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Mankind differs as the waves, but they are as one as the sea.

-Frederick Douglass

Ladies and gentlemen, I am honored and privileged by the opportunity to address you on the subject of "Cultural Parks: Their Values and Influences on Intergroup Relations." Certainly, as managers and supporters of our national and world heritage resources, we are very much aware of the many values associated with parks. I would imagine that each of us personally holds a value that may or may not be shared universally. This is an intrinsic benefit of cultural parks, I believe, in that their value becomes a personal source of enjoyment, a better understanding of man and his history, pride, inspiration, education, amusement, and perhaps, in some instances, anger in regards to parks relating to human struggle or conflict.

Today the U. S. National Park System is composed of 335 parks. Many of these parks were established in recognition of the significant achievements, contributions, or lifeways of various racial and ethnic groups. Included among these parks, for example, are the Frederick Douglass Home in Washington, D.C.; the San Antonio Missions National Historical Park in Texas; the Hovenweep National Monument in Utah; the George Washington Carver National Monument in Missouri; and the Nez Perce National Monument in Idaho.

Within the various programs and operations required for the effective and efficient management of parks, interpretation is a fundamental service for ensuring quality visitor use and enjoyment for park resources. The principal objective of interpretation is to fully explain or demonstrate to the visitor the

importance of the park and the purpose for which it has been established. Furthermore, as expressed by Dave Dame, National Park Service Chief of Interpretation, through this undertaking the Park Service gains the visitor's support for preserving the parks.¹

Freeman Tilden concluded that interpretation is an "educational activity which aims to reveal meanings and relationships through the use of original objects, by firsthand experience, and by illustrative media, rather than simply to communicate factual information." Tilden further observed that "whether we call it so or not the interpreter is engaged in a kind of education. Interpretation aims not to do something to the listener, but to provoke the listener to do something to himself." I submit that, in order for this provocation to take a positive direction in a pluralistic society, the message conveyed through the interpretive program must be true to history.

In parks which represent the contributions of individual racial/ethnic members or their lifeways, efforts have been initiated to eliminate biased interpretation. In 1972, the Conservation Foundation recommended that

Interpretation of historical and cultural sites should give a fair accounting of the contributions and role of all Americans in our national development.

Every effort should be made to rewrite interpretive material for historical sites, removing old historical and cultural biases. In many cases, this may involve original research since text and reference books are also often biased. Minority historians—Afro Americans, Orientals, Native Indians, and citizens of Hispanic origin—should be

employed in staff and in consultant capacities to aid in this reinterpretation and to suggest additional sites of cultural and historical significance for acquisition by the National Park Service.

Narrative and interpretive materials should be worked out with the audience in mind. More minority voices should be heard in these presentations.³

Let us now examine, as I perceive it, potential contributions that cultural parks can make to improve intergroup relations.

Intergroup understanding and acceptance do not occur just because we want them to. The deliberate education of the individual about himself and others is one of the obligations of education and interpretation can assist in this. Intergroup education then assumes that, as a result of selected materials, experience and instruction, individuals will be changed, that their attitudes and behavior towards persons of other groups and toward members of whatever group they themselves belong to will be changed. The change will result in more acceptance of persons who differ and more acceptance of one's own difference from others.⁴

Therefore, a factual and well balanced interpretive presentation could significantly benefit and influence intergroup relations in a multiracial/ethnic society.

These benefits might include:

- 1. Giving the commemorated group a greater awareness and appreciation of their own heritage and pride in knowing that others, through interpretation, share in their historic event, contributions, or achievements.
- 2. Helping groups gain a better appreciation of each other's vast contributions.
- 3. Inspiring various racial/ethnic groups to become active supporters of and visitors to cultural parks.
- 4. Seeking employment with the National Park Service after acquiring a broader understanding of, and appreciation for, the significance and purposes of parks.
- 5. Affording a personal sense of "belonging," self-recognition, and appreciation for the history and future of the nation.
- 6. Serving as a "bridge" in current personal lifeways and cultural heritage.

A visit to a cultural park will, in the long run, stimulate increased visitation to other parks by ethnic/racial group members. However, various points of view exist as to minority group perception of and about parks. Joseph W. Meeker offers the often-repeated assessment that poor people, black people, and ethnic minorities generally show little enthusiasm for the park idea. Meeker further suggests that the "reasons behind minority indifference toward national parks are largely unexplored, perhaps because indifference doesn't demand to be understood as strongly as hostility does. No minority

group really hate the parks, but none seem to care much about them either. ''6

A number of studies have shown that the perception of parks by some minority groups relates to cultural preferences, past prejudices, and discrimination. Also, in some instances, economic circumstances have limited the use of parks. These studies, however, have primarily focused on outdoor recreational activities, in contrast with the purpose of a visit to cultural parks.

Cultural parks, in particular, speak to mankind and his achievements and interaction. Knowledge on how these resources affect today's visitor will help managers do a better job. Research is needed to determine 1) the role of cultural parks in illustrating a cultural event, group, or achievement to the larger society, and 2) new insights, understanding, and appreciation of a cultural group derived by visitors to cultural parks and an ethnic/racial group member's perception of parks.⁷

The 1980 census showed that within the U.S. population of 226,545,802, 26,499,025 are Afro-American, 14,608,673 are Hispanic, 1,364,037 are Native American, and 3,726,440 Asian American/Pacific Islanders. As seen from these figures, racial and ethnic minorities represent a significant percentage of the U.S. population.

Park managers and interpreters in achieving their interpretive program goals must recognize and embrace the value of cultural diversity in the history and growth of the United States. As John Naisbitt advocates:

We have moved from the myth of the melting pot to a celebration of cultural diversity. One key factor behind the increasing acceptance of ethnic diversity has been the rapid growth of two minorities in particular: Spanish-speaking Americans and Asian-Americans. With three sizable minorities now in the nation, the either/or world where Americans were either black or white is over forever. With more racial and ethnic groups, uniformity is impossible and white Americans are identifying with their own ethnic roots to join the new game of diversity.⁸

In achieving broad-base use and enjoyment of the cultural parks by various racial and ethnic groups, greater attention must be given to two other major park functions, namely 1) resources management, including park planning, maintenance, construction, and protection; and 2) promotion of the park through community, public, and media relations.

The way in which a nation cares for its cultural parks will often speak as loud, if not louder, than any interpreter or interpretive message about the significance of its heritage. Therefore, improper maintenance, deterioration of the resources, or inadequate operating resources might have an irreversible negative impact on a citizen visiting a park that commemorates his or her heritage. The attitude might well

be—"see, I know they don't care about my heritage." Effective and efficient park management must assure that these conditions do not prevail.

The responsibility of promoting national parks through good day-to-day operations, quality services, community, public, and media relations is critical to achieving cross-cultural visitation. As a result, many cultural parks, consistent with their legislative mandate and management objectives, have excellent programs and special events involving various community and civic organizations—for example, in Native American activities, Afro-American History Month, and Hispanic Week. Yet, while visitation to cultural parks is increasing, continued cooperative efforts with the transportation and tourism industry are needed to promote cultural parks on a wider regional and national basis. Special brochures on various themes in American history, i.e., Native Americans, Afro-Americans, etc., might be developed for wide distribution. This information could encourage the travel/tourism industry to develop packages for a specific travel audience geared towards groups of cultural

The History and Prehistory in the National Park System and the National Historic Landmarks Program prepared in 1982 is a comprehensive listing of individual parks representing a particular historical theme or themes. This history program also includes a complete listing of areas significantly associated with ethnic and racial groups and with women. The program, in whole or in part, could be disseminated to various local, state, regional, and national organizations in an effort to achieve a greater awareness of the various cultural parks and historic landmarks that exist in the U.S. Park System.

Increased liaison with regional and national organizations that deal with minority and ethnic concerns is needed in the context of park programs and purposes. Many of these organizations are known to park managers primarily as avenues for personnel recruitment purposes. These organizations, in knowing more about the parks, could be great allies in increasing the awareness of their members and the public at large about the number, location, and significance of various cultural parks.

Additional research is needed to address possible ways in which to achieve wider public visitation and use of cultural parks. Many of these parks can contribute to formal educa-

tion programs as resources for research. To this end, the National Capital Region of the Park Service recently awarded a contract to a black college to evaluate the most appropriate procedures for promoting and providing opportunities for increased scholarly use of resources at the Frederick Douglass Home—consistent with park legislation and management objectives. Moreover, efforts on the part of the Park Service to acquire accreditation from the American Association of Museums for museums at various parks should also enhance their use for research and general study. In seeking this accreditation, specific emphasis might be given to a number of cultural parks established in recognition of contributions by racial or ethnic groups.

In summary, cultural parks can play an important role in the enhancement of the quality of life for all Americans and indeed world citizens through improved understanding and better interpersonal and intergroup relations. For these parks recognize the significance of individuals, lifeways, events, structures, or places marking the history of a nation and its people. To assure the preservation of the ideals and goals of cultural parks, their management, use, and interpretation must be true to history and enjoyed and supported by all citizens.

Notes

- 1. Dave Dame, Chief of Interpretation, National Park Service, at Workshop on Statements for Interpretation, National Capital Region, 1983.
- 2. Freeman Tilden, *Interpreting Our Heritage* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1967), 111.
- 3. Conservation Foundation, National Parks for the Future (Washington, D.C., 1972), 73.
- 4. Lloyd Allen Cook, *Intergroup Education* (Greenwood: Greenwood Press, 1970).
- 5. Interview with Jerry Rogers, Associate Director, Cultural Resources, National Park Service, 1984.
- 6. Joseph W. Meeker, "Red, White and Black in National Parks," The North American Review (1973), 131.
- 7. Interview with Don Field, Senior Scientist, National Park Service, Pacific Northwest, 1984.
- 8. John Nesbitt, Megatrends (New York: Warner Books, 1982), 273.

Precis

Cultural diversity is viewed here as essential to a nation's potential for growth, for it provides the behavioral models, skills, and values that give rise to viable new lifeways. The role played by the U.S. National Park Service (NPS) in fostering diversity, by maintaining the conditions that support cultural pluralism, is examined. In the course of protecting selected examples of North American habitats, and physical structures, sites, or objects of major prehistoric and historic value, the NPS often becomes closely associated with indigenous and other local communities. Reviewing selected past and present NPS programs in Alaska and the lower forty-eight states reveals considerable variation in dealing with the lifeways of people.

Support for cultural diversity can be enhanced, and potentially negative effects on community lifeways mitigated, when certain internal organizational features and external stimuli are in place. Internal features include culturally informed resource managers committed to collaborative partnerships with local peoples, systems of support and rewards for such managers, and strategies for obtaining the effective involvement of local peoples. Principal among the external factors to affect management actions is public involvement. To satisfactorily protect the resource base for their lifeways, indigenous or other local peoples should be active participants in the legislative process, contributors to park decision-making when their interests are affected, and informed advocates on their own behalf.

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La diversidad cultural se considera aquí como esencial al potencial de crecimiento de una nácion, porque aporta los modelos de comportamiento, los talentos y los valores que dan origen a los nuevos modos de vida. Se está examinando el papel desempeñado por le Servicio de Parques Nacionales en los Estados Unidos (*National Park Service*, NPS) favorece la diversidad, al mantener las condiciones que sostienen el pluralismo cultural. El NPS, al proteger los ejemplos escogidos de ecosistemas norteamericanos, estructuras físicas y las zonas de valor prehistórico y histórico primordial, está en asociación estrecha con las comunidades indígenas y las otras comunidades locales. El examen de programas seleccionados, pasados y presentes, del NPS en Alaska y en el continente de los Estados Unidos, revelan las variaciones considerables del tratamiento de los modos de vida del pueblo.

Se sugiere que los efectos potencialmente nefastas de desarrollo en los modos de vida acostumbrados de los pueblos se pueden corregir cuando ciertos rasgos de organización interna y de estímulo del ambiente externo queden en lugar. Los rasgos internos incluyen los administradores de recursos informados sobre las culturas presentes y interesados en cooperar con los pueblos indígenas, los sistemas de apoyo y de recompensa por los administradores que agencian así, y los estrategemas para animar una aportación eficaz de pueblos indígenas. La participación del público es primordial para que el estímulo externo afectue las acciones de la administración. Para proteger y describir su modo de vida de manera satisfactoria y obtener la atención del NPS, los pueblos indígenas y los otros pueblos locales deben participar activamente en el proceso de tomar decisiones de la agencia, y de defensores orales por su propia cuenta.

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La diversité culturelle est considérée dans cet exposé, comme essentielle au potentiel de croissance d'une nation, car elle fournit des modèles de comportement, des talents et des valeurs qui donnent naissance à de nouveaux modes de vie possibles. Le rôle joué par le Service des Parcs Nationaux (*National Park Service*, NPS) aux Etats-Unis pour favoriser la diversité, en maintenant les conditions qui soutiennent le pluralisme culturel est examiné. Le NPS, en protégeant des exemples choisis d'écosystèmes nord américain, des structures physiques et des zones de valeur préhistorique et historique primordiales, est en étroite association avec les communautés indigènes et les autres communautés locales. L'examen de programmes sélectionnés, passés et présents, du NPS en Alaska et sur le continent des Etats-Unis, révèle des variations considérables dans le traitement des modes de vie des peuples.

Il est suggéré que les effets potentiellement néfastes du développement sur les modes de vie coutumiers des peuples peuvent être redressés, lorsque certains traits d'organisation interne et des stimuli de l'environnement externe sont en place. Les traits internes incluent des administrateurs de ressources informés sur les cultures en présence et intéressés par une coopération avec les peuples indigènes, des systèmes de soutien et des récompenses pour les administrateurs qui agissent ainsi, et des stratégies pour encourager un apport effectif des peuples indigènes. La participation du public est primordiale parmi les stimuli externes affectant les actions de l'administration. Pour protéger et décrire leur mode de vie de façon satisfaisante et obtenir l'attention du NPS, les peuples indigènes et les autres peuples locaux doivent devenir des participants actifs dans le processus de prise de décision de l'agence, et des défenseurs oraux pour leur propre compte.

The Potential Role of National Parks in Maintaining Cultural Diversity

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The survival of cultures or lifeways associated with protected resources is the subject of this paper. 1 Not cultures, however, as historic structures or artifact assemblages known generically as cultural resources, but cultures viewed anthropologically as systems of behavior, values, and symbols that human communities evolve in order to prosper in particular environments. Among the features essential to the cultural survival of smallscale communities is continued access to traditional resources-subsistence resources as well as religious structures, objects, or other cultural tangibles. Yet, concern for protecting habitats and material culture often seems to prevail over support for the culturally diverse systems for managing or producing them. A major premise here is that protecting diverse lifeways by giving communities the opportunity to continue traditional resource practices, if they so choose, benefits more than the bearers of those cultures and their progeny. It also ensures that banks of resource knowledge and institutional arrangements appropriate to the management or production of diverse resources will be available for future use.

This is no plea for the artificial preservation of lifeways. Wolf reminds us that cultures continuously undergo construction, reconstruction, and destruction in response to changing conditions.² Even programs to protect biological diversity or encourage tourism can fundamentally alter conditions by relocating traditional resource users or otherwise so curtailing access to subsistence resources or undermining tenure systems—the linchpins of cultural systems—that change is induced in demographic, family, and other associated patterns. The inevitability of cultural transformations should not, however, deter resource-managing agencies from instituting

steps to avoid destructive change in the lifeways of traditional resource users.

Considering just the Park Service's experiences in managing resources associated with Native American or other local communities suggests a broad spectrum of approaches to resources and their traditional users. These range from closed arrangements in which the agency exercises exclusive proprietary control over resources, seen as closed systems, to open arrangements for joint Service/community management that treat protected resources as components of larger systems. Variables such as the resource involved, organization of associated communities, power relationships, and legislation affect the arrangement. Interference with Native American religious practices, for example, is avoided by accommodating the needs of practitioners for access to sacred resources in parks. In contrast, access to subsistence resources have varied from none to programs of regulated consumptive use. This cursory review suggests that while the development of strategies to protect resources in tandem with programs to support cultural diversity presents significant challenges, conservation/preservation agencies can progress along these lines by measures such as:

1) systematically incorporating local peoples and knowledge into programs of resource protection, and acknowledging human communities and protected resources as components of the same system: Unlike university-trained specialists, indigenous or other local peoples have the advantage of long-term experiential understandings of their resources. These generate valuable insights into resource history, liabilities, and potential. It is not argued that an area's traditional occupants

are "noble conservationists" whose subsistence practices invariably sustain the habitat. Conditions such as population growth within the context of a diminishing land base can convert the most appropriate practices into destructive forces. Still, by viewing local communities not as intruders, but as legitimate users of customary resources and legitimate members of what Bennett (1976) calls socionatural systems, their informed contributions to planning and management would make resources the long-term beneficiaries.³

2) developing culturally sensitive legislation and effective implementation: The role of legal mandates in driving institutional policies and actions makes it imperative that legislation provide traditional resource users with opportunities to continue non-destructive use. Converting legislation from statements about ideal processes or end states into effective policies and actions will require agencies to develop certain informational, fiscal, and organizational features. Especially needed are studies to identify community lifeways that affect, or are affected by, programs of resource protection; funds for implementing culturally appropriate consultation strategies that result in incorporating local views into agency decisionmaking; proactive approaches to local peoples; training, encouragement, and both material and career rewards for resource managers who establish mutually beneficial local partnerships.

(3) identifying joint resource management options that use complementary agency and community expertise, resources, and goals: Joint management in which agencies collaborate with communities that have special resources and expertise should be vigorously pursued. Despite the probable need to reconcile disparate agency and community goals, alliances would give agencies opportunities to protect significant resources unobtrusively and without incurring major staffing commitments while they support opportunities for cultural diversity by leaving local peoples and conditions relatively undisturbed. One model for this approach comes from European regional parks in which local villagers provide visitors with lodging and interpretation, participate in management decisions, and receive training, advice, and other governmental assistance. Alaska and Canyon de Chelly offer other models. Pursuing new management options may challenge agencies to develop different perspectives on what constitutes acceptable perservation and conservation units and feasible strategies for accomodating smaller, discontinuous, or alreadysettled locales within the boundaries of protected zones.

(4) acquiring ethnographic (anthropological) knowledge of contemporary community dynamics and resource concerns: An ethnographic data base that is developed in collaboration with the involved community is prerequisite to identifying shortand long-term effects of traditional use on resources, affects of agency programs on traditional users, and the likelihood of cooperation or conflict between agencies and users. Resource managers would benefit from systematic insights into

cultural features such as ecosystem knowledge, and patterns of subsistence or other traditional use, demography, and settlement, features that in many cases account for the very landscapes agencies wish to protect. The "cultural" dimensions of cultural landscapes will become more apparent as preservationists learn about the contemporary meanings of resources in religious life, ethnic, and community identity, and apply such information in ethical, mutually beneficial ways.

These suggestions have come from the following brief review of the legislative and policy environment of Service relationships with local communities, and cases of diverse applications of policy.

General Legislative and Policy Environment of Local Relationships

Its preservation and land-managing role frequently makes the Service the custodian of resources that Native Americans and other local ethnic groups once used or controlled, and may still require for their cultural survival. Still viable traditions kept alive by those same groups can impart deep religious or other cultural meanings to the landscapes, prehistoric or historic structures, and objects that have become redefined in property categories that are meaningful to the Service. Many Native Americans, for example, regard as sacred certain valleys, rock formations, or fisheries that Service specialists may view exclusively as "natural" phenomena; or regard as holy the burial grounds that some archeologists and physical anthropologists perceive primarily as scientific sites; or rely for subsistence on forests, grasslands, or waterways that environmentalists consider components of fragile ecosystems that must be protected from consumptive use. The problems raised by such discordant views, and the associated, sometimes diametrically opposed, interest groups have not always been identified in legislation or policy.

Since the Service's establishment in 1916 as an arm of the Department of the Interior, strong federal laws have addressed the protection of natural and cultural resources without also compelling equivalent protections for the lifeways of associated peoples. Passage of the 1969 National Environmental Policy Act, NEPA (PL 91-190), promised to narrow the gap by directing federal agencies to assess the effects of planned actions on community cultural heritage, as well as on relationships with the environment, and to consult with potentially affected publics, particularly Native Americans. 4 Ideally, although not always in practice, the process of assessing agency impacts on local lifeways and seeking public involvement would democratize decision-making and minimize serious disruptions to cultures whose survival requires access to certain habitats or cultural properties. Likewise significant in directing attention to contemporary lifeways, particularly Native American religious cultures, is the 1978 American Indian Religious Freedom Act, AIRFA (PL 95-341). Covering

American Indians, Eskimos, Aleuts, and Native Hawaiians, the not-uncontroversial act reaffirms native constitutional rights of access to religious sites and other sacred resources that had come under federal jurisdiction. It is also leading federal agencies to consult Native Americans regarding potential effects of actions on religious resources and to develop administrative policies that are more responsive to Native American religious needs.

Probably the most powerful legislative inducement to Service relationships with local communities is the park-specific legislation that authorizes establishment of particular Service units. The 1974 law creating Big Cypress National Preserve in Florida (PL 93-440), for example, permits Miccosukee and Seminole tribal members to "continue their usual and customary use and occupancy of federal or federally-acquired lands and waters within the preserve, including hunting, fishing, and trapping on a subsistence basis and traditional tribal ceremonials." Non-Indians may also use the resources for sports hunting, fishing, and trapping because preserves, forms of conservation units established in 1974, differ from parks in permitting greater latitude in public use. When, in 1980, Congress authorized Kalaupapa in Hawaii, it guaranteed residents of this century-old treatment center for Hansen's disease (leprosy) a permanent home together with the right to maintain current lifeways and their privacy. Perhaps the best-known instances of legislated native access to protected areas come from Alaska, and will be discussed shortly.

Service efforts to balance responsibilities to Native Americans with its resource protection role led to the formulation of a new administrative policy addressing native-associated resources. Issued as a preliminary statement in 1978 in anticipation of AIRFA, it urges management to:

develop and execute its programs in a manner that reflects informed awareness, sensitivity, and serious concern for the traditions, cultural values, and religious beliefs of Native Americans who have ancestral ties to such lands. This policy includes developing means for reasonable access to and non-recreational use of sites with traditional, ceremonial, or religious significance; the involvement of Native Americans in the decision-making process where their traditions and cultural values will be affected by park programs; and providing technical assistance or participating in cooperative programs related to Native American culture history, cultural traditions, or cultural resources.

Implementation of this and other Service-wide policies varies regionally, partly reflecting agency decentralization and field areas that differ in management style and in the local cultures and political environments to which it responds. The commitments of resource specialists to particular conservation or preservation views also affect policy interpretations and the

ways in which managers use their discretionary authority. The time lapse between policy formulation and implementation, together with field budget and staff constraints, introduces other differences at regional and park levels. Changing temporal emphases generated by new legislation or leadership creates additional differences. Variation in approaches to park-associated peoples and cultures thus tends to be the rule.

1930s Approaches to Local Peoples: The Lower 48 States

The 1930s' thrust to protect major archeological sites from vandalism and natural areas from destructive commercial harvesting or development often brought the Service directly into contact with local communities. One example is Canyon de Chelly, Arizona, where, since 1931, the Service has been administering some 84,000 acres. The site of major prehistoric Anasazi pueblo settlements, this unique unit is situated within the Navajo reservation, on tribal trust land subject to Navajo jurisdiction. Legislation established a long-term formal alliance between the Service and the Tribe that furthered preservation goals without significantly increasing Service territorial holdings, or attendant costs, by giving the Service exclusive responsibility for protecting, preserving, and managing the monument, and providing visitor services. Non-Indian concessioners provided overnight visitor facilities. Tourist dollars reached the Navajo as a result of their commercial horse operations and canyon tours to which they hold exclusive rights, employment with the concessioner, craft sales, and occasional employment with the Service. Negotiating on the Navajo's behalf were the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) and the Tribal Council, with input from members of extended households in affected Navajo chapters or local political bodies.

Service management of the archeological sites and environs left Navajo household and chapter organization, together with grazing and cultivation, relatively undisturbed, and initial problems caused by visitors who inadvertently intruded on local religious ceremonies or sacred areas eventually were controlled. Collaborative programs in fire management and soil protection were undertaken. Still, some observers perceived the Service's fifty-year tenure, however benign, as bringing limited tribal benefits. In addition, increasing numbers of visitors had begun disrupting the privacy of Navajo farms and intensifying the pressures on limited roads and facilities.7 Such changing local conditions, along with growing tribal interest in greater management responsibility, recently encouraged an innovative joint planning effort, with local chapters and Tribal resource specialists playing prominent roles, to meet expanded Navajo needs while increasing protection for the sites.

The 1930s saw no counterpart collaboration in southern Appalachia. Conservation there aimed to protect hardwood forests against further devastation from large-scale lumbering by restoring scarred mountains to their pristine state and resettling the mountaineer families. People of the Great Smoky Mountains were primarily poor white smallholders who tradi-

tionally lived in households dispersed across the hillsides, in neighborhoods of kin related by marriage and descent. Cultivating the hillside plots generally brought little more than a subsistence-level income, occasionally supplemented by cash wages earned by logging. Mountaineers opposed relocation for conservation's sake, yet had no structural equivalents of the Tribe or BIA to represent their interests, mobilize their dispersed households, or formally negotiate with conservation groups and federal agencies for programs that would leave communities intact. Eventually, hundreds of families disposed of their property and moved from traditional, culturally homogeneous, rural locales into nearby and distant towns and cities, as Lix reports. The lifetime leases allowing some mountaineers to remain in their customary communities, together with the federal relief payments enabling others to overcome the immediate economic hardships of their new locales, and programs in literacy and other social services, helped assuage, but not eliminate, local bitterness about federally imposed relocation and destruction of community lifeways.8

That same period found the Timbisha Shoshone Indians of California's Death Valley engaged in a scenario that had begun late in the nineteenth century when outside mining interests found their valley wintering grounds economically attractive. Sharing the native preference for well-watered valley sites, one of the principal borax mining companies converted one such site into a rich oasis for its headquarters. Timbisha contributed to the evolving economy by cultivating foodstuffs for local laborers, providing fuel for the refineries, working on construction gangs, and keeping pack animals for prospectors and drovers who ran the famed ''20-mule team.''

Despite incorporation into a cash economy and the lowest level of non-Indian society, Timbisha subsistence still rested on intimate understandings of the fragile valley ecosystem with its seasonal changes in water, game, and vegetation, and on the diverse resources of vertically organized valley-tomountain niches. Low population densities and seasonal migration patterns, together with a low energy technology, helped reduce human pressures on these fragile habitats. Small family groups wintered in the valley or nearby canyons, camping at well-watered sites near the mesquite trees and plant foods that, along with berries and high-protein nuts, dominated the diet. Game was less important and, in the canyons, agriculture was meager. As the approaching summer heat dessicated their water sources, families moved towards the higher piñon-juniper country where they remained, sometimes until winter, for joint religious celebrations, communal hunts, and social events.

Intermarriage with neighboring Indians created alliances across family and territorial lines that facilitated access to adjoining areas when need was dictated by seasonal changes or subsistence crises, such as failure of the piñon harvest. Influential men orchestrated these moves as well as officiated at annual events. An egalitarian society, the Timbisha valued

decision-making through consensus, and leadership based on family position, persuasion, and experience, rather than formal elections.¹⁰

The 1933 Presidential proclamation making Death Valley a National Monument overlooked the small Indian population which was either displaced from traditional areas or pushed to their margins by then. The principal mining company kept its ample headquarters site as a private inholding and tourist facility within the park. Timbisha families still wintered at the site, seeking wage work to meet recently acquired needs. Indian living and health conditions had deteriorated alarmingly by then, triggered partly by the spread of communicable European diseases and by dietary changes induced by the decline in hunting and foraging. A concomitant shift to purchased foods could not adequately substitute for the nutritionally sounder native diet. To aggravate the situation, when the mining companies' need for Indian labor diminished while its interest in tourism increased, Indians and their pack animals became superfluous. The mining company intended to evict the families, state agencies disavowed responsibility for their well-being and, without either federally recognized treaty rights or acknowledgment by the BIA as an independent political entity ("tribe"), Timbisha qualified for no reservation or trust lands. Besides, all feasible sites were in private or Park Service hands by 1933.11

Timbisha ethnohistory would have been even more tragic without the supportive intervention of the BIA superintendent in Nevada, the first park superintendent of Death Valley, and, acting from a personal sense of responsibility, the second superintendent and his wife who spent decades at the park. As cultural anthropologists concerned with human lifeways and generalizations about cause and effect, we seek miniscule scenarios that find a few individuals taking risks to protect from further harm some special resource or people. In this case, records show that reasonably effective allies and advocates in the Service and the BIA, however paternalistic at times, came to the fore to create an environment they sincerely believed would stimulate a reasonable income and ensure a healthful setting for the Timbisha. While the BIA declined to ask Congress to establish a reservation, it cooperated with the Service to develop an alternative.12

The Service agreed in 1936 to provide a forty-acre site for construction of an ''Indian Village.'' It would accommodate from fifteen to twenty families in adobe buildings in an area near the tourist compound where water would be piped in and a trading post established. A resident Indian community was expected to enhance the park's tourism value while also giving women opportunities to sell their superb basketry or other crafts, and giving both men and women opportunities for wage work in the anticipated tourist trade. The plan was promising from western cultural perspectives, and a group of about fifty Timbisha were removed from the tourist compound and resettled at the new site.¹³

Subsistence hunting and collecting became illegal and soon ceased under Service jurisdiction, permanently welding the Timbisha to the wage market. Although egalitarianism and consensus-building remained important, the group adopted new political structures, a formal council in particular, which was required to facilitate their petitions for a reservation. That goal was unmet. Frustrated too was the anticipated economic growth, for the park's tourism value ended temporarily with the second world war. Time and weather eventually left the adobe structures badly deteriorated. Timbisha used the village nevertheless, numbering about sixty in 1944,¹⁴ despite dilapidated housing, few amenities, and between the 1950s and 1960s, decreasing support from the BIA and the Service, which actively sought the Indians' departure.¹⁵

Changing federal programs and greater Timbisha activism in the late 1970s brought improved housing and BIA support to obtain federal acknowledgment as a "tribe." The process requires petitioners to demonstrate their continuing cultural and their ancestral membership in an Indian group. The Timbisha handily proved lineal descent from the valley's nineteenth-century families. While they necessarily had adapted their lifeways to changing economic and political exigencies, significant features of customary political culture as well as the close association with their valley homeland had also remained identifiable. Families continued their cyclical migration with some modification in detail as substitutes were found in the Sierra foothills for now-prohibited summer sites at the valley's higher reaches. Intermarriage still created an extensive kinship network that yielded allies in the high areas, and even more dispersed family ties had developed as scarce employment opportunities in the valley and high country prompted the permanent out-migration of working-age people. While many Timbisha eventually left the valley, older Shoshone-speaking members remained with some younger kin to form a stable residential core of about 35 individuals (from about 200 tribal members) who regularly returned to the winter village. By the 1970s, this core had taken a female bent as males left for permanent employment elsewhere. Concomitant modifications in local political culture found females necessarily filling most leadership roles. 16 In 1983 they received acknowledgment, along with a new political status allowing them to exercise certain administrative powers and claim certain benefits and rights, including the right to trust lands. While decisions about reservation land rest with Congress, park management has responded to tribal concerns by working with the Timbisha and the BIA to improve local living and employment conditions.17

1970s-1980s, Alaska

Almost fifty years after establishing the Death Valley Monument, the Service faced an analogous situation in Alaska where the affected native population numbered in the thousands and the acreage in the millions. Extractive industries with compel-

ling power and appetites whetted by the 1969 Prudhoe Bay oil discoveries, and a new state anxious to share the promised oil revenues by leasing its lands, threatened to claim the same resource base that traditionally had supported native communities. Federal plans to withdraw lands from the public domain for the purposes of development posed added risks. Unlike the Timbisha, however, self-governing native Alaskan villagers mobilized their political forces to successfully win a freeze on land transfers to outsiders or the state until their own land claims were settled.

Organized into a statewide federation, the Alaska Federation of Natives, villagers lobbied Congress on their own behalf and helped formulate legislation that promised to remedy past losses and reduce future ones. They were joined in that drive by a curious but effective alliance of interest groups: conservationists fearing development's adverse impacts on northern ecosystems, mineral interests anxious to settle the native land claims that blocked development, and the state of Alaska seeking its own growth. The combined pressures led to the 1971 Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act, ANCSA (PL 92-203), which gave native peoples monetary compensation for lost resources and proposed protective mechanisms to avert some future losses. The act created regional and village-level corporations to manage the financial settlements and mediate between native communities and public- as well as private-sector interests, and between the traditional subsistence economy and the highly capitalized market system. Native corporations, groups, and individuals also received title to surface and subsurface rights on 40 million acres. National parks, forests, and other conservation units received twice that amount, and the state received considerably more. A major native concern about ANCSA is that 1991 will end the protected closed corporate status of regional corporations, make them public, and threaten the territorial basis of native culture and sovereignty. 18

Conservation concerns won support in 1980 when passage of the Alaska National Interest Conservation Act, ANILCA (PL 96-487), created ten new parks and several other types of conservation units. A pioneering act, it treated natural reserves not on the customary piecemeal basis but rather as interdependent, interacting components of a biosphere. Remarkably too, this same legislation provided not only for resource protection, but for its subsistence use as well. This turn hinged on the policy-makers' recognition that native Alaskans who, for centuries, drew their subsistence from local resources, had evolved hunting, gathering, and other resource use practices that left fragile ecosystems essentially unimpaired. While recreating or protecting pristine natural habitats devoid of human populations might still receive priority in the hierarchy of Service values, it was becoming apparent to some that centuries-tested native land use and conservation systems offered few environmental threats when demographic features such as population size and lifeways such as subsistence practices remained stable.

The emergent philosophy that resource use and resource conservation are potentially compatible challenges conservationists to treat local human communities, subsistence activities, and resources as components of the same local system. As Shaver discusses in this volume, Kobuk National Monument illustrates the challenge. It was established not only for traditional Service values to protect significant natural, historic, and prehistoric resources, but also to "foster the continuation of the Alaska Eskimo culture by providing for traditional resource uses, such as hunting, fishing, and gathering, provided such uses are consistent with the preservation of primary resource values." To promote compatible land use within and adjacent to the monument, studies of native resource use, with native assistance, and partnerships between resource managers and native representatives are mandated.

Assessing impacts of park establishment on the subsistence of Kobuk Valley peoples and ethnographically studying the Kobuk cultural system, including demography, settlement pattern, subsistence, and family and community life, made it apparent that not only subsistence but the fundamental cultural identity of about 2,400 Inupiat Eskimo rests on exploiting resources within and adjacent to the monument.20 Kobuk area residents, like their earlier Death Valley counterparts, represent low-density populations who depend on the seasonally available resources of an extensive ecologically diverse area. Forests, tundra, and waterways offer a particularly rich array of game, vegetation, and fish to area residents who migrate cyclically between permanent winter villages and summer encampments along the Kobuk River and its tributaries, harvesting and processing resources as they become available. While native foods and products still largely meet local diet and dress needs, increasing dependence on fuel and snowmobiles or other durable goods obtained for cash have been leading Eskimo adults to seek at least seasonal wage work in towns. Children and teenagers too are learning nontraditional skills and information, and wage work as well, in response to new economic and political environments.21 Leaving families and traditional learning contexts to attend distant schools have cultural costs, however, that include diminished expertise in the technological skills and environmental knowledge, patterns of cooperation, and religious systems needed to survive the arctic setting.

Although the new unit incorporated the Inupiat's essential subsistence areas, legislation provided for relatively unimpeded access to them. Given systemic ties among the subsistence base and subsistence strategies, population size, settlement patterns, and between this cluster and other cultural patterns, the minimal conditions for maintaining traditional lifeways, if desired, received support.²² Importantly, it was recognized that withholding these subsistence options would impoverish and embitter the Eskimos and increase their dependence on government programs of financial aid. In addition, prohibiting subsistence use not only would reduce the local quality of life

but also disrupt the delicate ecosystem balances that natives had successfully maintained for centuries, inexpensively, and with culturally appropriate management practices. Without the Eskimo's continued customary use and informal resource controls, the special nature of the ecosystems selected for protection undoubtedly would change.

Summary and Conclusions

Cultural diversity is probably best ensured by leaving undisturbed the conditions, such as access to customary resources, that favor the survival of local lifeways. This is not always possible, given the complex relationships between national-level conservation/preservation interests and relatively powerless local groups, and their differential claims to the same resources. In the Service's case, the need to meet congressional mandates, beginning with the agency's own resource protection mission, and consider the sometimes incongruent and competing pressures of vocal constituents, has yielded varied responses to the issue of protecting resources that also are integral to local lifeways. Based on degree of permitted access to customary subsistence resources, these responses range from exclusive Service management of resources to open arrangements for fairly unobtrusive Service management or form of joint community/Service management.

Great Smoky demonstrates the closed model ideally characterized by exclusive Service control over territory and management decisions, impermeable barriers to subsistence use, and little or no accommodation to lifeways of communities traditionally associated with the area. Death Valley modifies this closed model by permitting conditional occupancy and approaches to the Timbisha that vacillated between disregard, benevolent concern, and limited collaboration. Timbisha responded to the shifting political environment by transforming lifeways no longer appropriate to local circumstances, yet consistent with their heritage. Testifying to their cultural resiliency is the fact that Timbisha ethnicity has remained identifiable despite changing Service policies. Although park establishment ignored the Indians, early park managers contributed to their cultural survival by providing for a winter base that helped ground one phase of the annual migration cycle and provided a context for continuing family ties, reciprocal exchanges, and the tribal identity these support.

Approaching the other end of the spectrum is the relatively open model represented by the Alaskan parks established under ANILCA. Although parallels between Timbisha and native Alaskan lifeways and political vulnerability suggest that Eskimo and Alaskan Indians could face equivalent poverty and displacement, ANILCA legislation in combination with the Alaskan native's growing political sophistication reduce the possibilities. If cultural systems are protected by maintaining the conditions that support them—and the Timbisha experience suggests that even severely constrained access to traditional areas help buffer cultural systems—then continued

local access to northern units should help sustain the native Alaskan economy and associated lifeways. Further along the continuum is Canyon de Chelly, which presents a more open, non-exclusive model which maximizes the potential for local involvement and cultural continuities.

Relatively powerful resource protection agencies or institutions presently are being challenged to protect significant resources without dislocating or otherwise undermining local communities, and without polarizing issues into matters of resource survival versus community survival. Perhaps the overarching challenge, to agencies as well as local communities, is to develop a new culture of conservation, that is, new sets of values, ideologies, and behaviors, that reflect contemporary needs to deal in tandem with human lifeways and associated resources.

Notes

- 1. I appreciate the comments made on a previous draft by the Service's Chief Anthropologist Douglas H. Scovill, Denver planner Jacob Hoogland, and Southwest Regional curator David Brugge, and by my anthropological colleague Michele Teitelbaum of Transaction Press. Final responsibility for this paper, for better or worse, is mine alone. The National Park Service is not responsible for, nor endorses or recommends, the opinions expressed here.
- 2. Eric R. Wolf, 1984. "Culture: Panacea or Problem," American Antiquity 49:393-99.
- 3. John Bennett, 1976. The Ecological Transition: Cultural Anthropology and Human Adaptation (Pergamon Press. London).
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- 10. For the classic study of Great Basin peoples, including the Timbisha, and earliest formulation of cultural ecology, see Julian H. Steward, Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Sociopolitical Groups, Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 120, Washington, D.C., 1938.
- 11. March 15, 1936, letter from J. R. White, Superintendent of Sequoia and Death Valley to A. C. Bowler, Superintendent of Carson City Indian Agency, discussing construction of the Indian Village; Death Valley NM Archives. Also see the March 30, 1936, letter from A. Bowler, BIA Superintendent of Carson City, Nevada, to Mrs. T. R. Goodwin, wife of Death Valley unit manager, discussing hunger, malnutrition, and the need for relief food supplies. Death Valley Archives.
- 12. March 17, 1936, Memorandum of Understanding Between the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Department of the Interior and the National Park Service, Department of the Interior Relative to Establishing a Colony of Indians on the Death Valley National Monument, signed by John Collier, Commissioner of Indian Affairs and Acting Director of the National Park Service A. E. Demaray.
- 13. Inyo (California) Independent, "Work Progresses on Indian Posts," page 1, July 10, 1936.
- 14. April 28, 1944, letter from T. R. Goodwin, Superintendent of Death Valley to Mr. F. S. Lyle, noting approximately sixty Indians in the valley. Death Valley Archives.
- 15. Letter of April 18, 1958, from Assistant Secretary of the Interior Roger Ernst to C. Graham, discussing the housing policy that went into effect August 5, 1957.
- 16. I conducted archival research at Death Valley and interviewed Timbisha at Death Valley, Lone Pine, Big Pine, and Fish Lake, on field trips in November 1982, and in May, July, and October 1983. The cooperation of Superintendent Rothfuss of Death Valley is appreciated.
- 17. Dr. George Roth, anthropologist in the BlA's Acknowledgement Office, shared his findings on the Timbisha project, "Recommendation and Summary of Evidence for Proposed Findings for Federal Acknowledgement of the Death Valley Timbi-Sha Shoshone Band of Indians of California Pursuant to 25 CFR 54, Feb. 9, 1982."
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- 20. Douglas D. Anderson and Ray Bane, Richard K. Nelson, Wanni W. Anderson, and Nita Sheldon. Kuuvanmiit Subsistence: Traditional Eskimo Life in the Latter Twentieth Century, National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, 1977.
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National Park Service areas in the United States have traditionally been for the preservation or protection of natural or cultural (historic and prehistoric) resources. Controlled recreational use in these areas is allowed as long as there is no threat to, or actual damage of, the resources being protected. During the last decade or so, because of dramatically increasing populations, more competition for remaining undeveloped lands, and escalating land values, the National Park Service has recognized a need to shift management emphasis in some areas from strict preservation, and tolerated limited recreational use to preservation of the culturally important resource uses by indigenous peoples as a National Park value—even if these uses may be consumptive of some resources.

In Alaska, the land ownership and management situation has become increasingly complex and controversial since statehood in 1959. Using National Park Service areas to protect natural and cultural values, plus allowing continued consumptive uses of all resources by local rural residents, is the only way to preserve what is really important in the new areas created in 1980 by the Alaska National Interest Lands Conservation Act (ANILCA). The Act mandates the continuation of many activities such as hunting and the use of timber and cabins not traditionally allowed in National Park Service areas, but also provides many new management tools which attempt to make protection and use of these areas possible.

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Las regiones de Servicio de Parques Nacionales (National Park Service) en los Estados Unidos eran tradicionalmente destinados para la preservación o para la protección de los recursos naturales o culturales (históricos y prehistóricos). La utilización controlada de estas regiones se autoriza tanto que éstas no presenten ninguna amenaza, o no ocasionen ningún daño a los recursos protegidos. Durante el curso de la última década, a causa del crecimiento dramático de las poblaciones, de la competencia por los terrenos no desarrollados que quedan y de los valores escalantes de las tierras, el Servicio de Parques Nacionales ha reconocido la necesidad de cambiar las preocupaciones de la gestión en ciertas regiones y de pasar de la preservación estricta y del uso limitado, a la preservación del uso importante de los recursos por los pueblos indígenas y considerar esta preservación como uno de los valores del Parque Nacional—aunque estos usos puedan destruir ciertos recursos.

En Alaska, después de la creación del estado en 1959, la propiedad de la tierra y la situación de la gestión se hicieron muy complejos y sujetos a la controversia. La necesidad de utilizar las regiones de Servicio de Parques Nacionales para proteger los valores naturales y culturales, todo en autorizar la continuación del uso destructivo de todos los recursos por los residentes rurales locales, es la única manera de preservar lo que es realmente importante en las nuevas regiones del Servicio de Parques Nacionales creado en 1980 por el Acta de Conservación de la tierra de Interés Nacional de Alaska (Alaska National Interest Lands Conservation Act, ANILCA). El Acta autoriza la continuación de numerosas actividades tales como la caza, la utilización de bosques y de cabañas que, tradicionalmente, no se admitían en las regiones del Servicio de Parques Nacionales, mas proporcionó numerosos instrumentos nuevos de gestión que tratan rendir posible la protección y la utilización de estas regiones.

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Les régions du Service des Parcs Nationaux (National Park Service) aux Etats-Unis étaient traditionnellement destinées à la préservation ou à la protection des ressources naturelles ou culturelles (historiques et préhistoriques). L'utilisation contrôlée de ces régions, dans un but de détente, est autorisée tant qu'elle ne présente aucune menace, ou n'occasionne aucun dommage aux ressources protégées. Au cours de la dernière décennie environ, en raison de la croissance dramatique des populations, de la concurrence accrue pour les terrains non développés qui restent et des valeurs grimpantes des terrains, le Service des Parcs Nationaux a reconnu un besoin de changer les préoccupations de la gestion dans certaines régions et de passer de la stricte préservation et de l'usage limité pour la détente, à la préservation des usages importants des ressources par les peuples indigènes et considère cette préservation comme l'une des valeurs du Parc Nationalmême si ces usages peuvent détruire certaines ressources.

En Alaska, depuis la création de l'état en 1959, la propriété de la terre et la situation de la gestion sont devenues sans cesse plus complexes et sujettes à controverse. La nécessité d'utiliser les régions du Service des Parcs Nationaux pour protéger des valeurs naturelles et culturelles, tout en autorisant la continuation de l'usage destructif de toutes les ressources par les résidents ruraux locaux, est la seule façon de préserver ce qui est réellement important dans les nouvelles régions du Service des Parcs Nationaux créé en 1980 par l'Acte de Conservation de Terres d'Intérêt National de l'Alaska (Alaska National Interest Lands Conservation Act, ANILCA). L'Acte autorise la poursuite de nombreuses activités telles que la chasse, l'utilisation de bois et de cabines qui, traditionnellement, n'étaient pas admises dans les régions du Service des Parcs Nationaux, mais donne aussi de nombreux nouveaux instruments de gestion qui tentent de rendre possibles la protection et l'utilisation de ces régions.

Traditional National Park Values and Living Cultural Parks: Seemingly Conflicting Management Demands Coexisting in Alaska's New National Parklands

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With the inception of the national park idea late in the last century and continuing from Yellowstone, the first national park, through recently created urban national park areas, the idea has been preservation and use, with the emphasis on preservation and with use meaning recreation. The Act of 1916, which created the U.S. National Park System, confirmed this idea:

The service thus established shall promote and regulate the use of the federal area known as national parks, monuments, and reservations by such means and measures as conform to the fundamental purpose of the said parks, monuments, and reservations, which purpose is to conserve the scenery and the natural and historic objects and the wild life therein and to provide for the enjoyment of the same in such manner and by such means as will leave them unimpaired for the enjoyment of future generations (August 25, 1916, USC 1).

In addition, the Antiquities Act of June 8, 1906 (34 Stat. 225) recognized the importance and values of "historic landmarks, historic and prehistoric structures, and other objects of historic and scientific interest" and made it possible to incorporate them into the National Park System and thus grant them protection. Use was not mentioned.

Slowly, over the years since this system was set up by Congress, the idea has evolved that everything important to us—whether wildland with unique wildlife, geologic, or vegetative values; archeological sites with dramatic remains of past cultures; battlefields commemorating our nation's history; or

an area of spiritual or artistic significance—is part of a continuum and cannot be put into strict categories to be "protected" or "used." There are quickly becoming too few acres of land and too many people to try and preserve areas in the strictest sense.

On August 18, 1970, Congress recognized this similarity between things held important enough by the American people to make national parks of them:

Congress declares that the national park system, which began with establishment of Yellowstone National Park in 1872, has since grown to include superlative natural, historic, and recreation areas in every major region of the United States, its territories and island possessions; that these areas, though distinct in character, are united through their inter-related purposes and resources into one national park system as cumulative expressions of a single national heritage; that, individually and collectively, these areas derive increased national dignity and recognition of their superb environmental quality through their inclusion jointly with each other in one national park system preserved and managed for the benefit and inspiration of all the people of the United States and that it is the purpose of this act to include all such areas in the System and to clarify the authorities applicable to the system (August 18, 1970, 16 USC 1a-1; emphasis added).

In effect, this made a "system" out of a group of isolated park areas set aside to protect individually specific historic, cultural, and natural resources. This act brought about no sweeping change in how these areas were managed. Some areas of the system were, because of their enabling legislation, more liberal in their allowed uses. In national recreation areas, national seashores, and a few other areas, hunting and trapping could be allowed. Livestock grazing, mineral extraction, and "extreme" forms of recreation (like waterski racing) were allowed as well, and often their presence was suffered by managers who found them very hard to handle. In one notably different area—Canyon de Chelly National Monument—the history and culture of the Navajo people and their life today has been made the reason for this area's inclusion as a part of the National Park System.

It was not until passage of the Alaska National Interest Lands Conservation Act (ANILCA) on December 2, 1980, that resource use, along with traditional national park values on natural and cultural resources, would become congressional mandates for managing National Park Service areas. The ten national parks, preserves, and monuments created by ANILCA and the additions to three existing areas are the largest, most diverse, and most outstanding parklands yet put into the U.S. National Park System. These natural areas have been used by man for thousands of years—and still support his activities. Hunting, fishing, and trapping provide sustenance; gathering and timber harvesting provide food, shelter, and warmth. The rivers are natural highways which allowed people to travel via skin boats and dogsleds in years past and provide routes for power boats and snow machines and landing areas for aircraft today. The land and its use are inseparable; and yet, the resources are intact and relatively undamaged.

A new challenge has emerged for National Park Service managers: Preserve the land and its resources while allowing resource harvest and use, which will in turn preserve the cultural values of the people using the land. Treat man and his activities as part of the ecosystem.

Alaska's land use and ownership history has, in large part, shaped the national parklands within the state—both in boundary configuration and in how they will be protected and used. The native peoples of Alaska have roamed and used the entire landmass for thousands of years. Russia claimed Alaska for many years until selling it to the United States government in the mid nineteenth century. No native rights were recognized then; Alaska was public domain.

In 1906 the Native Allotment Act recognized individual native land interests by allocating up to 160 acres of land to qualified native applicants (the first citizens of Alaska). Many non-natives, feeling the pull of the "Great Land" for mineral exploration, homesteading, or simply to live closer to the land, also used the territory during the years prior to statehood in 1959. In these years few worried about whose land it was. Everyone used it, and it seemed to belong to everyone—an easy extension of the traditional native view of land stewardship and sharing its use, not ownership. Those living away

from the few large communities lived off the land by hunting, trapping, and gathering; again, a natural extension of the Alaskan native lifestyle. A land of no roads mandated unusual travel methods. Bush residents used dog teams, boats, aircraft, and snow machines as soon as technology made them available. With statehood, the bush Alaskans (both native and non-native) did not change their regard for and use of the land and its resources, but began to be forced to change their concept of land ownership.

The new state of Alaska was allocated 28 percent of the total landmass—106 million acres. Then, in 1971, the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act authorized transfer of ownership of 44 million acres of land to thirteen new native corporations. This act, plus clarification of the native allotment situation (raising the number of qualified applicants from 25,330 to 52,000), was to settle all claims to land by native Alaskans.

These native corporations were a new undertaking for both the Alaskan native people and the nation. In an attempt to improve upon the reservation system previously used to settle Indian land claims in the United States, Congress set up profit-making corporations for each of the recognized native groups in Alaska. Each corporation received a cash settlement for lands previously used by, but not conveyed to, the natives, plus a land conveyance. The land base was for use of the people in that region and was to be part of the economic base for the corporation. Boundaries on land and profit-making corporations—these were new concepts to people who had spent their lives in bush Alaska. One additional congressional act would further complicate the boundary situation but attempt to protect that ''bush lifestyle'' that now exists in the United States only in Alaska.

That final step was ANILCA. The big question had been what to do with the remaining federal land in Alaska (after state and native lands were set aside). The act answered that question by drawing boundaries, making designations, and assigning management responsibility to various agencies. It also made it clear that protection was not meant only for natural and cultural resources; it was also extended to people and their lifestyles. How to protect resources, allow continued consumptive use of those resources, incorporate recreational use of the same resources, and ensure the kinds of uses for the descendants of those now using the areas were left to the unit managers and their interpretation of ANILCA.

The Northwest Alaska Areas (Cape Krusenstern National Monument, Kobuk Valley National Park, and Noatak National Preserve) were set aside by Congress via ANILCA to be managed as part of the National Park System. They are three of ten new National Park Service areas created by this act and will serve as examples of how new management techniques and styles are needed to manage conflicting values and uses in these new Alaska National Parklands.

The NANA Region (named for the NANA Regional Corporation) in northwest Alaska encompasses 38,000 square

miles of Arctic wildland. It has been the home of the Inupiaq (sometimes spelled Inupiat) Eskimo people for more than 10,000 years. Today the population of the region is about 4,500, more than 90 percent of whom are Eskimo. To a visitor, this region of Alaska (which is about the same size as the state of Indiana) appears to be wilderness tundra plain, mountain, and forest, sprinkled with eleven small villages unconnected by roads.

Traditionally, the land and water of the region have, through their natural resources, supported human life. Timber, fish and wildlife, marine mammals, edible plants, natural coal deposits, and bird life have always met the basic needs of the people living there. Long-time residents of the region, particularly those whose ancestors lived there too, have developed a dependence on the earth and its natural products that is literally woven into every part of life. Even newcomers to the area, because of its remoteness and the extremely high cost of maintaining a twentieth-century American lifestyle, find themselves depending on consumptive use of natural resources for at least part of their sustenance.

While the land appears to be wilderness, to the local resident, particularly the Eskimo, it is not. People have traveled and hunted the entire region for thousands of years. Inupiaq place names, reflecting noteworthy events in people's lives and landform descriptions, are an important local cultural element. The names are not found on maps; they are a living part of the culture, passed from mind to mind. Evidence of man's use likewise is hard to find on the land. To one not in tune with the centuries-long culture of these people or trained in what to look for, this land indeed appears to be a wilderness. Human use has occurred for centuries, but because of very small populations and a technology that has always been light in its impact, entire ecosystems respond to man as they do to any other natural agent of change.

In the last half century, however, change has come rapidly to the region's Inupiaq people. Even though the population today is about the same as at its previous high point in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century, the encroachment of modern society on the Eskimo has put a much heavier hand on the land. Airplanes, snow machines, motorboats, and allterrain vehicles have replaced dog teams and skin boats. It now takes much less time to hunt or catch the year's food. The need for cash to pay for modern conveniences demands jobs that are not always available in such a rural setting. Cash is needed, too, for rent on modern housing, heating oil, electricity, and televisions. Because once-traditional subsistence activities now take less time with modern technology and because jobs are scarce, time often hangs heavily on people's hands-which may create new desires for television, radio, video games, and the like.

Since these incredible changes have occurred in less than eighty years—bringing a very old, culturally strong group from a simpler Stone Age technology to the late twentieth century—

the slippage of values is understandable. Very little has come with the new technology to replace what has been lost from the old ways. No way has been found to set up an easy transition from a subsistence economy (where one's livelihood comes directly from the land) to a cash economy (where cash is used to purchase all daily needs). Many of the people of northwest Alaska are literally between the two, using cash to support and augment their subsistence lifestyle. In doing so, however, individuals have difficulty finding the real importance in either culture. Lack of jobs, inordinate use of alcohol, pressures for more education, increased pressure on resources (from larger populations, better technology, and easier travel from outside the region), and more outsiders coming in all create more cultural conflicts. Add to this the new concept of land ownership, boundaries, regulations on traditional activities, and the previously unknown concept of national parks to preserve land and resources. The conflicts seem insurmountable at times.

While Congress and some individuals throughout the country long knew that northwest Alaskan resources had National Park qualities, most of the NANA Region residents had never heard of the National Park Service before ANILCA. In addition, most National Park Service managers had never worked in an area where hunting, fishing, trapping, and timber harvesting were allowed. When new boundaries appeared on maps turning nearly one-half of the region (14,000 square miles) into national park, national monument, and national preserve, with one of the uses and values of the areas "subsistence use" and "the viability of subsistence resources," another change and another challenge resulted—not only for the residents of the region but for the National Park Service and the recreational park visitor as well.

For the first time a congressional mandate for managing national park areas recognized the continuum that exists where man and his use of the land is concerned. These areas contain superlative natural resources: the 250,000-plus western Arctic caribou herd, the longest undeveloped wild river system remaining in the United States, the Great Kobuk Sand Dunes, large populations of nesting waterfowl, grizzly bear, moose, raptors, wolves, and other fur bearers.

The areas also include important archeological remains such as the beach ridges on Cape Krusenstern, which display horizontally, as a result of a continuing beach-building process, artifacts from every known Eskimo culture in North America, spanning at least 10,000 years of use on the cape. Also the Onion Portage site in Kobuk Valley National Park contains evidence of at least seven different cultures, all active there because of the natural river highway and the migration and hunting of caribou. These two sites are the yardsticks by which all other Arctic archeology is measured.

The three Northwest Alaska Areas could have been made national parklands for either the archeological or the natural values listed above, or for both, but Congress recognized a further importance—that consumptive use of the incredible natural resources in the region by the people whose remains are found in the archeological sites has occurred for so long and is so much a part of the ecosystem that man cannot be separated from it. In fact, that use has never stopped; it goes on today on the outermost beach ridge at Cape Krusenstern, and every fall at Onion Portage more caribou bones are added to the topsoil layer.

By traditional National Park Service ethics, consumptive resource use is occurring on these lands. New sophisticated methods and increasing populations are adding pressures to fragile resources that must maintain a delicate balance to survive north of the Arctic Circle. But survive they have—while being used continually for 10,000 years. To artificially halt this continuum, to break apart this ecosystem (which contains man) by imposing strictly preservationist values on the majority population of a region that links its life so heavily to the land and its natural products, would in fact have critically altered the very values most worth preserving in these areas. More than half of the resources needed both for living and for maintaining cultural identity would have been instantly unavailable to the local rural residents of the region. Through ANILCA this continuum is being preserved.

The opportunity for those who live in the region and depend on the land for a livelihood to maintain their lifestyle, which includes consumptive resource use, was recognized as a major value in these large Park Service areas. But the importance of maintaining the natural resources in a natural and healthy condition was also seen and mandated. Use, even recreational use, and preservation often place national park managers in a real quandary. Consumptive resource use and natural healthy populations seem almost mutually exclusive, but ANILCA's authors presumed that it was possible and added tools to accomplish the task.

To further complicate the matter, these are "national" parklands—of value to all people. Recreational use (including sport hunting in the preserve) is also a requirement. In effect, these areas represent what is so outstanding about the National Park System as a whole: setting aside national treasures to be managed and used as people want to use them in such a way to leave them available and undamaged for future generations. Where the human population is small, where no one is interested in what the land has to offer, or where technology is such that the resource has an even chance in a confrontation, the national park idea is not needed. Unfortunately, in many cases we have tried to preserve those things which are important to us too late—and then total protection from use is the only answer. Events in Alaska have moved so fast since 1959 that we are almost too late in trying to protect the natural and cultural wonders there. ANILCA, though confusing, complex, and imperfect, may, through flexible managers, give us a tool to manage national parks which protects and allows all that is important to the people who set

them up.

After four years of operation, staff members of the Northwest Alaska Areas have found that ANILCA's provisions and the regulations drafted to aid in their implementation are responsive to local needs, allow protection of fragile Arctic resources, and encourage compatible recreational uses of the areas.

In establishing the areas, section 201 emphasizes what are normally considered to be national park values: protecting archeological sites; preserving and interpreting prehistoric and historic native cultures; ensuring habitat for Dall sheep, marine mammals, birds, fish, caribou, moose, bear, and wolves; continuing geological and biological processes. But in addition, "to protect the viability of subsistence resources. Subsistence uses by local residents shall be permitted." Title VIII of the act and its subsequent regulations go on to make it clear that the opportunity for those who traditionally have used these areas for subsistence purposes will continue and that such use will be the priority consumptive use whenever restrictions are necessary.

It is clear that there was no intent to increase pressure on these resources. Further restrictions will be necessary when local rural resident populations grow. Making a subsistence lifestyle a recreational pursuit for those residing elsewhere to move in and experience is not an acceptable use of the areas. Every effort has been made to prevent disruption to the lives of those who were living in or near the park areas when they were created. As long as the ecosystems continue in a natural and healthy state, the consumptive uses of plant and animal products for the livelihood of local rural residents may continue, including use of traditional means of access (non-motorized methods, motorboats, and snow machines) and, with permits, the use of cabins, camps, and other temporary structures on federal land for subsistence purposes (sections 811 and 1303).

Subsistence use of the Alaska park areas is well established in law. Other uses are just as well established, some via ANILCA and some as a result of earlier laws. These other uses, including appropriate recreational use, scientific study and research, and commercial visitor services, have no lesser priority than subsistence use. All are permitted only if no resource damage occurs. What adds to the complexity of managing the Alaska parklands is the interface between the different kinds of use. This diversity of use and protection is what really makes these areas unique to the system.

It is difficult for an Eskimo who has spent his entire life surviving in the Arctic to understand the motives of someone who has traveled thousands of miles to float down a river in a rubber boat. Some recreational users cannot understand why hundreds of caribou are killed each fall on a very short stretch of river (Onion Portage) in a national park. There are many subsistence activities and areas that are so critical or sensitive that recreationists blundering through or a research helicopter fly-

ing over could easily disrupt the activity and possibly result in a serious reduction of a village's winter food supply. Sport hunting methods and purposes do not usually coincide with subsistence hunting practices.

Here again Congress has provided some help in ANILCA, but interpretation and application of congressional intent to meld all uses smoothly falls to the manager. Section 1307 gives priority to local and native-owned commercial visitor use services. Section 1308 allows the Park Service to hire local people who have special expertise or knowledge of the areas without regard to civil service regulations or personnel ceilings. Judicious application of these provisions can provide valuable orientations to both park visitors and employees which can heighten the awareness of cultural concerns and mitigate the interface between potentially conflicting uses. These sections can both be used to help introduce the local population to national parks and park management as well.

Section 808 provides for establishing subsistence resource commissions to advise managers on subsistence activities and propose changes to subsistence hunting programs in the areas. Again, here is an opportunity to blend various uses and provide education to users which can result in fewer restrictions and a protected resource.

The new Alaska parklands created in 1980 by ANILCA are an experiment on a grand scale. They have nearly doubled the size of the U.S. National Park System. They have set aside some of the world's largest and most magnificent remaining wildlands and dedicated them to not only protecting the state's yast natural resources and valuable archeological resources,

but providing for the continuation of the threatened lifestyles and cultures of the Alaska native people. The continuum of human history and use of the earth is nowhere better preserved; and the protection of fragile ecosystems without a complete cessation of use has been accomplished. These areas provide a great challenge to the managers and an even greater challenge to the public whose parks they are—to continue to protect traditional national park values and to allow consumptive resource use in Alaska's living cultural national park areas.

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Precis

In 1925, the Ontario government caused the marginalization of the Brunswick House Ojibwa Indian Band by creating the Chapleau Crown Game Preserve. This preserve, established to halt the decline of animal populations in northern Ontario, removed 60 percent of the land base of the band. Evicted from their traditional homeland, most of the Brunswick House people became squatters along the railways on the periphery of their former lands. Compelled to accept government relief a full generation before other Canadian Indians, the Brunswick House people are today a demoralized, negatively stereotyped community.

Research indicates that the Ontario government had a viable alternative to the establishment of the game preserve—one which would still have maintained animal populations and, more importantly, the Indian people. By not pursuing this strategy, the provincial government forced the band into a sixty-year period of inactivity. In 1976, with impetus provided by a native treaty organization, the Brunswick House people filed a claim against the government of Canada for damages due to loss of land and livelihood. This paper discusses the historic developments leading to the marginalization of the Brunswick House Ojibwa. The implications of the band's claim for resolving their problems and those inherent in other native land use questions are also explored.

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En 1925, el gobierno de Ontario provocó la marginalización de la banda de Indios Ojibwa de Brunswick House al crear el Coto de Caza de Chapleau Crown. Este coto, creado para arrestar la declinación de poblaciones animales del norte de Ontario, ha suprimido 60% del territorio de la banda. Desalojados de su territorio natal tradicional, la mayor parte de la gente de Brunswick House se convirtieron en colonizadores intrusos a lo largo de las vías férreas en la periferia de sus tierras ancianas. Obligados a aceptar la ayuda del gobierno una generación entera antes de otros indígenas del Canadá, la gente de Brunswick House forman hoy día una comunidad desmoralizada y negativamente estereotipada.

Las investigaciones indican que el gobierno de Ontario tuvo una alternativa viable a la creación del coto de gibier, una alternativa que hubiera mantenido las poblaciones animales y, más importante, el pueblo indígena. Al no adoptar esta estrategia, el gobierno provincial forzó la banda a 60 años de inactividad. En 1976, con el impulso provisto por una organización de tratado autóctona, la gente de Brunswick House ha levantado una demanda contra el gobierno del Canadá por daños debidos a la pérdida de su tierra y sus medios de existencia. Este trabajo propone examinar los desarrollos históricos que han conducido a la marginalización de Brunswick House Ojibwa, y estudia las implicaciones de la querella del grupo para resolver sus problemas y ésas inherentes a otras cuestiones de utilización de la tierra natal.

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En 1925, la Gouvernement de l'Ontario a provoqué la marginalisation de la bande d'Indiens Ojibwa du Brunswick House en créant la Réserve de Gibier de Chapleau Crown. Cette réserve, créée pour arrêter le déclin des populations animales du nord de l'Ontario, a supprimé 60% du territoire de la bande. Evincés de leur territoire natal traditionnel, la plupart des gens du Brunswick House sont devenus des squatters le long des voies ferrées, à la périphérie de leurs terres anciennes. Obligés d'accepter une aide du gouvernement une génération entière avant les autres indiens du Canada, les gens du Brunswick House forment aujourd'hui une communauté démoralisée et négativement stéréotypée.

Des recherches indiquent que le gouvernement de l'Ontario avait une alternative viable à la création de la réserve de gibier. Une alternative qui aurait maintenu les populations animales et, ce qui est plus important, les peuples indiens. En n'adoptant pas cette stratégie, le gouvernement provincial a forcé la bande à 60 ans d'inactivité. En 1976, avec l'impulsion donnée par une organisation de traité autochtone, les gens du Brunswick House ont déposé une plainte contre le gouvernement du Canada pour dommages dûs à la perte de leur terre et de leurs moyens d'existence. Cet exposé examine les développements historiques qui ont conduit à la marginalisation des Brunswick House Ojibwa, et étudie les implications de la plainte de la troupe pour résoudre leurs problèmes et ceux inhérents aux autres questions d'utilisation de la terre natale.

Game Preserves and Native Peoples: A Northern Ontario Example

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Introduction

A persistent problem confronting governments is the importance attached to a fair and just weighting of the interests of native populations against those of the population as a whole. This is an important question in view of the fact that native peoples, both in the past and today, occupy lands closely tied to real or potential resource development and conservation. Unfortunately, governments until very recently have tended to opt for the principle of the greatest good for the greatest number, resulting in a policy which was neither carefully analyzed for its probable impact on people and resources nor examined for viable alternatives. This was the case in 1925, when the government of the Province of Ontario created the Chapleau Crown Game Preserve, thereby destroying the livelihood of the Brunswick House Ojibwa Indian people.

The result of the decision to set aside a large tract of land for game conservation is that the Brunswick House people have serious problems today—probably more serious in degree than those of any other Indian people in northern Ontario. Their band of 228 and the reserve community of Duck Lake (110 in residence) have been wracked by alcohol abuse, violence, and severe health problems. Seventy-five percent of the band's annual income consists of government transfer payments. Band members manifest a pervasive sense of powerlessness with respect to their contemporary social and political environment, and show little sense of historical tradition, normally a hallmark of native cultures. In short, the Brunswick House Ojibwa are a marginalized population and thus subject to prejudicial attitudes and discriminatory practices by local whites and government officials. These problems,

as is often the case with the privations experienced by indigenous peoples, are blamed on defects in character or intractable custom. Marginality, however, does not originate with the people or in their community, but rather results from political decisions made in an atmosphere of environmental, economic, and social flux. Similar conditions prevailed in northern Ontario from 1885 through the 1930s, providing the impetus and context for the provincial government's decision to expropriate the lands of the Brunswick House Band.

This article will examine the processes leading to the marginalization of the Brunswick House Ojibwa. As will be seen, the Ontario provincial government did, in fact, have a viable alternative to the creation of the game preserve, but chose to ignore it. In 1976, the band, with help from a native treaty organization, began what was to become a long legal battle seeking redress of grievances for government depredations. The implications of this claim for the just resolution of other native versus alternative land use issues will also be discussed.

The Marginalization of the Brunswick House Ojibwa

Before 1850, the traditional boundaries of the Brunswick House Ojibwa land base were relatively undisturbed by Euro-Canadian intrusion. The principal focus for these people was Missinaibi Lake, which was not only the largest lake on the main water route between Lake Superior and James Bay, but also famous for its fisheries and a site of sacred significance to the Ojibwa. The Missinaibi Lake people had always lived by hunting, fishing, and trapping, a typical settlement pattern consisting of winter dispersal to hunting/trapping sites

and summer in-grouping on the shores of Missinaibi Lake. Though there were fluctuations in the availability of certain game species, the flexibility of food preferences and subsistence techniques inherent in the culture of these native populations allowed for viable adjustments to such shortages.

The first Europeans to arrive in the area found the fur peltry of the finest quality and soon established a profitable fur trade. Between 1771 and 1821, the Hudson's Bay Company and its Canadian rivals (particularly the Northwest Company) fought for control over the fur trade with much of the conflict focused on the Missinaibi Lake area.² After the 1821 merger, the Hudson's Bay Company found that the Missinaibi Lake people remained a lucrative source of pelts, primarily because fur returns from the company's New Brunswick Post (on Brunswick Lake) where the people traded were the best in the Lake Superior District.3 In 1878, the Hudson's Bay Company determined that the trade at New Brunswick was not satisfactory and was no longer a viable trading operation. Hence, in the summer of 1879 the post was abandoned and goods removed to Missinaibi Lake to be "nearer to the hunting grounds of most of the Indians belonging to the old post."4

By the mid-nineteenth century, technological change altered the traditional fur trade system. The completion of the Sault Ste. Marie Canals and the advent of steam traffic on the Great Lakes brought about a switch in supply lines from a northsouth to an east-west route. More important, however, was the development of the transcontinental railway system which brought in its wake new competition, white settlers, and the growth of towns. As a site of linkage in the trans-Canada transportation network, the lands of the Missinaibi Lake people assumed new importance. White settlers came to new towns like Chapleau and Missinabie to work for the railroad or in the timber and tie business. The people claimed that they had experienced economic and social hardships when the railroad opened up their hunting and trapping grounds to non-Indian hunters and trappers, some of whom used poison.⁵ An early assessment of conditions in northern Ontario (and clear warning of the future for the Missinaibi Lake people) was issued in 1886 by Provincial Magistrate E. B. Borron:

No treaties have yet been concluded with the Indians in this territory for the surrender of their claims. To do so with the natives on or near the coast of James Bay may perhaps be premature and uncalled for by circumstances. But as regards the Missinaibi and other Indians . . . there can be no reasonable doubt on this subject. The Canadian Pacific Railway for upwards of a hundred miles passes through their hunting grounds, and will unquestionably lead, sooner or later, to the destruction of the larger game, the fur-bearing animals, and to some extent also of the fish, on which they are solely and entirely dependent for a living. These Indians are simply hunters and trappers.⁶

The process Borron described was already underway farther south near Sudbury. In early 1885, the Indian agent at Manitowaning reported that:

The construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway has opened up the country in the neighbourhood of Lake Pogamasing to white trappers—who deprive the Indians of the Beaver (which they carefully preserved, never taking all, but leaving some to increase) and as the Whites kill and destroy all they can, the consequence will be that no Beaver will be left in that section of the country.⁷

In his annual report of 1888, Borron recommended that a treaty be signed with the Indian people in the area which was eventually covered by Treaty No. 9 in 1905-6. Borron had witnessed the impact of the transportation revolution on the Missinaibi Lake people and had agreed to represent their interests to the government of Canada via his report. He further recommended that when a treaty was signed, the government of Ontario should be represented, otherwise:

Such a state of matters may lead to deplorable consequences and not only put the Province to a great deal of trouble and expense, but retard settlement and the development of the resources of the territory. Thus it will be seen that the Province of Ontario has a very direct and material interest in the speedy conclusions of a satisfactory treaty with these Indians.⁸

Action was not taken by the federal government until 25 July 1906, when Treaty No. 9 was signed by the people and they officially became the Brunswick House Band. Band members clearly sought protection from the depredations of white trappers and hunters, and only signed the treaty after receiving solemn assurances from treaty commissioners that their way of life would not be disturbed.

After the conclusion of negotiations, payments were made to those Indians camped near the Missinaibi Lake House Post of the Hudson's Bay Company beside Missinaibi Lake. The treaty provided for the establishment in 1907 of Indian Reserve No. 76 which comprised 17,280 acres adjacent to the lake. A critical provision of the treaty stated that the Indian people

shall have the right to pursue their usual vocations of hunting, trapping, and fishing throughout the tract surrendered as heretofore described, subject to such regulations as may from time to time be made by the governments of the country, acting under the authority of His Majesty, and saving and excepting such tracts as may be required or taken up from time to time for settlement, mining, lumbering, trading, or other purposes.⁹

This provision provided the basis for increased governmen-

tal hegemony in the north country. Thus, in 1914, the government of Canada took the position that Indian people would be subject to "game laws and regulations the same as white men." In 1920, the government of Ontario further stipulated that "it did not admit rights reserved to or conferred upon Indians by Treaty or otherwise to include any exemption from the operation of the *Ontario Game and Fisheries Act.*" It is readily apparent that early on the Ontario government had made game conservation its major priority, while the government of Canada was faced with the task of reconciling its treaty obligations with provincial imperatives.

The fur-bearing population in the area near Missinaibi Lake continued to experience sharp decline from 1900 to the 1920s. By 1915, two more railways—the Canadian Northern (now Canadian National) and the Algoma Central had passed through the lands trapped by the Brunswick House Band. Completion of these railways provided more and better Euro-Canadian access to the north country, especially for fresh waves of white trappers. 12 William McLeod, a Chapleau merchant and former Indian agent, began pressuring the Ontario government to create a game sanctuary in the Chapleau area to protect the fur-bearing animals in the region. 13 Coincidentally, the provincial government was discussing such a proposal. The 1920 Report of the Ontario Department of Game and Fisheries stated that

The prices paid for all classes of pelts during the last year have been exceptionally high and have attracted many to trap and there has been a great increase in the number of fur dealers. Therefore the revenue has increased not only from the sale of these licenses but from the royalties imposed on certain pelts. . . . I must once more strongly recommend and urge that one or more suitable areas of considerable extent be set aside by the Government for the establishment of a Game sanctuary or sanctuaries which in my opinion, should be located in the north or western part of the province. . . . Great inroads have been made upon fur-bearing animals as well as the game and birds of the Province during the past few years and more attention must be given by the Department to existing conditions. ¹⁴

On I June 1925, the government of Ontario established the Chapleau Crown Game Preserve, its expressed purpose being to bring about an increase in low game populations, particularly beaver (which from most reports was on the verge of extinction in the region). Implicit in Ontario's position was the belief that the game preserve would cause an increase in game population and therefore eventually prove to be of benefit to native peoples. 15 All hunting and trapping within a 2,600-square-mile area was prohibited, the ban covering white trappers and some 300 Indian people whose rights to hunt and trap had been guaranteed by Treaty No. 9. In the exact center of the game sanctuary was Indian Reserve No. 76, and this plot of land was not excluded from the ban. All

persons, Indian or non-Indian, who were found hunting or trapping in the preserve, were either removed or charged under the Game and Fisheries Act.¹⁶

In the fall of 1925, the Brunswick House people discovered that they were not permitted to return to their traplines for the winter. They protested to Indian Affairs, arguing that their reserve had been taken without their consent. Provincial game officials had already begun seizing traps and rifles from those band members who tried to reach the reserve.¹⁷

In an attempt to resolve the problem, the Department of Indian Affairs decided to have the province buy the reserve from the band. On 10 June 1926, Indian Affairs ordered the Chapleau Indian agent to obtain a surrender of the reserve at treaty payment time "in order to avoid complications" arising out of the expropriation of the reserve. Band members agreed to the surrender, but not out of free and informed choice. Rather, they had no real alternative but to give up their lands. 19

The Department of Indian Affairs secured, as part of these negotiations, the provincial government's promise to provide the band with land for a new reserve as soon as the old one had been surrendered.²⁰ A price of \$2,320 was suggested for 9,280 acres of the reserve (25 cents/acre), the remaining 8,000 acres being considered worthless as it consisted of swamp, rock, or muskeg.²¹ Timber rights were excluded from these discussions as these were to remain with the Department of Indian Affairs.

On 20 January 1928, the Chapleau Indian agent explained the sale to the band and asked the members whether they wanted a per capita distribution of part of the proceeds from the sale or a new reserve.²² When the voting took place in July of that year, 95 percent of the band membership preferred to have a new reserve with the same dimensions and resource base as the old one and refused to accept the money offered for the old reserve. Despite this protest, however, on 15 November 1928, the reserve was officially transferred to the provincial government.²³ Subsequent attempts at relocation were, for the most part, unsuccessful. The government of Canada proposed an addition of 30,438 acres to Kapuskasing Indian Reserve No. 83 as a replacement for the surrendered Reserve No. 76. (Some of the Brunswick House people were already living on Indian Reserve No. 83).24 Negotiations for this particular relocation went on sporadically for ten years before breaking down. The two townships involved were already covered by timber license, and the Ontario government refused to jeopardize its plans for developing the timber resources in that area.25 In 1937 an area adjacent to Indian Reserve No. 83 was approved by the Brunswick House people, but a pulpwood concession covered the area. In 1940, yet another attempt at relocation on Bordon (Loon) Lake failed because the Ontario government did not wish to grant title to the water and the land under the water within the area proposed by the Indian Affairs branch.

Finally, in 1947, after six years of negotiations, 22,013 acres of Mountbatten Township were sold by the Ontario government to the government of Canada. Known as the Mountbatten Indian Reserve No. 76, the Brunswick House people took up residence shortly thereafter in the reserve settlement called Tophet (a Hebrew word for hell). In 1973, 642 acres therein were exchanged for an equal area near Chapleau. This site became known as Duck Lake Indian Reserve No. 76B, where most of the band members presently reside.

Impact and Implications

The creation of the Chapleau Game Preserve removed 60 percent of the land base of the band—the lands most intensively exploited by the Indian people. Created to halt a perceived decline in the numbers of game and fur-bearing animals in the Chapleau region, the severity of the decline probably had little or nothing to do with native subsistence economics; there is abundant ethnohistorical documentation which indicates that the major cause of the problem was the influx of Euro-Canadians to the Chapleau area after construction of the railways.

As there was no unoccupied land in the vicinity of the preserve available for developing new traplines, most of the Brunswick House people simply "squatted" along the railways on the periphery of their former lands. In 1930, the Chapleau Indian agent summarized their plight for his superiors:

I would again like to point out that the province has deprived the Indians of a great portion of their hunting and trapping grounds, and also that white trappers are given a license by the province to trap and they have both trapped and poisoned the game until nothing is left in the country and the Indians are consequently left in a state of want.²⁶

In 1937, the Department of Indian Affairs reported that twenty-seven families had been on permanent relief for the past twelve years.²⁷ In effect, the Brunswick House people were forced into chronic dependence on welfare.

The game preserve also undermined the social structure of the band by acting as a geographical impediment to contact. Deprived of their natural meeting places on Missinaibi Lake and elsewhere within the game preserve area, the Brunswick House people could only maintain family ties by railway travel for which funds were not available.

Historical records indicate that the Ontario government did have a viable alternative to the creation of a game preserve in the Chapleau region, one which would have maintained and increased animal populations, and more importantly, would have respected the rights of the Indian people. The provincial government of Ontario could have established a game preserve and allowed only natives to trap within its boundaries. In January 1928, delegates to a Dominion-Provincial Game Conference held in Ottawa passed a unanimous resolution that, given the deleterious impact of white trappers throughout the north country, areas should be set aside "whereupon Indians only may be allowed to trap." By 1930, the Quebec government, which ironically had no treaties with Indian people, had banned white trappers from most of northern Quebec. Howard Ferguson, then Premier of Ontario, considered such a policy unacceptable even though discussions on this strategy continued through the 1930s. 30

With northern development came new, Euro-Canadian-based definitions of resources and their appropriate use. It is in this context that the increased Euro-Canadian presence in the north after 1885 and the concomitant impact on resources must be viewed. The notion of game sanctuaries and wildlife conservation became the provincial government's response to the severe impact on populations of fur-bearing mammalia resulting from northern development. This European-based view of conservation, when manifested in concrete action such as establishing a game preserve, resulted in the ecological dislocation and marginalization of the Indian people.

The provincial response to native protests was the assurance that Indian people would benefit from the "overflow" of furbearing animals from the game preserve. Band members understood this and suggested possible areas of relocation adjacent to the game preserve. The Brunswick House people, however, were twice prevented from settling near the preserve to take advantage of the supposed overflow.

The loss of their traditional lands plus the lack of viable alternatives meant that band members were subject to an enforced sixty years of inactivity. The establishment of the game preserve took place shortly before the Great Depression, and for ten years there was no work in the lumber mills even for skilled whites. The commercial fur industry survived to the extent that the Hudson's Bay Company spent most of the 1930s battling itinerant fur buyers for control of the trade, and provincial game wardens were kept busy chasing whites who were poaching furs in the game preserve. Fragmented as a social entity in an increasingly oppressive social and economic environment, the Brunswick House Ojibwa were put on relief rolls a full generation before other northern Indians.

The band's present reserve lands offer little in the way of economic development potential. A small, on-reserve logging operation, though a remarkable adaptation under the circumstances, is not on a sustained yield basis, with virtually all existing timber stands intensively logged. Without meaningful opportunities to reestablish their economic base, the Brunswick House people's chances for improved self-determination are minimal.

The provincial government continues to reap economic benefits from the band's original lands. In 1968, Missinaibi Lake Provincial Park was created, encompassing 176 square miles, including most of Missinaibi Lake (water area of 17,000 acres) and the old site of Reserve No. 76. The presence of seven separate sites of ancient cliff paintings as well as the site of

the New Brunswick House Hudson's Bay Company Post has made this an attractive tourist destination. Similarly, the game preserve is billed as the second largest game preserve in the world and is therefore an excellent area for observing wildlife. It also functions as a breeder pool for indigenous faunal species and as a source of valuable timber for private logging firms.

As the government agency charged with the responsibility of preserving these outstanding cultural and natural features, the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources is in reality involved in selective preservation. While very diligently working at preserving ancient native cliff paintings, it denies access by the descendants of the artists. Similarly, the Ministry of Interior permits the trapping of nuisance beaver and some subsistence hunting in the game preserve by more "traditionallooking and behaving" Cree Indians from James Bay, while it denies access by those Indians who are the rightful and legitimate heirs to the preserve lands under the pretext that, as one Ministry official put it, "there aren't any real Indians around Chapleau anymore."31 This last point is interesting because it serves to point out the power that white society has in defining what is Indian. In fact, a local newspaper annually features laudatory articles about the James Bay Cree, contrasting their "good behavior" with the "bad behavior" of the Brunswick House people.

Lacking the economic and political power to counterbalance their present image held by others has meant that the Brunswick House people are locked into a self-perpetuating system of dependency and negative assessment. Even if, as some have proposed, the Brunswick House people once again take up trapping in the game preserve, the decades of inactivity have relegated trapping to the bottom of their list of job preferences. In fact, it is a dying, peripheral economic strategy. Today, the Brunswick House people prefer guiding to other occupations, which is not unrealistic, given the fact that tourism is one of the few activities in the Chapleau with real growth potential. In this context, the recent claim made by the band against the Dominion government may offer some hope for the Brunswick House people to rebuild an essentially shattered economy. In 1975, the Grand Council Treaty No. 9 (Nishnawbe-Aski Nation) concluded that the government of Canada was guilty of breaching its treaty-based trust relationship with the Brunswick House Band.

The treaty committed the Dominion government to protect the socio-economic interests of the band. In reality, the very things that the band wanted to protect were brought about by signing the treaty. Band members insist that they would not have surrendered their interest in the area under question if they had known the ultimate ramifications of doing so. Furthermore, events subsequent to the surrender of Reserve No. 76 seem to indicate that the band's assets and lands have not been handled to their benefit by the Dominion government—the band was not consulted in any meaningful sense about the proposed game sanctuary or the implications

of the surrender.32

On 19 May 1976, under authorization of the Brunswick House Band, the Grand Council determined that: 1) the reserve on Missinaibi Lake should be returned to the band; 2) monetary compensation should be paid to the band for loss of their trapping rights to the land encompassed by the preserve, for the destruction of their way of life, for damages suffered from being constantly displaced after eviction from their Missinaibi Lake reserve; 3) such monies should be allocated to enable them to rebuild their socio-economic base on their traditional reserve; and 4) monetary compensation should be paid to the band by the Dominion Government for breaching its trust relationship with the Indian people, for actively participating in certain transactions, and for allowing others to occur, as documented elsewhere.³³

Although the Dominion government is still examining the claim, the band and the Grand Council have been identifying potential areas of reparation. Already under consideration is the placing of a monetary value (if indeed possible) on damages to the Indian people over the past sixty years. Of critical importance, though less-easily disentangled, is the question of land. Return of the old reserve would have economic and symbolic ramifications for the band. The tourist revenue potential is clear. Moreover, because the original reserve was their traditional meeting place, its return would symbolize the reestablishment of the Brunswick House people at their traditional locus—where their ancestors are buried and the space they have occupied since, as they put it, "time out of mind."

Native leaders have also suggested that the band should have access to the game preserve to log and even trap if they choose to do so again. As already noted, this proposal is not radically different from policy already in place-transporting Crees to trap nuisance populations and licensing private logging in the game preserve. The issue here is whether the people who have the legitimate right historically should have priority access to the lands in question. Additional precedent for such action is found, incidentally, in the emergent policy of Parks Canada and in Title VIII of the Alaska National Interest Lands Conservation Act which allows native subsistence management and use in certain designated park lands. These policies explicitly intend to establish a rapprochement between the protection of natural resources and the protection and enhancement of native self-determination. Hopefully, this new direction in policy will avoid the traditional conflict-of-interest situation which one native leader put succinctly in the following comment: "We can understand the government's concern for the conservation of wildlife. What we cannot understand is that a people's way of life must be destroyed because of it."34

Though the problems are complex and will require careful negotiation, providing native access to traditional but alienated lands for subsistence use and economic development would be a positive step in correcting historic injustices against native

peoples. Cash settlements, though important, will not provide the solid economic base necessary for native peoples to resolve their current problems and develop special political rights such as self-determination.

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- 25. S. C. Cain to Department, 28 January 1930; Cain to J. B. Bury, 13 November 1937. PAC, RG10, Volume 7537, file 27065-5.
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One of the best preserved of the large mesa-top communities is in the Farview locality where some sixteen villages were constructed within a radius of a quarter mile.

Precis

This paper focuses on the development of the protected wildland areas in the Kuna Indian Reserve of Panama, promoted by the Kunas themselves, and in the planning and management of which they play the central role. The paper compares the Kuna wildland's case history with that of three Central American biosphere reserves, all of which have resident indigenous populations: La Amistad-Talamanca, Costa Rica and Panama; Darién, Panama; and Rio Platano, Honduras.

Issues to be examined include the relationship of the biosphere reserve concept in Central America to indigenous populations; indigenous involvement in the planning process to establish biosphere reserves and other managed wildlands and derive local management techniques; current problems facing biosphere reserves and their indigenous residents; and the development of a resource planning and management process for indigenous lands.

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Este trabajo enfoca en el desarrollo de las regiones salvajes protegidas en la Reserva de los Indígenas Kuna de Panamá. La promoción de las zonas protegidas es asegurada por los Kunas mismos, que desempeñan un papel essencial en su planificación y en su gestión. La historia del parque de Kuna se compara con tres reservas de la biosfera centroamericana, la cual tiene poblaciones indígenas residentes: la Amistad-Talamanca, Costa Rica y Panamá; Darién, Panamá; y Rio Plátano, Honduras.

Las cuestiones mayores que serán abordadas incluyen las

relaciones entre el concepto de reservas de la biosfera en América Central y las poblaciones indígenas; la participación de los indígenas en el proceso de planificación para el establecimiento de reservas de la biosfera y para derivar las técnicas locales de gestión; los problemas actuales que se posan a las reservas de la biosfera y a sus residentes indígenas; y el desarrollo de una planificación de los recursos y de un proceso de gestión para las tierras indígenas.

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Cet exposé porte sur le développement des régions sauvages protégées dans la Réserve des Indiens Kuna du Panama. La promotion de ces zones protégées est assurée par les Kunas eux-mêmes, qui jouent aussi un rôle essentiel dans leur planification et dans leur gestion. L'histoire du parc de Kuna est comparée à celle de trois réserves de la biosphère centreaméricaine, dans lesquelles des populations indigènes résident: La Amistad-Talamanca, Costa Rica et Panama; Darien, Panama; et Rio Platano, Panama.

Les questions majeures qui seront abordées comprennent les relations entre le concept de réserves de la biosphère en Amérique Centrale et les populations indigènes; la participation des indigènes au processus de planification pour l'établissement des réserves de la biosphère et pour en dériver des techniques locales de gestion; les problèmes actuels qui se posent aux réserves de la Biosphère et à leurs résidents indigènes; et le développement d'une planification des ressources et d'un processus de gestion pour les terres indigènes.

Indigenous Cultures and Protected Areas in Central America

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America to Indigenous Peoples

The Relationship of the Biosphere Reserve Concept in Central

Due to its geographic location in the tropical latitudes between North and South America, the Mesoamerican region has evolved a diverse mosaic of terrestrial and marine environments. This situation has also nurtured the development of a variety of indigenous cultures, each of which is intimately linked to the local resource base. Prior to the arrival of the European conquerors, a rich fabric of resource use and natural habitat existed throughout the Central American isthmus due to the successful adaptation of the various indigenous groups to their rain forest environment and adjacent coastal zones. Now, however, after nearly 500 years of European presence, the once-extensive tropical forest has been almost completely eliminated throughout much of Central America and, along with it, the indigenous peoples.

Today the transformation of forest lands in Central America is occurring at unprecedented rates and directly affecting the indigenous peoples living there. For example, current estimates on annual deforestation rates in Panama, Costa Rica, and Honduras are 50,000, 65,000, and 80,000 hectares per year, respectively (Hartshorn 1981; MacFarland 1984; Dickenson 1982). At present only a few large tracts, remnants of the original forest cover, exist: the Petén of eastern Guatemala and Belize; the Mosquitia region of eastern Honduras and Nicaragua; the Talamanca Mountain Range between Costa Rica and Panama; the Comarca of San Blas in northeastern Panama; and Panama's Darien Province (MacFarland et al. 1983).

Today, national development projects for hydroelectric

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dams, oil pipelines, and highways; or commercial logging, farming, cattle ranching, and mining; or the immigration of more aggressive colonists, have appropriated the indigenous peoples' lands and alienated them from participation in the economic development process, forcing them onto more marginal and inaccessible sites with more precipitation, steeper slopes, and poorer soils. Even then, these peoples have apparently devised sustainable long-term land uses combining migratory agricultural practices with arboriculture and wildlife management techniques which are ingeniously suited to their environments. Each group has developed a distinct system for a subsistence economy to derive their foodstuffs. construction materials, textiles, medicines, utensils, and other physical needs. In addition, for decades they have marketed a variety of agricultural, livestock, wildlife, and fisheries products to the outside society. Their mixed agricultural and forestry systems produce more labor, more commodity per unit of land, are more ecologically sound, and result in more equitable distribution of income than other land use practices currently being imposed upon their lands. There are no other land use models for the tropical rain forest which tend to preserve ecological stability or biological diversity as well as those of the indigenous groups presently encountered there (Gordon 1982; Partridge 1982; Morales et al. 1983).

Efforts to establish indigenous reserves and ensure the integrity of their lands and natural resources began in Central America in the late 1930s, but it was not until the last decade that serious discussion was directed toward those issues. Indian affairs agencies and other institutions began taking active roles in developing programs for the improvement of

health care, education, and other services for indigenous communities, often with unforeseen and negative results. The experiences derived from these programs are gradually bringing about a reconsideration of the strategies for land use, natural resources management, and cultural self-determination on the part of these indigenous groups. The historical and traditional attitude that Indians are wards of the state, separate from the national political and economic structure yet dependent upon its paternalistic support, is slowly changing. It is being replaced by an understanding of the cultural pluralism which exists in Central America and the possibility of learning from indigenous peoples' ability to successfully manage their resources as an important component for sustainable national development.

Recognition of the complex interrelationship between indigenous peoples and tropical forest in Central America has been paralleled by an increasing awareness of the ecological values of tropical forests and of wildlands in general. Since the late 1960s, much attention has been focused on the need to conserve and properly manage the remaining wildlands in Central America for their natural and cultural values, and as major contributors to national development. All of the countries in the region are successfully implementing systems of national parks and other protected areas. However, there is a substantive lack of consideration for natural resource management plans for any indigenous reserves in the region or their relationship to other protected areas which they may inhabit. Up to now, indigenous reserves have been viewed solely as geopolitical divisions, not a type of wildland or natural resource and land management area.

A major conceptual change, which provides a basic framework for integrating wildlands management and indigenous peoples, was initiated at UNESCO's Sixteenth General Conference session in 1970 with the creation of the "Man and the Biosphere" Programme (MAB) which sought to "develop within the natural and social sciences a basis for the rational use and conservation of the resources of the biosphere and for the improvement of the relationship between man and the environment; to predict the consequences of today's actions on tomorrow's world and thereby to increase man's ability to manage efficiently the natural resources of the biosphere." The growth of the MAB Programme in the intervening years has prompted numerous variations on its original intent. Perhaps the best summary was provided by the IUCN/CNPPA in the Minsk Conference of 1983 ("The Biosphere Reserve and Its Relation to Other Protected Areas Management"):

The concept of the Biosphere Reserve is one of the major innovations on natural resources management, providing a framework to relate management directly to the needs of the people . . . Its bold goal is to promote a balanced relationship between people and their environment, and

thus, to serve human needs by promoting sustained, ecologically sound development. . . . If handled imaginatively it should provide an excellent opportunity for increasing understanding of the problems of the biosphere and of involving people, especially local people, in the conservation and management having a vital bearing on their future (IUCN/CNPPA 1983).

The Biosphere Reserve Programme has conceptually linked the movement for the establishment of national parks and protected areas to the lands and traditions of indigenous cultures. There now exists a framework for the active participation of indigenous people in the management process affecting their lands, natural resources, and development. The objectives expressed by this programme recognize the need to evaluate the shortcomings of existing modern technologies and to proceed toward local, decentralized, participatory, and long-term solutions to current natural resource issues.

Significant progress has been made in Central America with the attempt to apply the biosphere reserve concept practically, demonstrating the immense importance that this programme could have toward the resolution of many complex land use issues involving indigenous peoples. The following sections of this paper examine the recent experience of three tropical forest biosphere reserves and the Kuna wildland project.

La Amistad-Talamanca, Costa Rica/Panama (Biosphere Reserve, World Heritage Site, International Park)

Biophysical Characteristics

The 1-million hectare La Amistad Biosphere Reserve (BR) is located in the Talamanca Mountain Range of southern Costa Rica and western Panama, with roughly equivalent amounts of reserve areas in both countries. (Note: The Panamanian limits still have to be legally established.) This extremely rugged range ascends from near sea level on the Caribbean coast to 3,800 meters within a short ten-kilometer distance and drops just as sharply on the Pacific slope to approximately 1,000 meters along its southern limit. Its topographic relief combines with an annual precipitation from 2,000 mm to 7,000 mm to produce the forested peaks and valleys, sphagnum wetlands, and Andean alpine scrub associations considered to be the most ecologically diverse wildland complex in Central America.

Indigenous Cultures

La Amistad BR has a long history of human occupation. Scores of archeological sites are still being discovered and explored. The petroglyphs, burial grounds, and residential sites date back thousands of years and provide valuable information on the pre-Colombian residents of Central America, who were different from the Mayas, Toltecs, and Aztecs to the north and the Incas to the south (Stone 1977; Drolet and Markens 1982; Corrales 1982).

Today the area is occupied by groups of Cabecar, Bribri, Teribe, and Guaymi Indians. The Cabecars and Bribris account for the vast majority of Costa Rica's indigenous population, with approximately 11,000 to 19,000 in the Talamanca area (Hartshorn et al. 1982). The Guaymis and Teribes account for approximately 30,000 people on the Panamanian side of the reserve (Nyrop 1980). These people occupy lands with steep slopes and poor soils, and although they have become somewhat acculturated, still demonstrate highly adapted migratory agricultural techniques combined with hunting, fishing, and gathering techniques (Morales et al. 1983).

On the Costa Rican side of the biosphere reserve there are five decreed Indian reserves: the Tayni, Talamanca, Telire, Chirripó, and Ujarras-Salitre-Cabrega. Recent studies show that most of these reserves contain sizable non-Indian populations, are owned by non-Indians, or exclude some Indian settlements or hunting grounds (Morales et al. 1983). On the Panamanian side, the Guaymi nation is actively promoting the establishment of their reserve lands.

Threats to the Area

A number of serious threats exist to the integrity of indigenous groups' lands and cultures in the La Amistad BR, as well as to conservation of the vast tropical forest it represents. The 1983 opening of a transisthmian oil pipeline and adjacent hard-surface highway has bisected the previously unbroken forest on the Panamanian side of the proposed BR and provides terrestrial access to the Bocas del Toro Province for the first time. In the absence of strong protective measures, spontaneous colonization and deforestation are occurring along the corridor on traditional indigenous lands. Another potentially adverse impact would be an oil spill in the local Caribbean waters, long recognized for its good fisheries and incredibly diverse coral reefs, mangroves, and coastal wetlands. At this time another pipeline project for Costa Rica is being discussed. One of several alternative routes might cross the Talamanca Range on that country's side of the reserve.

Mining projects may also create future impacts. On the Costa Rican side, the indigenous tribes have negotiated an agreement with the government to permit petroleum exploration in two of the reserves, with no security that their lands and cultures will be protected (Hartshorn et al. 1982). In Panama, a proposal for a major copper mining project in Cerro Colorado, traditional Guaymi lands, has for the present been postponed after a long environmental debate.

Along certain borders of La Amistad BR, colonization or land speculation is invading, a trend growing in quantity and expanding geographically. The results are forest destruction, habitat elimination, loss of indigenous lands and rights, and watershed degradation. Secondary, but no less important, impacts are wildlife poaching and looting of archeological sites. *Planning and Management Process*

Although Costa Rica decreed the first indigenous reserve

in the Talamanca Range in the late 1940s, it was not until ten years ago that effective management actions were taken. Between 1975 and 1984, both Costa Rica and Panama have decreed and begun managing a complex of adjoining national parks, indigenous reserves, forest protection zones, areas for the production of water, and biological reserves, which have consolidated much of that area under a protected status.

The planning effort to establish these areas and integrate them into a BR provides a good example of a sustained interdisciplinary, interinstitutional, and international approach to resolving resource management issues. At this time, considerable work must still be undertaken to establish adequate protection for each reserve, define management guidelines, provide recommendations on limit revisions, and prepare an overall biosphere reserve resource management scheme (Morales et al. 1983).

During the planning process to establish the BR complex, there has been little contact with the various indigenous peoples of the Talamanca Range on either side of the international border. This is due primarily to the difficult terrain which impedes access to the scattered indigenous villages; a limited amount of social and political organization beyond the extended family unit of each group; and suspicion of outsiders per se, based on long years of negative experience. Nevertheless, the planning teams have made concerted efforts during field visits to present themselves to the indigenous people in the immediate area and discuss the implications of the project.

At the local reserve level a variety of activities are being implemented to confront management problems. Approximately forty-five forest rangers have been employed throughout the individual protected areas to discourage invasions and control other illegal activities. Aerial photography and cadastral studies are being undertaken to identify and evaluate affected areas. Environmental educators and extensionists are used to present the biosphere concept and to alleviate suspicions about reserve personnel, as well as to discuss solutions for local employment and service needs. Whenever possible, attempts are made to contract rangers, guides, porters, and field assistants from among the indigenous communities.

At a national level, the agencies involved with indigenous affairs, national parks and agrarian reform, and health and education advise and assist indigenous community leaders in obtaining national and international support for priority programs. The governments of both countries are paying salaries for health promoters, teachers, and approximately fifteen resident wardens who try to prevent invasions by non-Indian colonists. Actual decisions regarding internal affairs are made by the community councils in each reserve.

Darien, Panama (Biosphere Reserve, World Heritage Site, National Park)

Biophysical Characteristics

The 575,000-hectare Darien BR covers about 90 percent of

the Panamanian border with Colombia. The extensively forested area varies from sea level to 1,500 meters and contains sandy beaches, rocky coasts, mangroves, major rivers, freshwater wetlands, and mountainous terrain with cloud and elfin forest. Mean annual temperature is 26° C and rainfall varies from 1,800 mm on the Pacific coast to 4,000 mm at higher elevations. Only a few studies have been undertaken on the flora and fauna of the region, yet these indicate a great ecological diversity containing many endangered species and numerous migratory birds as well as its own endemic and resident fauna (IUCN 1982).

Indigenous Cultures

The Darien BR has received the impacts of human occupation since the pre-Columbian period. Although the archeological record is vague, the area may have been inhabited initially by a "Cuevas-Coiba" group which was displaced by the Kunas and, later, by the Chocoes (or Embera and Wainan, as they call themselves) who now constitute the majority of the area's residents (Arauz 1974). The Embera have a population of approximately 1,500; the Wainan have 500 or less; and the Kunas approximately 200 people. There also exists a sizable population of approximately 500 black Colombian immigrants and Panamanian mestizos (Dalfelt and Morales 1978).

The majority of the indigenous groups of the Darien BR live in small, dispersed villages or single home sites along the numerous navigable rivers and streams, where they practice traditional migratory agricultural techniques as well as hunting, fishing, and gathering practices. The Embera have a very loose tribal organization, focusing more on family units than the larger social group. The Kunas, however, are concentrated in two main villages and have a greater degree of social unity.

Threats to the Area

At this time the most serious threat to the integrity of the Darien BR and its indigenous peoples is the presence of logging concessions on the borders of the reserve, with the subsequent migration along the forest roads by landless colonists or speculators, who in turn open cattle land. Although not yet inside the reserve, the Pan-American Highway will eventually bisect the area, and in the absence of adequate protection would cause ecological calamity and elimination of the indigenous cultures along the Tuira River valley where massive immigration could be expected to occur.

As little as a decade ago, studies for a sea-level canal in Panama evaluated the possibilities of nuclear cratering excavation techniques through the present Darien BR. An exclusion zone was to be created in over 75 percent of the reserve and all human occupants removed to other areas. Last year serious reconsideration began of the Darien route option (*Engineering News Record* 1983).

Planning and Management Process

In 1966, a twenty-five-mile-wide inspection zone was established along the Panama-Colombia border by the Commission for the Prevention of Hoof and Mouth Disease (COP-

FA), with U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA) financing, to control the potential spread of the disease from Colombia. Shortly after, studies by the OAS and FAO indicated that the watershed and wildlife values of the Darien merited protection and, in 1972, the National Directorate of Renewable Natural Resources (RENARE) established the 700,000-hectare Altos de Darien protected forest zone. The area was never actually managed and in 1978 a planning team composed of COPFA, RENARE, and CATIE prepared a management plan which led to the creation of the 575,000-hectare Darien National Park in 1980. In the following year it was classified as a World Heritage Site due to its spectacular natural resources and indigenous populations and in 1983 was approved as a biosphere reserve. An important addition to protected lands in the Darien region was the 1984 creation of the Embera I and Embera II Indigenous Reserves. Their combined areas total approximately 300,000 hectares and adjoin and overlap sectors of the Darien BR; they will be considered for possible consolidation with the biosphere reserve. Equally important are the recent efforts of the Kuna Indians in the Darien to obtain protected status for the proposed Bayano, Ipeti, Piriati, Uala, Morti, and Nurra reserves (Houseal 1984).

Throughout the process to establish the Darien BR, and even in the creation of the Embera indigenous reserves, there has been little real consultation with the indigenous peoples of the region. The national-level government agencies have taken the lead role in the planning studies for a variety of reasons, including the difficulty of initiating and maintaining communications with indigenous groups in remote areas; lack of sufficient numbers of qualified technicians on both the part of government agencies and indigenous leaders to engage in a participatory process of natural resource planning and management; limited degree of political awareness and organization among geographically dispersed indigenous groups; and a lack of sufficient funds to sustain planning efforts at a local or regional level.

Despite these problems, various tactics are being used to encourage participation of the indigenous residents in appropriate resource management activities. The concept of "voluntary forest guards," a title bestowed on local village chiefs which provides the orientation to guide the community in forest protection, has been particularly effective. These individuals become valuable contacts for the design and implementation of future extension programs. The BR also attempts to train and employ the local indigenous residents as salaried park guards, guides, craftsmen, laborers, or porters.

Rio Platano, Honduras (Biosphere Reserve, World Heritage Site)

Biophysical Characteristics

The 500,000-hectare Rio Platano BR, located in the Mosquitia region of northern Honduras, extends from the Caribbean coast to 1,300 meters in elevation. The reserve contains sandy

beaches, saltwater lagoons, mangroves, savannahs, oxbow lakes, rivers, and mountainous terrain with extensive evergreen hardwood forest and remarkable geologic formations. Annual precipitation is approximately 3,000 mm and the average annual temperature is 26.6° C. The majority of the reserve is humid tropical forest (Holdridge 1982). About 40 species of mammals, 380 species of birds, and 125 of reptiles and amphibians are known to exist and the area serves as a refuge for many endangered species (IUCN 1982).

Indigenous Cultures

The Rio Platano BR has long been a site of human occupation and is rich in archeological materials including petroglyphs, burial sites, and stories of the fabled "white city," yet to be rediscovered (IUCN 1982). At present three principal groups inhabit the reserve. Approximately 2,000 Miskito Indians are living along the Caribbean coast and in lower river settlements where they practice their traditional migratory agriculture and specialized hunting, fishing, and gathering techniques. In remote upriver locations, there are two villages of Miskito and some pure Paya Indians, with the latter numbering only about 17 people in total. Also along the coast is a single settlement of Garifunos (Afro-Caribbeans) and another one of mestizos (Glick and Betancourt 1983).

Threats to the Area

The indigenous residents of the reserve have long understood the fragility of their environment and relate the intrusion of outsiders to the degradation of the local ecosystem and social structure. Increasingly acculturated through the introduction of outside influences, the Indians are experiencing a loss of self-sufficient skills and knowledge.

From the south side of the reserve (Olancho Province) mestizo colonists have begun immigrating into the headwaters of the Rio Platano, deforesting the land and dynamiting the river's fish, an important resource to the Miskito and Paya residents downstream. On the eastern border of the BR, 4,000 Miskito refugees from Nicaragua are being considered for permanent relocation by the Honduras Refugee Commission with the support of the U.N. High Commission on Refugees, a decision which would certainly affect the BR as the Miskitos—subsistence farmers and hunters—migrate into the reserve. At present, there are insufficient funds to adequately protect against this immigration (Barborak 1984).

Another perhaps more serious threat is a road proposed to cross through the buffer zone along the BR's eastern border, thereby encouraging commercial logging and large-scale colonization. Originally to have been financed by the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), environmental outcry from Honduras and the United States caused its reconsideration. Now, however, the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, in collaboration with the Honduran Army, have begun the project again as part of joint military maneuvers. The U.S. Department of Defense is not subject to the same type of environmental requirements as USAID, and if the road is completed

through the reserve, fewer resources would be allotted for its subsequent protection (Barborak 1984).

Planning and Management Process

In late 1960, Honduras established the Ciudad Blanca Archaeological Reserve of approximately 500,000 hectares. In 1980, the country created specific legislation to establish the Rio Platano BR, which was superimposed over the initial reserve to protect the Rio Platano watershed as well as its opposing slopes, thereby becoming Honduras's only large protected area (IUCN 1982).

The planning process is a good example of how an MAB committee can function with interinstitutional participation. Agencies related to the conservation and development of the BR were involved at an early stage under the supervision of the General Directorate for Renewable Natural Resource (DIGERENARE), and UNESCO funds were provided to prepare the management plan and draft legislation. In this way, conflicts were resolved early in the management process and the funding was an inducement toward successful implementation of the project. Valuable technical assistance was obtained from CATIE, UNESCO/MAB, and the Peace Corps.

From the initiation of the project, the local indigenous groups were viewed as a user group within the BR and not as members of the planning team. However, their input was always solicited through numerous meetings to determine the reserve boundaries and permissible uses within the cultural zone. The BR reserve ensures long-term protection for the local indigenous groups, who lack their own decreed reserve lands. A Miskito anthropologist was included as a member of the planning team to assist in cross-cultural communications with specific target groups such as mothers' clubs, schoolteachers, church groups, and the sensitive Paya villages. The BR management plan has also made a strong commitment to hire and train local people as reserve administrators, guards, extensionists, guides, porters, and craftsmen. Yearly operational plans are prepared and monitored to evaluate the success as well as to measure how well the BR addresses local problems and needs.

Kuna Wildlands Project, Panama (Indian Reserve)

Biophysical Characteristics

The proposed 60,000-hectare Kuna wildlands area is located in the Comarca of San Blas (Kuna Yala Indigenous Reserve) on the northeastern coast of Panama. With a variation in elevation from sea level to 950 meters and an annual precipitation from 2,500 mm to 3,500 mm, the area contains three life zones from lowland wet and very wet tropical forest to wet premontane forest (Holdridge 1982). Average annual temperature is 24° C (Instituto Nacional Geográfico 1980).

A wide variety of marine and terrestrial associations exist, including coral reefs, islands, mangroves, coastal lagoons, gallery forest, mixed agricultural plots, and evergreen hardwood forest. An equally impressive fauna includes several en-

dangered species of felines, giant anteater, harpy eagle, Baird's tapir, crocodilians, and various marine turtles. Many migratory species are known to winter over in the area. Initial studies also indicate there are probably many plants new to science to be encountered.

Indigenous Culture

Kuna Yala has a population of approximately 30,000 people, the majority of whom live in some thirty-eight communities on a coral island within a few kilometers of the coast. There are also nine coastal settlements and three villages inland along navigable rivers. Outside Kuna Yala there are about 1,500 Kunas in the Bayano and Tuira river basins and three villages inland from the Gulf of Uraba in Colombia (Chapin 1982).

Kuna villages typically have densely populated and organically derived settlement patterns. The island communities were established in historical times to avoid the pests and plagues which afflicted the mainland communities (Howe 1984) and are strategically located to take advantage of both terrestrial and marine resources. Some have become so populated that landfills are created to add additional structures, or in a few cases, new communities are being started once again on the mainland coast or other islands.

The Kunas derive their principal protein from seafood, although domestic livestock also exists (pigs and chickens), and occasional hunting does occur. Alluvial soils along the mainland coasts are used for cultivation. A recent study in only one small area of the reserve indicates seventy-two agroforestry combinations, utilizing some forty-eight trees and sixteen crops. In addition, scores of species are used for boats, firewood, house construction, medicines, handicrafts, and utensils (Castillo and Beer 1983).

The Kuna nation is unique among tropical forest dwellers in Central America due to an unusually well-organized and cohesive society which enables it to conserve its cultural identity while confronting outside influences in a dynamic manner. Throughout their history, they have maintained strong principles of autonomy and self-reliance, although they have been able to successfully integrate economic and technological innovation as components of their cultural development.

Threats to the Area

The Kuna's traditional beliefs teach that the primary forest (neg serret) is the sacred home of the spirits and as a result, have maintained unaltered vast wooded tracts. The dense tropical forest cover of Kuna Yala contrasts sharply with the denuded hillsides in the immediately adjacent province of Panama where the increasing deforestation by slash and burn agriculturalists, followed by the introduction of cattle, is rapidly deteriorating the natural resources base and beginning to encroach on Kuna Yala.

The first access road into Kuna Yala may present problems. The road has no funding to recuperate or maintain it, and the colonists have only been partially withstood, with several

boundary disputes remaining to be resolved. Without adequate control, deforestation will continue on reserve lands.

Another substantive issue will be the Kuna's right to their natural resources versus the national government's right of eminent domain. Considerations concerning forest, mineral, and marine resources management authority are only in early discussions.

Planning and Management Process

The Comarca of San Blas (Kuna Yala) was established in 1938 due to an earlier confrontation with the Panamanian government in 1925 and a desire to manage its traditional lands in an autonomous manner. Much of the recent effort to protect and manage the wildlands of Kuna Yala are due to the construction of the all-weather "Llano-Carti" road in the western sector of the reserve, opening its first terrestrial connection to Panama. The road was financed by USAID and is nearing completion at this time. No project funding was included for an environmental impact assessment or for the subsequent recuperation, maintenance, and protection activities so necessary for any rural road which penetrates primary tropical forest under such extreme environmental conditions.

Since the earliest stages of the road project, the Kunas have been actively involved, due to an increasing preoccupation with the potentially adverse impacts to their lands and culture, particularly by the spontaneous colonization and deforestation which was already occurring along the completed road corridor immediately adjacent to the southern boundary of Kuna Yala. In 1975 a group of young men from the Kuna Youth Movement moved onto a site where the road entered the reserve to begin an agricultural settlement and create a permanent presence to control in-migrations by non-Kunas. In 1976 the group received support from the Kuna Workers Union (UTK, now known as the Kuna Employees Association, or AEK) and in the same year received the approval of the General Kuna Congress. The agricultural experiments did not succeed due to a variety of environmental limitations and in 1979 the Kunas asked for technical assistance from the Ministry of Agriculture (MIDA), whose studies concluded that the site was unfit for permanent agriculture or cattle. In 1980 a CATIE team was asked to advise as to viable long-term use alternatives, and in consultation with the Kunas came up with the concept of a forest park. CATIE has continued as the technical advisory group on the project and has been instrumental in obtaining financial support from USAID, the Inter American Foundation (IAF), the World Wildlife Fund (WWF), the Smithsonian Tropical Research Institute (STRI), and other sources. With the support of the binational and multinational funds, as well as a significant counterpart contribution by the Kunas, the "Kuna Yala Wildlands Project" (PEMASKY) now has a twenty-person Kuna staff who are being trained to undertake all aspects of natural resource management in Kuna Yala. In addition, the various islands contribute important manpower by sending fifteen to twenty volunteers every other week to the border area of the reserve to assist in protection activities.

Given the outstanding natural resources encountered in the Kuna wildlands, as well as their unique relationships with the Kuna culture and the excellent opportunities for investigation and training, it can be anticipated that this area might be nominated for both biosphere reserve and World Heritage Site classifications. Of course this decision depends in part upon the understanding and acceptance of the Kuna General Congress.

Recommendations

Planning Process

At present a need exists to establish a planning process for the protection and management of the natural resources of indigenous lands in Central America. The biosphere reserve planning process can offer useful experiences to accomplish this through an integrative approach between the various reserves' residents and their resources at a local level. A useful document to assist this ongoing effort might be the expansion of the IUCN's Directory of Neotropical Protected Areas to include indigenous reserves and their natural and cultural resources.

It is recommended that any governmental resource management activity which involves or potentially affects indigenous lands or resources respects the indigenous peoples' right to self-determination and makes every possible effort to assure their participation at the earliest planning stages. Specific components which should be included in the planning process include:

- 1. a clear explanation and understanding of the planning process by all participants;
- 2. clarification of the values of all the groups involved at local, regional, and national levels;
- 3. the definition of goals and objectives to satisfy specific local human needs and resource management concerns;
- 4. provision of analyses of natural resources and socioeconomic factors leading to locally derived solutions which maintain ecological stability and fulfill human potential;
- 5. inclusion of conflict resolution techniques to derive mutually acceptable solutions;
- 6. establishment of a process for local participation in continued project monitoring, evaluation, and, if necessary, redesign.

Training

It is recommended that national and regional level institutions in Central America which are involved in resource management issues provide effective mechanisms to increase the numbers of indigenous people in training programs for natural resources management. Such programs must be prepared in a nontraditional manner in order to accommodate indigenous participants with little or no formal education.

At the same time, it is recommended that additional em-

phasis be placed on the social sciences and cross-cultural communication in training programs for resource management specialists at all levels to increase the understanding of indigenous peoples and their needs.

Investigation and Monitoring

Improved mechanisms are required to encourage basic research and monitoring which will serve to provide baseline data on the relationships of indigenous groups and the tropical forest. By the same token, additional investigation is needed on the impacts of hunting, fishing, and agroforestry practices on local ecosystems in order to determine land use capacities for sustained development.

It is recommended that all research in biosphere reserves with indigenous inhabitants attempt to encourage and fortify their participation in the actual implementation of the investigation. The use of indigenous counterparts and assistants is proving successful on the Kuna project. Early explanation of the research objectives, training indigenous assistants, and incorporating them into the project's execution will also serve to establish long-term relationships between scientists and indigenous peoples for the future exchange of information and assistance.

Resource Management and Protection

Legally established boundaries, physical demarcation, and frequent patrols are a few methods which may successfully ensure the protection of biosphere or indigenous reserve lands. It is recommended that appropriate assistance be given to obtain national and local recognition of traditional indigenous lands and the authority to protect them against illegal activities. Every attempt should be made by natural resource agencies to establish cooperative agreements to accomplish adequate resource management and protection within those areas.

An important parallel activity is a well-balanced program of public relations and environmental education at local, regional, and national levels to ensure correct communication and to gather collaboration and support for the program. At a local level, serious consideration must be given to the appropriate type of information and the technique used to translate it to the rural, uneducated, and poor people who usually are neighbors of indigenous lands.

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Watch Tower

Precis

Mixed herds maintained by cheesemakers formed an integral part of the historic alpine landscape established in 1918 as Covadonga, Spain's first national park. In its precincts a centuries-old grazing regime promoted a sustained yield of grasses and an open landscape attractive to excursionists. Several interacting forces are leading to the degradation of these grasslands: 1) imported cheese competes favorably with that produced within and on the periphery of the park, leading to the decline of milking herds on parkland; 2) herding families in search of better income turn from milk to meat production or to developing tourism; 3) abandonment of controlled grazing leads to soil erosion and intrusion of scrub; and 4) human and vehicular traffic damages grasslands in the vicinity of herding huts purchased by urbanites. Local people, regionalists, and park officials contend for control over these forces, seeking to preserve income, a symbolic heritage, or park quality.

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Rebaños mezclados mantenidos por queseros formaban parte integral del paisaje histórico alpino establecido en 1918 en Covadonga, el primer Parque Nacional de España. En sus inmediaciones un régimen de pasto que tenía siglos de perduración promovía una producción sostenible de pastura y un paisaje abierto y atractivo para los excursionistas. Varias fuerzas recíprocas están llevando estos prados al decaimiento:

1) el queso importado compete favorablemente con la producción dentro y en la periferia del parque, resultando en la declinación de rebaños de leche en los terrenos del parque;

2) las familias ganaderas, buscando mejores ingresos, dejan

la producción de leche para la producción de carne o para el desarrollo del turismo; 3) el abandono del pastar controlado da a la erosión del suelo y a la intrusión del matorral, y 4) el tráfico de gente y de vehículos hace daño a los prados en las vecindades de cabañas pastorales que los de la ciudad han comprado. La gente local, regionalistas y oficiales del parque luchan para controlar estas fuerzas, tratando de conservar los ingresos, o el patrimonio simbólico del parque.

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Les troupeaux mixtes maintenus par les fabricants de fromage faisaient partie intégrale du paysage historique alpin qui est devenu, en 1918, Covadonga, le premier Parc National de l'Espagne. Dans ses enclos, un régime de pâturage, vieux de plusieurs siècles, favorisait un rendement soutenu d'herbages et créait des paysages ouverts qui attiraient les excursionistes. Diverses forces conjugées conduisent à la dégradation de ces herbages: 1) les fromages importés concurrencent favorablement ceux produits à l'intérieur du parc ou dans sa périphérie, provoquant le déclin de la traite des troupeaux, 2) les familles des éleveurs, à la recherche d'un meilleur revenu, se détournent de la production de lait au profit de la production de viande ou vers le développement du tourisme, 3) l'abandon de pâturage contrôlé conduit à l'érosion du sol et à l'invasion de broussailles et 4) la circulation humaine et des véhicules endommage les herbages à proximité des huttes des éleveurs achetées par les citadins. Les personnes locales, les régionalistes et les officiels du parc, luttent pour contrôler ces forces, cherchant à préserver un revenu, un héritage symbolique ou une qualité de parc.

Cheesemaking as a Living Culture Resource in Covadonga National Park, Spain

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My concern here is to draw attention to the heretofore unacknowledged role of pastoralists and cheesemakers in the making of a Spanish landscape which in 1918 was declared the Mountains of Covadonga National Park.¹ The landscape was specifically set aside to preserve its "flora, fauna, and beauty."² This imperative has not been understood as meaning to preserve the livestock, herders, and huts also characteristic of that landscape, elements which for the purposes of this paper are called the "Little Tradition." The landscape is close to a battle site and a shrine of religious, historical, and cultural significance, and the parkland encompasses these elements of the "Great Tradition" of modern Spain.

That Great Tradition, as seen from the perspective of the present park director, lent a special animus, "for the park's creation on the twelve hundredth anniversary of the Battle of Covadonga (in 718) commemorates the moment in which we consider modern Spain to have been conceived." That the Little Tradition was overlooked in 1918 is understandable because extensive grazing of livestock according to shared norms—called here the grazing regime—was after all then widely practiced. In Covadonga it involved, among other things, autochthonous livestock, humble architecture, pastoralists, and cheesemakers earning a living. I agrue here that the extensive grazing regime of Covadonga National Park must be understood if current trends of park degradation are to be reversed.

In the paper which follows I describe the setting and the grazing regime, discuss the implications of its decline for the park and for the district in which the park is located, and recommend that it be further studied and fostered, so as to

restore the ecosystem which was operating when the park was created, which implicitly accounted for so much of its original appeal.

Biophysical Characteristics of the Park and District

The park comprises the westernmost of three great limestone massifs which together form the Peaks of Europe, the highest portion of the Cantabrian Range. The limits of three autonomous regions (formerly provinces) converge in these peaks: Cantabria (Santander), Castilla-León (León), and Asturias. At present most of the park is in Asturias.

When viewed from far north, the Peaks of Europe seem to erupt out of the sea, for they are situated just twenty-five kilometers south of the coastline. Peña Santa rises to 2,586 meters in the Holy Peaks, those of the western massif. From it descend the tributaries of the rivers Dobra and Cares which cut deep canyons nearly a kilometer deep, delineating the unambiguous boundaries of the park on the east and west. The boundaries are less clearly defined on the north and south where physical processes have altered the elevation less abruptly and where considerations of private property have influenced its irregular definition.

At present the park comprises a pentagon of roughly 170 square kilometers. An area again about that size encompasses the set of communities that form part of the park ecosystem under consideration here, communities whose residents have for centuries, if not millenia, exploited this parkland and periphery which henceforth I refer to as "the district."

This is green, or wet, Spain. The climate is temperate Atlantic. Precipitation in the valleys close to sea level is about

100 centimeters per year, and twice that in the higher altitudes, where rain has for eons been dissolving the limestone, carving it into soft flutings, sharp scallops, treacherous hollows, and long or deep caves, all characteristic of karstian formations. Temperatures in the lower altitudes of the park rarely drop below freezing. But commensurate with altitude, temperature drops, permitting snow to remain on northern exposures throughout the summer. In these same altitudes heat can build up to extremes when an unobstructed sun reflects off bare rock, giving rise to the alpine ''karstian desert.''

The northern flanks, however, remain green year-round. Upon them grew the primeval deciduous forest—chestnut, oak, and beech—which has been diminishing for centuries and is mostly gone now, having been replaced by meadowland.

The meadows, comprising half the land surface in the district, display the pattern of ownership. They are enclosed by stone walls and living hedges. Scarce plowland is found in the bottoms of the valleys in the district. It is divided into tiny cultivated strips where the staples once grown for food are giving way to crops grown for animal consumption, a sign of the district's integration into the national economy.

Uplands, alpine regions, and steep unproductive slopes take up the remaining half of the land. Traditionally this was "common land" under the control of villages, but today it is officially owned by the county government over which Covadonga Park is superimposed.

Half of this common land is bare rock, 35 percent is covered in pasture, graze, and brush, and 15 percent is presently under forest. Karst thrusts through the pasture, dividing it into discrete areas demarcated by cliffs, scree, and sharp outcroppings, among which grows alpine vegetation: hardy grasses and legumes, gentians and narcissus, and woody plants like heather, gorse, and juniper. Some of these species can be found only in this part of the Cantabrian range.³

The plant diversity is high in the best grasslands, as much as 135 species per 100 square meters. When overgrazed or trampled, the diversity is reduced, giving way to woody and spiny plants and thistle. In the crags, along with grasses grow saxifrage, helianthum, and sedums. These, when not cropped by domestic goats, are cropped by native fallow deer and chamoix, the remaining wild species of large animals for whose protection the park was created.

For the interests of this paper the park can be divided then into three zones of ecological interest: 1) the lowlands where the historical shrine is found, situated amidst thick forest and meadow—it centers on the Great Tradition and draws cultural visitors year-round; 2) the intermediate zone with its common grasslands and now sparse forest—it is seasonally occupied by livestock and pastoralists and the road terminating near two alpine lakes at an elevation of 1,070 meters brings to this zone day visitors and campers; and 3) the alpine zone in which the remaining wildlife abounds and limited grazing of livestock takes place—it is an exceptional milieu for mountaineering.

Changes in the Population and Economy of the District

Currently 90 percent of the 16,000 people who reside in the district live in the low-lying valleys. Half are dispersed in villages; the other half are concentrated in the market town, Cangas de Onis, which is also the district's judicial and administrative center. Sixty percent make their living from agriculture, almost exclusively from stock raising and dairying, and only a small fraction are still engaged with the extensive grazing regime.

The farms in the district are small and fragmented; 60 percent of them vary, between one and five hectares. Between 1960 and 1983 the number of farms dropped from 5,000 to 3,000, reflecting the crisis of many of the world's small farmers. Drawn into dependency upon imported seeds, feeds, and fertilizer, they were caught short of funds to continue purchasing these items when rising oil prices drove up the cost of imports. The reduction of farms in this district correlates with the decline of the extensive grazing regime.

The district experienced important demographic shifts in the twentieth century. The population increased by 50 percent over the first half of this century, then dropped abruptly. The depopulation of recent decades has left high-lying villages largely emptied of their youth. But further depopulation has been stemmed by the global recession, leaving young people of the district searching for ways to make a living locally, coinciding with government policy to fix local population.

Creation of the Park

In the eighth century, the Moors invaded Christian Spain and prompted a handful of determined Christians to regroup in the northern mountain fastness of the Peaks of Europe. From that redoubt the Christians waged a battle, it is said with the help of the local divinity, the Virgin of Covadonga, whose shrine is set in a remarkable site where a formidable karstian underground stream emerges as a waterfall. Legend holds that she released a timely avalanche upon the Moors, which put them to flight. The Battle of Covadonga thus marks the beginning of the Reconquest, waged initially by Asturians, then by Spaniards from other regions as the Moors were pushed south over the next 700 years. The Virgin of Covadonga thus became the patron saint of Asturias and her shrine the seat of Asturian identity. But Covadonga is deeply significant to the Spanish people as well, an attitude that is conveyed in schoolbooks and can be heard in the words of King Juan Carlos who referred to Asturias—because of Covadonga—as "the primary and eternal source" of the nation.

The vision and efforts of one Pedro Pidal—aristocrat, out-doorsman, mountaineer, one-time hunter, senator, and intimate of Alfonso XIII; in short, a scion of the Great Tradition—persuaded the king to decree the park so as "to preserve a unique place in which it may be possible to contemplate the wild animals living peacefully in their natural en-

vironment without being molested by anyone." Pidal was appreciative of the pastoralists who always extended him hospitality and who accompanied him on difficult mountaineering ascents. But he considered them as given elements in the "Peaceable Kingdom" assured by his creation of the park. And his benign neglect of this central cultural reality of the park—and resource of the future—has continued to be typical of most every member of the elite and middle class who have taken an interest in the park for one reason or anther. It has meant that one crucial part of the park's ecosystem—the grazing regime—has been overlooked.

That the land was neither wilderness nor owned by the nation did not seem to be a problem to Pidal. No legal provisions were made at that time to indemnify pastoralists for damage to their flocks by wild animals (which the pastoralists used to have the right to keep under control) or for other unforeseen losses. Wolves became or remained a nuisance until killed off during the Civil War; and wild pigs have been reported tearing up pasture, though wildlife experts deplore the lack—rather than the presence—of such animals.

Park Administration

Since the end of the Civil War in 1939, park administration has been lodged in the Ministry of Agriculture, until 1972 under the division of Hunting, Fishing, and Wildlands (monte or forestal), and since 1972 under ICONA, the Institute for the Conservation of Nature—a division created within the ministry to separate conservation and environmental concerns from the ministry's dominant concern with plant and animal production. Until 1984 the chief administrator for hunting and fishing in northern Spain was secondarily also the park's director. The director's office is located in Oviedo, the provincial capital, eighty-eight kilometers from the park's closest entrance. ICONA is represented on site by park guards, two appointed from each of the park's six enclosing counties. The duties of these twelve local men are primarily of a police nature: they direct traffic on weekends, check fishing licenses, and fine illegal construction and poachers; they are not trained to analyze park resources. They make park improvements; for example, they have piped water to drinking troughs and reseeded disturbed areas. Their most important responsibility, as resentful pastoralists see it, is to lay fines on those who cut wood and burn brush.

The limitations of neglect and conflict inherent in this administrative pattern may soon be overcome because of three recent events. First, in 1977 legislation was enacted that instructs park directors to take into account advice given by the patronato (a park advisory council). Its members must be drawn from the region where a park is located (so as to offset the possibly heavy hand of centralism) to represent locally based official and non-official interests, for example, those of the grange, academics, recreational associations, environmentalists, and the counties of the district.⁵

Second, Asturias and León have recently become autonomous regions. The new status allows for loosening centralized control over specific domains as fiscal and technical competence is demonstrated. While ICONA is not expected to agree to such a transfer of Covadonga in the near future, such a transfer has been made in Cataluña (Aigues Tortes National Park) and raises the possibility of similar transfers.

Third, in the spring of 1984 a new director of Covadonga National Park was appointed whose sole responsibility is the administration of the park. These three changes make it possible to conceive of a park administration attentive to local dynamics and specific park conditions, rather than to general directives originating in Madrid, which until the present have not been able to take local particularities such as the extensive grazing regime into account.

The Grazing Regime

In 1945, during the period of post-war reconstruction when local elites were rewarded for cooperating with centralist policies, a change was imposed in the *Ordenanzas*, the rules of the Cangas de Onis pastoralists' association. This is the association that traditionally controlled livestock access to the commons—the intermediate zone of the park, as delineated above—and regulated the behavior of the pastoralists. The change shifted control from individuals directly involved with animal husbandry to absentee owners of livestock. To understand its significance I must first describe the traditional and the revised grazing regimes.

The Traditional Grazing Regime

Regulation of grazing practices goes back to at least the thirteenth century when pastoralists of the Peaks of Europe, who grew little grain, paid their tithes in butter and cheese. More details on such tithing and stockkeeping emerge from the national census of the late eighteenth century. There is no extant copy of those rules but they are remembered by pastoralists who have lived by them. The ecosystem they ruled entailed distributing livestock and family members so as to make the fullest use of the vertical environment over the year. While some family members worked the plowland in the valleys and made hay on the slopes, others accompanied the stock in their annual cycle up the mountain as graze matured, and down again in the fall in search of second growth.

The Pastoralists Association which grew up over the centuries was made up of the heads of households who supervised livestock in the uplands, in zones corresponding to the villages of the district. Provisions were made for accommodating a limited number of unattended livestock, but its owners could not vote in the association. In each zone the pastoralists elected a representative, twelve in all, who formed the Pastoralists' Council. The Council fixed the dates and conditions under which livestock could occupy the several categories of common land in the uplands. The number of

livestock per owner was naturally limited to the small number that could be sustained over the winter from locally produced hay, and also by any limit the Council itself imposed. It also fixed the head fee, allocated the labor owed by its participants to communal work projects, and spent money on improvements, which meant building roads, barring cliffs or newly opened limestone sinks, and fencing replantings of trees. The Council also regulated burning, so as to reduce brush and benefit new growth (wood ash raises the pH of the soil and makes it more hospitable to grasses and legumes).

The Council set the dates on which the species and sexes could be let into specific zones and types of pasture. Cows were let first into the upland commons, followed by sheep. Goats were allowed only into brushland or onto slopes inaccessible to other ruminants. Horses were allowed only onto the low-lying brushland after the other species had already proceeded to the uplands. The better pasture was reserved for lactating sheep and cows, while the other animals were driven into more difficult terrain (monte). Bulls, rams, and billy goats were accorded their time and place, so as to keep the mating and birthing seasons within narrow limits. When controlled in this manner, the animals could be safely moved in groups, and the scarce resources maximized. Herders who disobeyed these rules were fined by the Council, for at stake was the well-being of the herds upon which the families of pastoralists based their livelihood. The Peaceable Kingdom, despite Pidal's romantic view, did not exist in this pastoral environment except when lived according to the Council's rules.

The Council maintained control over the quality of the stock by jointly selecting the males destined for reproduction. Autochthonous races developed in this manner that were particularly well-adapted to the precipitous karstian terrain with its sinkholes, ground-creeping vegetation, rapid thermal changes, high precipitation, and micro-drought conditions. The ''casina'' race of cattle, for example, were bred to be small and strong-boned, to move easily and safely through the karst, and to be capable of quickly recovering from the lean feed of winter. Genetics and physiological adjustment to local conditions combined to adapt them to it. Herders tell of other mountain cattle brought in from beyond the Picos who fail to thrive because ''only our casina are born knowing how to get ahold of the fodder that's just creeping on this ground.''

The casina cow begins to reproduce only in the third year, but the delay is offset by a high rate of survivorship at first birth because of her maturity. Moreover, the delay is compensated by the casina's extended period of reproductivity: fifteen as opposed to the nine years of popular lowland races. Her milk is low in volume, high in protein, and twice as high in fat content as the milk of Holsteins, making it eminently suitable for the production of artisan cheese in a rustic environment, where containers and fuel are in short supply.

The Council adjusted the distribution of herders and flocks

as their numbers rose or declined over the years. In the uplands the pastoralists built their *cabanas*, simple huts of local stone and timber with red roof tile brought from below. Often they built the cabañas in clusters, nestling them close to each other so as to minimize the use of scarce materials. In this way a humble architecture developed that attractively shares walls, natural supports, or overhanging ledges.

The Revised Grazing Regime and Its Impact

The new Ordenanzas are enforced by the county officers, not by the Council itself.6 The significant change in the Ordenanzas concerns voting. Under the old norms every household which participated in seasonal pastoralism in the uplands was allowed one vote. Votes under the revised norms are allocated according to a formula which considers wealth: six sheep or goats, or one horse, count as one cow. Votes are allocated according to the number of "cows" sent by an owner to the uplands. Residence there is no longer required. The change permits unsupervised livestock to graze freely and it encourages people of the district who previously had little interest in the uplands—professionals, commercial people, small officials-to gradually become speculators in livestock production. Speculation did not become significant, however, until commercial, concentrated feeds became increasingly available in the fifties.

The county's uninterpreted livestock records from 1963-1983 document what happened. Goats more than doubled and cows and sheep rose about 30 percent. This means that the best pasture could no longer be withheld from unsupervised goats. Officially the number of horses declined but clandestine grazing and the relaxation of supervision has impacted the best grassland. Accordingly the official rate of livestocking has risen (applying the six to one formula) from a rate of 1.00 head to the present rate of 1.25 heads per hectare.

While livestock rose, the number of pastoralists dropped, as can be appreciated by construction and occupancy rates of cabañas. Disregarding the cabañas already in use, permission was given over the course of the twentieth century for the construction of 373 new cabañas. By 1983 only 121 pastoralist households retained rights to them, and most were occupied for only a fraction of the season. Non-pastoralists bought up seventeen cabañas which they transformed into increasingly elaborate vacation homes, paying moderate fines to ICONA for exceeding construction guidelines.

The loss of vegetative diversity is another measure of change. In sampled areas the former diversity of 135 species dropped to 20, suggesting a loss not only of stability but of botanical resources like dwarf narcissus, alpine ground wort, and cantabrian alpine grasses. Thistle and woody plants increased at the expense of the herbaceous ones, and whole slopes formerly covered in a mix of graminea, leguminosa, and creepers are turning to scrub. Scrub is appreciated at best only by goats—not by pastoralists, speculators in livestock, day visitors, or

ICONA, the custodian of the park.

ICONA has responded to these changes by paying pastoralists to remove the brush by hand. The few pastoralists who will perform this labor do so grudgingly, for they see ICONA as a usurper. The pastoralists' long-term observations have shown them that burning, up to a point, fosters desirable vegetation. The labor thus reminds them of ICONA's oppressive prohibition against burning. Faced with these recalcitrant attitudes, ICONA has resorted to plowing up gentle slopes so as to replant herbaceous alpine mixes, but the effort has met with little success. The pastoralists view this effort as just as absurd as ICONA's failure (as they see it) to understand that overgrazing invites intrusion of unwanted brush. Feeling intruded upon, the pastoralists fail to distinguish between the outsiders: the county elite that has allowed unsupervised livestock to put pressure on the graze, and ICONA whose control over that elite is not certain.

Gamonedo and Cabrales Cheese: Distinguished Products of the Grazing Regime

The quality of the cheese produced in the park and the district depends upon the milk used as raw material, preferably a combination of the milks of the three autochthonous races of sheep, goat, and cow grazing on alpine pasture. Gamonedo cheese is made only in summer when the milk of all three species is available. Cabrales, however, is increasingly being made year-round, and with the milk of cows supplemented on feed imported from Castilla, if not from abroad.

Specific features of the local environment enter into fermentation and curing. Gamonedo is cured in cabañas where a small fire of scarce firewood produces a smoke which protects the cheese. Cabrales is cured in the cool damp atmosphere of karst caves, where fermentation with naturally present penicilliums takes place. Both cheeses require frequent hand-turning. The cheeses, cushioned in fern, are transported to the valley by horse when necessary, by Landrover when possible.

The cheeses are at present still made as artisan products with handmade implements. Wood is made into rings, paddles, and drainage boards. Milk may be cooled in a skin container and filtered through horsetail. The implements are washed with mineral-rich spring water which, combined with a subtle residue, possibly plays a role in fermenting and flavoring the cheese. Such unstudied factors, combined with variables like temperature and humidity which are only partially under control, make for interesting variations in the cheeses, and elicit lively critical engagement with their consuming public.

The public's engagement is more than dietary. It can be witnessed in several ways: in the keynote address of the annual cheese festival, given by the rector of the university (José Caso González gave it in 1979 and 1984); in the animated public, tasting and criticizing at weekly markets; in the politics of obtaining the coveted designation known as "Denomination of Origin;" and in gastronomic-historical press articles

favoring revitalization of regional identity, economy, and autonomy.⁷ Gamonedo and Cabrales cheeses, in other words, symbolize local and regional identity, focus political and economic debate, and express alternate visions of resignation, despair, or hope about the future.

Currently the cheese polemic sets developmentalists against preservationists: those who would standardize and industrialize cheese production and create new employment in the valleys versus those who foresee Europe flooding Spain with milk and industrial milk products when Spain enters the Common Market in 1986. The latter favor expanding and improving production in the cabañas for the specialized, high-priced, gastronomic market and, appealing to a wide spectrum of humanistic and economic values, would like to see the government provide financial support for the cheesemakers in the mountains. In advocating artisan cheese production, the national park—which is the environment in which the cheese is made—is consistently ignored.

Omission, Disinformation, and Evasion

The omission of several entities—the national park, ICONA, and the county elite—from the debate about cheese production is remarkable. It is, after all, within the joint precincts of park and county that all of Gamonedo and some of Cabrales is produced (Cabrales is also produced in the central and eastern massifs where a park extension is projected). Decisions made by the park director, or by absentee owners of livestock who are represented by the county elite, and the condition of grassland within the park, all affect the flow and quality of the raw material that goes into these cheeses, in which so much of the public has a lively cultural interest.

More remarkable yet is that officials in the Ministry of Agriculture concerned with production and marketing have quietly supported the creation of a production and marketing cooperative (Consejo Provisional del Queso Cabrales), and have made application for the formal Denomination of Origin for both cheeses. They and the park director are colleagues who share the same small office building and do their fieldwork in the same district. Yet ICONA ignores the cheese, and the production officials ignore the park. One can best trace this to the atomization of interests fostered by a government intent on maintaining centralized control.

Support for such an interepretation comes from examining journalists' accounts of the Fiesta del Pastor—the once-solemn annual meeting of the Council followed by festivities, all taking place in the uplands. The county elite have transformed it into a ''tourist event marked by the absence of pastoralists' (La Voz de Asturias, July 26). The environment in which it takes place is not recognized by visitors or the press as a national park. It is recognized only indirectly in the form of a complaint made in the staged Council meeting regarding the prohibition on shooting wild pigs ''which are reported to be damaging pasture.'' This is a dubious complaint, for most of the

wildlife Pidal wished to protect disappeared during the hostilities of the Civil War and furtive hunters are causing the disappearance of common birds for lack of more interesting targets. The poor quality of pasture—blamed on a spurious pig—has its causes lodged in a complex ecosystem. The outlines of that ecosystem have been systematically ignored.

Complex Attitudes toward the Park

The principal interested and contesting parties to the landscape which is now park—the pastoralists, townspeople, visitors, and park administration—regard it from different perspectives that habitually disregard the whole. This partiality is the residue of an administrative policy, lasting four decades, during which horizontal ties among interest groups and between branches of institutions were systematically discouraged.

The aging pastoralists see themselves as the remnant of a lifeway their young do not wish to follow, for a family of pastoralists working full time earns less at cheesemaking than a single worker at the nationally set minimum wage. Younger people who herd and make cheese in the uplands do so then for lack of alternative employment in the district or lack of other opportunity. Their historical resentment of ICONA is manipulated by the county elite, to whom the pastoralists capitulated decades ago. The county elite, joined to that of the district which has developmental designs on the central massif, stirs rumor among the pastoralists (the wild pig episode is an example) so as to enlarge opposition to the park's expansion. Openly at least they view only ICONA as the oppressor. ICONA has intruded upon county land where for time immemorial they have made their living. The park to them is thus but a paper imposition on land that is theirs.

The townspeople are the people with professional, commercial, and political power concentrated in Cangas de Onis, the county and district capital. The older town element is disappointed with the park on two counts. The profits in livestock speculation are declining and this they trace to ICONA, not to their own practices. ICONA also blocked the development of elaborate tourist facilities in the intermediate zone near the lakes, on which townspeople were speculating. Braked by ICONA and resigned to the park, some townspeople are developing tourist traps in the lowlands just outside the park boundary near the shrine pitched at the short-term visitor who, according to a poll taken by an international work camp in the park this summer, limits his stay to two or three days even when from afar. Other townspeople, resentful of ICONA, see the park only to be exploited or challenged: by the insertion of clandestine horses, by preparing cabañas as a possible rental property, and by illegally and on a grand scale draining off the waters of the western boundary river, the Dobra, thereby destroying a spectacular and uncontaminated fishing stream, which itself could be a resource for tourism.

These actions are paradoxical. On the one hand they express a traditional saying, "Lo del comun ye de ningun" (what's owned

in common is nobody's), and on the other, ''if we aren't allowed to control our own county's property as we see fit, then we'll make it unfit for anybody else.'' Together these attitudes have blocked their vision of how the national park might articulate with their own interests.

By contrast, a handful of young townspeople have established a guide service and mountaineering school and have set up camps. They have grown up with the park, have not experienced erosion of political power, and are trying in small but unprecedented ways to link their future to the intermediate and alpine zones of the park.

The Asturian and Spanish visitors have no such clearly formed attitude toward the park. Common lands in all the uplands of Asturias have been traditionally open to any passers-through with means to get there. Only since the seventies have visitors in any substantial number been able to get to the exceptionally exhilarating landscape of the park's intermediate zone. They are just barely becoming aware that the social density which they enjoy, but which entails tents, trampling and trash and the intrusion of many vehicles on grassland, can destroy what they have come to enjoy. But this incipient awareness is not born of any special reverence for a national park, of which few are even aware (according to the poll already mentioned). The foreign visitor, by contrast, is well-acquainted with the concept of a national park, and is attracted to this one by the promotional materials prepared by the Ministry of Tourism.

ICONA and the Ministry of Tourism have apparently practiced a dual policy—promoting the park abroad and ignoring its promotion at home—so as to lay the basis for attracting foreign exchange while at home drawing minimal attention to a disputed resource. What appeared to be disconcert between branches of the Ministry of Agriculture—between production specialists and ICONA—may not be disconcert at all but a calculated means to maintain a low profile. Such a low profile policy makes it difficult, however, to concert a policy across departments and ministries, for example, in regard to the artisan cheesemakers, the genetic resource represented in the autochthonous livestock, or carrying out the government's rural policy to fix population, transform threatened industries, or create employment.

Within ICONA the park is traditionally conceived of in a binary fashion, one that distinguishes cultural from natural resources. The battlefield and shrine, for example, are seen as the park's significant cultural resource and the park's lowlands encompassing the shrine are therefore assigned a special status and sub-director. This division allows ICONA to adhere to the imported wilderness model upon which the park, ever since Pidal, has been premised. According to the model, culture should not intrude upon nature, which is inherent in the training of forestry engineers, the background of those assigned to the park directorship. Cabañas and the cheesemaking that goes on within them are, accordingly, an

anomalous park element which will disappear as the pastoral lifeway declines and cabañas collapse under the elements. Cabañas threaten the park in the long run only as they are transformed into permanent structures, threatening the 'natural' sphere of the park.

ICONA has been able to fit pasture into this binary scheme by defining it as monte (wildland, brushland, or unimproved land). As such, it is regulated under the revised code specified by legislation regarding wildlands (Ley de Montes 1961), which prohibits burning because the deepest roots are those of woody plants, which best retain the soil. Compensatory funds (Fondos de Compensación), overseen by the Patronato, are set aside to benefit villages whose pastoralists accommodate to the policy growing out of that distinction. While this softens the application of the policy, the distinction continues to persist and prevents conceiving of the park, the park district, and especially its intermediate zone as an ecosystem. This means that the autochthonous livestock, the huts, the cheeses, the pastoralists, and the code they lived by—products of the long interaction of nature and culture—are at best tolerated in their decline rather than examined as possibly, next to the shrine itself, the park's most important resource.

Recommendations

The only recommendation that can be made on the basis of this study is a relatively simple one. It consists of recognizing the historic role that pastoralists and their grazing regime have played in this mountain ecology, as well as the distinguished products of that regime: two of the finest cheeses that Spain produces.

This recognition alone will not lead to a return to the best of the practices of the former grazing regime. But this recognition should make it easier for all the actors within the park and its district to view it with greater perspective, and to begin thinking of the park and their role in it as an ecosystem. ICONA, if persuaded to admit the historical role of pastoralists in expanding the upland grasslands, should find it easier to control grazing in concert with them and the townspeople, for the latter's recent losses will surely accelerate if unsupervised grazing, especially that of goats and horses, is not drastically reduced. The historical-ecological approach should make it dramatically evident to everyone in the district that, just as the timber was lost, so will the graze be lost, and even so will the recreational tourist be lost, upon whom the district is staking its future.

As these several parties come to see their advantage in returning to a controlled grazing regime, they will be able to consider how the production of artisan cheeses might be fostered within the park to their, the park, and the district's mutual advantage. It is probably not important that the production of artisan cheese become great in volume, but rather that ar-

tisan cheese be produced as a standard against which to compare similar cheeses whose industrial production in the district is already under consideration. The artisan production, subsidized if necessary, could become a key exhibit in an ecomuseum. In this way the artisan cheese would be institutionally protected while the ecomuseum would attract visitors, build respect for the ecosystem, and also prompt interest in the products of the district.

This recognition of the historical grazing regime would distribute interest over all three ecological zones of the park and their associated cultures: the alpine zone with its wildlife and mountaineers; the lowland zone with its meadows and forest enfolding the shrine and its thousands of visitors; the upland zone with its autochthonous stock, pastoralists, and cheesemakers; and among them visitors curious to examine the traditions of the region and to consider these traditions as resources for the future. Nature and culture in each zone, as Pidal himself experienced it, but with explicit recognition of what their interaction has created. In this way the Little Tradition would cease to be implicit and marginated and would take its rightful place alongside the Great Tradition of Covadonga.

Notes

- 1. The pastoralists of the Peaks of Europe and the ecologist Miguel Angel García Dory have graciously shared with me their understanding of extensive grazing in that area, for which I thank them. The quantitative material in this paper is drawn from Miguel Angel García Dory, "Principales parametros zootecnicos y económicos de explotaciones de la ganadería extensive española," (Ph.D. diss., Escuela Técnica Superior de Ingenieros Agrónomos, Universidad Politécnica de Madrid, 1984). I thank J. W. Fernández for his participation in this project and comments on this paper.
- 2. Reglamento del Parque Nacional de la Montaña de Covadonga (Madrid 1930).
- 3. Emilio Guinea Lopez, Geografia Botanica de Santander (Excma. Diputación Provincial, Santander, 1953).
- 4. Gran Encyclopedia Asturiana (Gijon, 1970), s.v., "Parque Nacional de Covadonga."
- 5. BOE, Reglamento de Espacios Protegidos 25935, Oct. 28, 1977.
- 6. Ordenanzas de la Montana de Covadonga y el Puerto de Cangas de Onis, Ayuntamiento de Cangas de Onis, 1945.
- 7. The regional newspapers referred to here and below are La Nueva Espana and La Voz de Asturias, covering a period from 1978 to the present. Enrique de Villar's articles in Nueva Espana have been especially helpful.
- 8. Miguel Angel García Dory, "Datos sobre la ecología del genero Pyrrhocorax," *Boletin de Ciencias de la Naturaleza, IDEA*, no. 28, 1981.

Precis

Indonesia's target for conservation lands is 20 million hectares of terrestrial area and 10 million hectares in the marine environment. In Bali and the Lesser Sunda Islands, there are already twenty-two areas with over 400,000 hectares designated. Two national parks—out of Indonesia's sixteen—are in the region. As elsewhere in Indonesia, these areas often incorporate traditional native villages within their boundaries, and in many other ways cannot be separated from surrounding human activities and culture.

The two national parks—Komodo (a UNESCO Biosphere Reserve) and Bali Barat—are managed in large part through cooperative agreement and consensus with local and surrounding residents. This community participation has proven an effective and sustainable method for park management while continuing to safeguard native culture. Properly applied, this method does not prevent development in these native cultures but guides it in ways consistent with park development.

Underlying the success of community participation is the strong religious faith of villagers in the unity of man, nature, and God. Integrating park management goals and those of the traditional culture has led to important innovations in the management of national parks in Indonesia.

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Indonesia tiene como meta la conservación de 20 millones de hectáreas de zonas terrestres y 10 millones de hectáreas del ambiente marina. En Bali y las Islas Menores de la Sonda, se han designado 22 regiones de más de 400.000 hectáreas. Dos parques nacionales—entre los 16 parques en Indonesia—se encuentran en la región. Como en otra parte de Indonesia, estas regiones a menudo incorporan dentro de sus límites los pueblos autóctonos tradicionales, y no se pueden separar, de numerosas maneras, de actividades humanas y de la cultural ambiental.

Los dos parques nacionales—Komodo (una reserva Biosfera de la UNESCO) y Bali Barat—son dirigidos en gran parte por los acuerdos de cooperación y consentimiento de residentes locales y de los alrededores. Esta participación de la comunidad ha resultado ser un método eficaz y durable para la gestión de los parques, mientras que conserva la cultura autóctona. Aplicado de manera apropiada, este método no impide el desarrollo de las culturas autóctonas, sino la guía en las maneras compatibles con el desarrollo del parque.

La gran fe religiosa de los villanos en la unidad del hombre, de la naturaleza y de Dios, está a la base del éxito de la participación de la comunidad. La integración de los objetivos de la gestión de los parques y las de las culturas tradicionales han conducido a importantes inovaciones en la gestión de los parques nacionales en Indonesia.

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L'Indonésie a pour objectif de conserver 20 millions d'hectares de zones terrestres et 10 millions d'hectares de l'environnement marin. A Bali et dans les Petites Iles de la Sonde, 22 régions de plus de 400 000 hectares ont déjà été désignées. Deux parcs nationaux—parmi les 16 parcs de l'Indonésie—se trouvent dans la région. Comme partout ailleurs en Indonésie, ces régions englobent souvent dans leurs limites des villages autochtones traditionnels, et ne peuvent être séparées, de nombreuses autres façons, des activités humaines et de la culture environnante.

Les deux parcs nationaux—Komodo (une Réserve Biosphère de l'UNESCO) et Bali Barat—sont gérés en grande partie par des accords de coopération et avec le consensus des résidents locaux et des environs. Cette participation de la communauté s'est avérée être une méthode efficace et durable pour la gestion des parcs, tout en préservant la culture autochtone. Appliquée de façon appropriée, cette méthode n'empêche pas le développement de ces cultures autochtones, mais le guide dans des voies compatibles avec le développement du parc.

La grande foi religieuse des villageois dans l'unité de l'homme, de la nature et de Dieu, est à la base du succès de la participation de la communauté. L'intégration des objectifs de la gestion des parcs et de ceux des cultures traditionnelles a conduit à d'importantes innovations dans la gestion des parcs nationaux en Indonésie.

Cultural Conservation through National Parks in Indonesia: Examples from Bali and the Lesser Sunda Islands

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Introduction

The very name—Indonesia—means a nation of many and diverse islands. To be as exact as the best available count, the Republic of Indonesia consists of 13,667 islands, stretching nearly 5,000 kilometers in a graceful arc from Sumatra nearest the Malaysian coast eastward to Irian Jaya (the western half of New Guinea). The total land area is 2,027,087 square kilometers, derived mostly from the five largest islands—Sumatra, Java, Kalimantan (Borneo), Sulewesi (Celebes), and Irian Jaya—and mid-size islands like Bali, Sumbawa, Flores, and Timor. Some 3,166,163 square kilometers of surrounding ocean forms the national sea.

Of the many thousands of islands, 992 are inhabited by a total population estimated in 1984 at 157 million, up from 147.5 million counted in 1980. Over 300 cultural and ethnic groups with 365 local languages make up this incredibly diverse population mix.

Indonesia's 27 provinces differ from each other both in size and cultural diversity. Some provinces, for example those in densely populated Java, may consist of 20 to 30 million people who share a common local language and a complex technological society. Other provinces have far fewer inhabitants who speak a score of different languages and in some cases may lead a virtual stone-age daily existence.

Adding to this human diversity is a great variety in natural landforms, flora, and fauna. Characteristically Asian in the west and Australian in the east, the native biota is transitional throughout the middle of the archipelago. Rugged active volcanic mountains and lush highland moist forests contrast with semi-arid low islands and extensive dry monsoonal

grasslands and savannah.

Indonesia's national motto is "Bhineka Tunggal Ika," meaning "Diversity in Unity, Unity in Diversity." It symbolizes that Indonesia, though composed of peoples of many languages, cultures, and degrees of civilization, is yet one nation. Symbolizing that unity, a single "language of Indonesia" or Bahasa Indonesia, has been adopted.

Five philosophical principles—"Pancasila"—serve to bind and guide all affairs of the state and nation. These are:

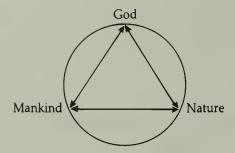
- 1. Belief in a single, supreme God
- 2. A just and civilized human society
- 3. The unity of Indonesia
- 4. Democracy through wise deliberation of representatives
- 5. Social justice for all peoples of Indonesia

Under these principles, Indonesian society is formed and developed from the various original and indigenous cultures of the nation.

Regardless of their formal religious titles, Indonesia's many cultural groups have a strong belief in God's influence in all phases of their lives. This belief, together with Pancasila, includes the concept that the goal of "managing" the environment is simply maintaining the balance and harmony between God and mankind, God and nature, nature and mankind, and among men (see diagram).

National Parks and Cultural Conservation

A national park in its basic sense is a cultural statement by a people about the management of their natural resources. Cultural conservation in its most basic definition is the effort by a people to protect their original culture, while still using



the natural resources to support their basic needs. In the Indonesian example there is often much in the original culture which positively supports conservation of natural resources. Furthermore, in Indonesia, national park management cannot be separated from the principles of Pancasila.

Here are some examples of traditional cultural practices which support nature protection in Indonesia:

- 1. The people of Java, Bali, and the Lesser Sunda Islands strongly believe that freshwater springs are sources of life provided directly by God. Ceremonies of thanksgiving and respect for these gifts are usually performed each year, and the cutting of the surrounding forest or taking of wildlife is prohibited throughout the year.
- 2. The Mentawi people of the islands west of Sumatra believe that since trees are the gift of God, each time a tree is cut it must be replaced; therefore, a tree may be cut only after a similar seedling is planted.
- 3. In the Baliem Valley of Irian Jaya the people believe that certain forests, rivers, and springs near their villages are sacred. Disturbance or destruction in these sacred natural places is forbidden by tribal law.
- 4. Also in Irian Jaya, along the south coast, is a tribe which describes itself as "Asmat Ow," literally "tree men." The Asmat Ow believe in the analogy of man and trees: human legs are as roots, the body is like the trunk, arms are branches, and the human head is likened to the tree's fruit. The arrowroot tree is seen as a symbol of womankind: life (food) comes from arrowroot just as life comes from the womb of a woman. Based on these and other beliefs, the Asmat Ow can determine whether or not the time is right to cut a tree or to fish or hunt.

From these and many other examples throughout the nation we can see that it is almost impossible to separate cultural traditions from the natural resources which surround local people. To do so would disrupt the balance and harmony which their whole religious structure (and Pancasila) demands.

But despite the basic compatibility between the people's philosophy and conservation, it is a sad fact that damage and destruction of the environment is now occurring in many places in Indonesia. This is because low productivity is simply not enough to meet peoples' daily needs in an era of expanding population and changing social expectations.

Fuelwood and animal fodder collection from the forests and slash and burn agriculture occur nearly everywhere outside of Java. The soil erosion, animal habitat loss, and lowered biological diversity which results is a sad but all-too-common feature of developing countries.

Some Progress in Indonesia

Since 1978, when the government's third five-year development program began, there have been active efforts to promote an awareness of cultural heritage and protection of the environment. In one specific program designed to draw people back to their own cultures and conservation, the government awards a prize (Kalpataru) to an individual or group who shows great initiative or who becomes deeply involved in conservation issues.

For example, the Kalpataru prize was recently awarded to Solaiman Sonbai, a village head and traditional leader on the island of Timor. Sonbai and his village have established a local traditional law to protect the surrounding forest with its rich plant and animal life and its indispensable water sources. Under that law, punishment has been set for illegal hunting or tree-cutting: payment to the village of one cow, twenty kilograms of rice, about U.S. \$25 in cash, and enough tuak (a strong alcoholic drink from the lontar palm tree) for the whole village. The forest itself, traditionally controlled by the village, will be given to the government for a conservation area.

Based on these kinds of examples, the government has realized that traditional laws which support conservation of resources are widespread in Indonesian society. Such laws are more easily explained and enforced than those modified from international examples because they derive from traditional culture and relate directly to the people's daily lives. Therefore, considerable research is now underway to identify that traditional law which has a positive influence on conservation and to adopt it as government regulation. Traditional laws and practices with negative influences on conservation are being discouraged.

Establishment and Management of National Parks

Indonesia has set a goal to establish 20 million hectares (ha.) of terrestrial conservation areas (10 percent of its land area) and 10 million ha. of marine protected areas. This system would represent the full range of ecosystems in the republic. As of 1984, 303 such areas have been established (5 marine), covering some 12 million ha.

Within the Bali/Lesser Sunda region, 413,700 ha. are already classified in various conservation zones—national parks as well as recreational forests and other types of reserves. Of Indonesia's 16 national parks, 2 are within this region: the Komodo National Park (established in 1980) with 59,000 ha. of land area and 112,500 ha. of surrounding sea, and Bali Barat National Park (1982) with 70,280 ha. of land and 6,220 ha. of marine resources.

In Indonesia it is impossible to separate the management of these national parks and other areas from the culture which surrounds them. A first principle demonstrating integration between park and outside culture is to ensure that physical developments both for management and visitor use (tourism) are designed, located, and constructed consistent with local traditional values and architectural styles. What follows are some case studies from Komodo and Bali Barat where these principles are being applied.

Komodo National Park

The Komodo complex of small islands lies between the larger islands of Sumbawa to the west and Flores to the east. This is a border between two major political subdivisions (provinces) as well as two major religious influences—Islam to the west and Christianity to the east. Though most strongly affected by Islam and its rituals, the people of Komodo have their own unique beliefs as well as their own unique language, spoken by less than 900 people in a single village on Komodo Island.

According to legend, Komodo people are directly related to the island's endemic giant monitor lizard *Varanus komodoensis*. The first lizard is said to have originated as an abnormal son from the same ancestors which produced the Komodo people themselves. Because of this belief in brotherhood with the lizard, Komodo people neither capture nor kill Komodo monitors, but instead bring them food from their fishing and other hunting and gathering activities. Through their beliefs and resulting care, the Komodo monitor was for a very long time preserved from extinction even before the area was selected by the government as a conservation area.

In recognition of these strong conservation-oriented beliefs, and the people's unique language, park managers are cooperating very closely with Komodo residents both in and around the national park. This cooperative management is accomplished through a kind of conference and consensus procedure (consistent with Pancasila's fourth principle of democracy through representation) between the national park staff, the village head, and an organization of village representatives known as the People's Defense Society. Found throughout Indonesian villages, the Defense Society provides suggestions and advice and arranges the development of the village consistent with its potential and its environment. In practical terms this means a conference is held between villagers and park managers so that the important concerns of both sides can be mutually presented and resolved. This consensus-building conference usually takes place in the village mosque, which is the center for both worship and village activities for Muslims. For this reason the solutions reached are thought to be blessed by God, source of all things.

Some of the agreements worked out for Komodo are:

1. Human population within the park (the single village) should be kept stable (zero population growth) through family

planning as well as prohibition on immigration; extended visits by family from outside (once a problem) are to be limited;

- 2. Since Komodo people are almost exclusively fishermen, there should be a fisherman's organization and local fishing grounds managed within the national park;
- 3. The Komodo religion, language, and culture should be strengthened;
- 4. Local architectural styles should be retained, but strengthened to fulfill public health standards for villagers as well as provide tourist accommodations and management facilities needed by the park;
- 5. Infractions of rules based on these agreements will result in a fine set by joint agreement of the national park and the villagers.

Bali Barat National Park

In principle, management in Bali Barat is similar to that in Komodo, but adapted to the particular traditions and beliefs of Bali. The religion of Bali is predominantly Hindu, and the island's culture contains many traditional activities and agricultural practices that closely support environmental conservation.

The philosophical principle of all Balinese is Tri Hita Karana which has been adapted by the provincial government in its development activities. The philosophy is equivalent to Pancasila in its approach to managing the environment: there must be harmony and balance between God and mankind and nature.

From these beliefs come many holidays and ceremonies to show respect for such balance and harmony. For example, during *Nyepi* all Balinese forego cooking, any work or play activities, and the use of machines or electricity for a day and concentrate on maintaining a quiet, peaceful attitude. On special days such as *Tumpek Uduh* it is taboo to cut any tree, or on *Tumpek Andang* to kill or slaughter any animal. The centuries-old system of managing irrigation (*Subak*) among the rice fields provides a remarkably fair distribution among upland and lowland users, controls erosion, and still provides water for other village uses and natural forests and streams. Special, elaborate ceremonies take place at important water sources, where great efforts are made to keep these areas free of pollution.

Collectively these practices have generally provided adequate protection to forests, soils, and water in historical times. But, under the pressures of recent change, these practices have not always been able to keep pace with development.

As in Komodo, a dialogue has been established between national park managers and local people residing either within the park or on its immediate borders. The situation is much more complex in Bali Barat because there are far more people (many of whom are recent migrants from Java), the area is easily accessible by road, and there is a strong demand by the local people to collect fuelwood and animal fodder within a park.

A system of zonation has been developed which designates a buffer zone (primarily lowland plantation forests which actually are contained in the park) around a strictly preserved core zone in interior and highland areas. Collection of fuelwood and fodder is allowed under permit in certain portions of the buffer zone, but not within core zones. Identity cards and recognizable permit flags for bicycles and woodcarts have been issued to keep the number of users from expanding without control, and to limit permits to those who are truly local residents.

Conclusion

In Indonesia—as in many countries of the Third World—nature conservation cannot be separated from the realities of the daily needs of the local people who must continue to reside around

or even inside conservation areas. These realities—the need for food, fuel, and shelter—are so urgent that even if local people are made aware of the importance of nature conservation, there is no guarantee that conflict over short-term interest will be avoided. What seems to be effective in the Indonesian examples described here is a community involvement and participation approach which puts environmental conservation into the religious and cultural context of the local people. Using the example of balance between God, mankind, and nature which is already understood from the religious faith of the people, it has been easier to explain the need for balance between development and conservation which the national parks symbolize. But it is equally clear that trying to maintain national parks in the Third World in isolation from local culture and without community participation and support is, in the long term, useless.



Square Tower House. The four-story building that now dominates the ruin was not originally constructed as a tower, but after second and third-story walls from adjacent rooms fell, this structure reposes alone to resemble one.

Precis

Ngorongoro Conservation Area in Tanzania became a World Heritage Site in 1979. This unique area is managed as a multiple land unit and the indigenous people, the Maasai, are allowed to graze their livestock which intermingle with wildlife in the area. The Maasai have maintained their traditions so well that even with the influx of tourists to Ngorongoro, their culture has not changed appreciably. Modern medical and veterinary techniques have made it possible for the Maasai population to increase which has also prompted a substantial increase in livestock numbers which tend to compete directly with wildlife within the same ecological niche.

In order to strike a balance between preservation of the Maasai culture and the wildlife for the enjoyment of the general public and for future generations in Ngorongoro, the government of Tanzania has taken the following steps: 1) incorporated Maasai concerns into the planning and policy formulation of the area; 2) recruited a Maasai as conservator of Ngorongoro, who has been able to influence opinion through various public relations techniques; 3) allowed scientists to carry out intensive multipurpose research as to how best the area can be managed to safeguard the interests of the indigenous people while maintaining their culture and preserving wildlife; and 4) appealed to international organizations for financial and material support for a sustainable benefit to the local people, the wildlife, and the tourists.

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La Zona de Conservación de Ngorongoro (*Ngorongoro Conservation Area*) en Tanzania se hizo, en 1979, un sitio de Patrimonio Mundial. Esta región única, controlada por unidades múltiples de terreno y los pueblos indígenas, los masai, están autorizados a pastar su ganado que se mezcla con la fauna de la región. Los masai han guardado sus tradiciones, que a pesar del influjo de turistas a Ngorongoro su cultura no ha cambiado de manera apreciable. Las técnicas médicas y veterinarias modernas han hecho posible el aumento de la población masai en Ngorongoro que a su manera ha dado lugar al aumento substancial del número de cabezas de ganado, que están en competencia directa con las especies que ocupan el mismo nicho ecológico.

Con vistas a establecer un equilibrio entre la preservación de la cultura masai y de la fauna para el placer del público y para las generaciones en Ngorongoro, el Gobierno de Tan-

zania ha tomado los siguientes pasos: 1) tomó en cuenta las preocupaciones de los masai en la planificación y la formulación de una política de la zona; 2) empleó un masai como conservador de Ngorongoro y al mismo tiempo ha podido influenciar la opinión por diversos técnicas de relaciones públicas; 3) autorizó a los científicos a llevar cabo estudios intensivos, con múltiples de fines, con fin de hacer nacer una idea de cómo mejor gerenciar la zona para salvaguardar los intereses de los pueblos indígenas al mismo tiempo que mantiene su cultura y preserva la fauna; y 4) apeló a la organizaciones internacionales para ayuda financiera y materiales para el beneficio continuo de las poblaciones locales, de la fauna y de los turistas.

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La Zone de Conservation de Ngorongoro (*Ngorongoro Conservation Area*) en Tanzanie est devenue, en 1979, un site du Patrimoine Mondial. Cette région unique est gérée par unités multiples de terrain et les peuples indigènes, les Masaïs, sont autorisés à faire paître leur bétail qui se mélange ainsi avec la faune de la région. Les Masaïs ont si bien su garder leurs traditions, qu'en dépit de l'afflux de touristes à Ngorongoro leur culture n'a pas changé de façon appréciable. Les techniques médicales et vétérinaires modernes ont rendu possible l'augmentation de la population Masaï à Ngorongoro, ce qui a entraîné une augmentation substantielle du nombre de têtes de bétail, qui sont en concurrence directe avec les espèces occupant la même niche écologique.

En vue d'établir un équilibre entre la préservation de la culture Masaï et de la faune, pour le plaisir du grand public et pour les générations futures à Ngorongoro, le Gouvernement de Tanzanie a pris les diverses mesures suivantes: 1) a pris en compte les préoccupations des Masaïs dans la planification et la formulation d'une politique de la zone; 2) a engagé un Masaï pour devenir le conservateur de Ngorongoro et a été à même d'influencer l'opinion par diverses techniques de relations publiques; 3) a autorisé des scientifiques à mener des recherches intensives, pour de multiples fins, afin de faire naître une idée de comment mieux gérer la zone pour sauvegarder les intérêts des peuples indigènes tout en maintenant leur culture et en préservant la faune; et 4) a fait appel aux organisations internationales pour des aides financières et matérielles pour le bénéfice continu des populations locales, de la faune et des touristes.

Reconciling Tourism, Wildlife, and Cultural Values: A Case Study of the Ngorongoro Conservation Area, Tanzania

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Historic Backgound

The Ngorongoro Conservation Area (NCA), the first World Heritage Site in Tanzania and a wonder of the modern world, is managed as a multiple-use land unit. It was originally established as part of the world-famous Serengeti National Park in order to conserve its unique natural resources but later, in 1956, was excised from the park because of the resistance by the indigenous pastoral community, the Maasai.

The 8,292 square kilometers of the NCA has about 2.5 million wild animals of various species roaming within and without its unique crater. These animals include wildebeests, lions, leopards, cheetah, elephants, and some thirty remaining rhinoceroses, to mention only a few of the 32 different mammal species. More than 462 bird species have also been recorded in the area.

To the south of the NCA is the Rift Valley and Lake Manyara National Park, while to the north are Lake Natron and the active Oldonyo Lengai Volcano. Mount Meru and Kilimanjaro are 120 and 210 kilometers to the east, respectively. Olduvai Gorge, an area of archeological interest, is within the area, while Serengeti National Park is adjacent to it on the west.

Ngorongoro is the land of Maasai—a people of East Africa who display a legendary respect for their natural environment which is embodied in their rich cultural traditions. These people have much to teach us from their way of life. The Maasai have maintained a strong conservation and land morality in this age of environmental degradation and increasing demand for scarce material resources. They rarely, for example, consume wildlife meat and do not significantly utilize forest resources. It is for these reasons that the government of Tan-

zania has allowed them to live and mix with the wild animals within this unique natural complex. They are, therefore, part and parcel of the whole Ngorongoro ecosystem, although their lifestyle is now adapting to include basic social services such as health, schools, and veterinary services.

Land Use Policy

Guidelines for the land use policies of the NCA came from the Convention for the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage. Tanzania, as a signatory to this international convention, has indicated its adherence to these guidelines and the NCA was specifically nominated and accepted as a World Heritage Site in 1979, the principal aim of which is to conserve natural values. The traditions, rights, and culture of the Maasai people are considered to be an integral part of this heritage. The forest department is also involved in the NCA and is conducting silvicultural practices in the area and also managing the indigenous catchment forest which for many years has been a source of fresh and cold water for drinking and for irrigating crops within and adjacent to the area.

Criteria for Nomination as a World Heritage Site

The NCA was designated as a World Heritage Site on two main grounds.

1. as a cultural heritage, since the area includes not only the archeological sites of Olduvai and Laetoli, which are of outstanding historical, palentological, and anthropological value, but because of the cultural aspects demonstrated by the indigenous Maasai.

2. as a natural heritage, since the area contains physical and

biological formations which are of outstanding universal value from the aesthetic and scientific points of view and is a natural site of outstanding universal value for science, conservation, and natural beauty.

In addition to these criteria, the vegetation and landscape can be seen as the result of a long-term harmonious relationship between man and nature. However, Ngorongoro can only be considered natural if we consider pastoralist man as an integral part of the natural system.

Uses of the Ngorongoro Conservation Area

Ngorongoro as a Center of Tourist Attraction

Ngorongoro is a tourist attraction by itself. The crater—a large caldera eighteen kilometers in diameter—is a wonder of the modern world. Large assemblages of plains animals are resident in this unique natural area and thus tourists from all over the world visit the area annually.

They also visit Olduvai Gorge—a famous archeological site where, in 1959, Louis and Mary Leakey discovered the remains of a Zinjanthropus skull. Potassium argon dating dramatically back-dated the Australopithecine generic group from about 500,000 years to about 1.75 million years. Remains of another generic group called Homo habilis were discovered a year later. Stone tools litter the area, contributing greatly to our understanding of the evolution of human technology, and on the floor of the Ngorongoro crater itself rest numerous burial mounds. Excavations have yielded stone bowls, grinding stones, pottery, and beads of semiprecious stones. Both stone and iron objects have been found. These findings have raised new provocative questions concerning the cultural levels of the terminal Stone Age and Iron Age people.

Fascinating as these discoveries are, the real human drama centers on the future development options of the pastoralists and other people who presently occupy the area. The Maasai people and their culture, displayed through their mode of dress, traditional houses, dances, etc., are thus the third attraction for the tourist.

Table 1 shows the number of overseas tourists who visited NCA between 1974 and 1981.

Preservation of Natural Resources

Forests. The forest of the NCA highlands constitutes an important water catchment area for the high-density adjacent farming areas of Oldeani, Karatu, and Mbulu. The groundwater forest of Lake Manyara National Park, the only groundwater forest left in all of East Africa, will continue to exist so long as the catchment forest of Ngorongoro remains undisturbed.

Wildlife. The word Ngorongoro has always been associated with the spectacle of one of the finest wild animal concentrations to be seen anywhere on earth. The visitor of today is not disappointed when he or she visits Ngorongoro. Within a space of a few hours one may see and photograph, at close range, many of the wild animals that have always been

associated with Africa—huge concentrations of plains wildlife walking over the grassland, a pride of lion feeding on a kill, and one or two rhinoceroses lumbering across the plain—all of these silhouetted against a background of great beauty and scenic grandeur.

Livestock Grazing. Livestock grazing is carried on by the Maasai, who number about 16,000 in the NCA. The Maasai and their livestock are considered as part of the natural system. They have inhabited the area for over 2,000 years and have greatly affected the vegetation cover, scenic beauty, and habitat diversity of the area. They and their livestock intermingle freely with wild animals in Ngorongoro.

Management Problems

Although traditionally the Maasai rarely consume wildlife meat, they nevertheless participate in killing dangerous game like lions and leopards in self-defense, to protect their cattle, and as a show of manhood. They also cut trees for firewood and for house construction. The continuing population increase of both the Maasai and their livestock will become an increasing threat to the NCA.

Interaction Between Maasai Culture and Tourism

The Maasai are a tribe which has resisted change in the face of all governmental attempts. They have tended to maintain their traditional dress, houses, and dances. Their works of art attract many people who buy Maasai artifacts as souvenirs. It is for these reasons, coupled with their presence among the wild animals of Ngorongoro, that they have become a tourist attraction.

Participation in Conservation Activities

There is an urgent need to regulate the number of Maasai and their livestock in Ngorongoro, as well as to regulate their traditional way of life so that it can better fit conservation ethics while at the same time retaining their culture. The first step taken was to recruit a Maasai to become the conservator of Ngorongoro and assist in the development of a proper

Table 1
Tourists Visiting NCA, 1974-1981

Year	Number
1974	61,381
1975	63,127
1976	52,320
1977	18,023
1978	17,212
1979	21,234
1980	22,013
1981	24,600

The Tanzania-Kenya border was closed in 1977 and remained closed until December 1983. Visitation thus substantially decreased.

management policy for the area. The second step was to use the Maasai conservator to incorporate Maasai elders in the management of the area. In so doing, Maasai were gradually mobilized toward preservation of both their culture and the natural heritage.

Currently young Maasai are tourist guides and interpreters of natural resources in Ngorongoro; others are tour drivers. The more highly educated are sent to the College of African Wildlife Management for further training to become assistant conservators of Ngorongoro. In this way many of the local residents are incorporated in the planning and management of the area and its resources. They are gradually learning to protect and conserve in a manner much different from what existed five decades ago.

What Does the Future Hold for Ngorongoro, the Animals, and the Maasai Culture?

The future of the Ngorongoro Conservation Area calls for proper management plans to solve any possible conflict between conservation and use of the resources contained within this unique natural complex. Unfortunately, there have been some difficulties and delays in preparing these plans.

The area has been accepted by the world community as a World Heritage Site within which the traditional land rights and culture of the Maasai people are considered to be an integral part of this heritage. It is therefore intended that development of the resident communities should enhance and add to the authenticity of their culture without affecting the integrity of ecological processes within the area.

It is hoped that with proper planning the Maasai will form village units as their principal focus of village development. Properly constituted villages should receive support for the provision of essential facilities while at the same time enable the Maasai to maintain their culture. It is anticipated that the present livestock carrying capacity will be regulated to allow room for other land use practices within the area. The management and conservation of natural resources such as forage, water, soil, forest products, and wildlife within village boundaries should also be considered and in this the natives must be involved fully.

The level of potential support by the World Heritage Site designation and the Man and the Biosphere bureau of UNESCO means that within the Ngorongoro Conservation Area, one has a unique opportunity to undertake development which is conscious of and compatible with long-term conservation of natural resources. President Julius Nyerere, in his Arusha Manifesto of 1961, raises two very relevant questions for the future of Ngorongoro. First, if the wildlife and cultural heritage are to be conserved for future generations and for the enjoyment of the general public, the issue of costs and priorities is becoming ever-more pressing. Second, conservation of wildlife, preservation of cultural values, and promotion of tourism call for specialist knowledge, capital, and manpower. These are scarce locally and difficult to obtain from abroad. Can a poor country like Tanzania afford to subsidize the world's heritage? Clearly, there is need for a stronger national will to conserve as well as for additional international cooperation to assist national efforts. We hope every nation will cooperate with each other and with Tanzania to achieve this end.

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In the planning and development of cultural parks, consideration must be given to the conflict that may arise between the wants of the local population, the needs of visitors, and the importance of maintaining the integrity of the setting. Many parks, particularly in developing nations, provide a source of hard currency from tourism and are also important for subsistence of local peoples. In order to maintain the balance between human and environmental needs, a sensitive strategy for park development is essential. Development surveys, pragmatic regulations and continuous evaluation are some of the factors in sustaining an ambience that will contribute to the enjoyment, education, and needs of all who use the surroundings.

In the recent past, conflict situations have taken place in many wildlife parks because of differing priorities between the park authorities and the local people. Today, many parks bring in local groups to assist in interpretation by acting as tour guides, craftsmen-in-residence, or support staff. In addition, where parks are situated among large amounts of land, people living in the vicinity are allowed seasonal cattle-grazing, fishing, hunting, and harvesting rights. Inviting the local population to assist and share in the park is a welcome change for considering the human factor in the fully integrated cultural park.

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La planificación y el desarrollo de parques culturales debe tomar en cuenta los conflictos que pueden nacer de las demandas de las poblaciones locales, las necesidades de los visitantes y la importancia de conservar la integridad del sitio. Muchos parques, particularmente en los países en vía de desarrollo, son una fuente de divisas fuertes proviniendo del turismo y son igualmente importante por la subsistencia de los autóctonos. Con fines de guardar el equilibrio entre las necesidades humanas y del ambiente, es esencial una estrategia que tenga en cuenta los factores para el desarrollo del parque. Los estudios de desarrollo, de reglamentos pragmáticos y una evaluación contínua son algunos de los factores que mantienen un ambiente que contribuirá al placer, a la educación y a las necesidades de todos quienes utilizan los parques.

En el pasado reciente, las situaciones conflictivas nacieron, en un número de parques de fauna y flora salvaje, de la divergencia de prioridades entre las autoridades del parque y los pueblos autóctonos. Hoy día, muchos parques traen grupos indígenas para que les ayuden en la interpretación de la zona y para que sirvan como guías, artesanos en residencia o personal de apoyo. Además, los derechos de pasto de la estación, de pesca, de caza y de cosecha se otorgan a la gente viviendo en la vecindad del parque situados en medio de vastas extensiones. Invitar a los pueblos autóctonos a ayudar y a participar en la gestión del parque es un cambio bienvenido por consideración del factor humano en el parque cultural totalmente integrado.

La planification et le développement des parcs culturels doivent tenir compte des conflits qui peuvent naître des demandes des populations locales, des besoins des visiteurs et de l'importance de conserver l'intégrité du site. De nombreux parcs, en particulier dans les pays en voie de développement, sont une source de devises fortes provenant du tourisme et sont également importants pour la subsistance des autochtones. Afin de maintenir l'équilibre entre les besoins humains et de l'environnement, une stratégie qui tienne compte de ces facteurs est essentielle pour le développement du parc. Des études de développement, des règlements pragmatiques et une évaluation continue sont quelques-uns des facteurs maintenant une atmosphère qui contribuera au plaisir, à l'éducation et aux besoins de tous ceux qui utilisent les parcs.

Dans un récent passé, des situations conflictuelles sont nées, dans de nombreux parcs de faune et de flore sauvages, de la divergence de priorités entre les autorités du parc et les peuples autochtones. Aujourd'hui, de nombreux parcs demandent aux groupes indigènes de les aider dans l'interprétation de la zone en servant de guides, d'artisans à résidence ou de personnel de soutien. De plus, des droits de pâturage saisonnier, de pêche, de chasse et de moisson sont octroyés aux peuples vivant dans la vicinité de parcs situés au milieu de vastes étendues. Inviter les peuples autochtones à aider et à participer à la gestion du parc est un changement qui est le bienvenu pour la prise en compte du facteur humain dans le parc culturel totalement intégré.

Cultural Parks and the Human Factor

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Introduction

In the planning and development of cultural parks, consideration must be given to the conflicts that may arise between the wants of the local population, the needs of the visitor, and the importance of maintaining the integrity of the setting. Many parks, particularly in developing nations, provide a source of hard currency from tourism and are also important for the subsistence of local peoples. In order to maintain the balance between human and environmental needs, a sensitive strategy for park development is essential. Development surveys, pragmatic regulations, and continuous evaluation are some of the factors in sustaining an ambience that will contribute to the enjoyment, education, and needs of all who use the surroundings.

Cultural parks the world over vary in style, subject matter, and techniques. Many of them deal with groupings of carefully selected examples of architecturally and historically significant original or replicated structures on special sites. Some countries have developed villages of traditional architecture where age-old techniques and materials have been used by master craftsmen. Ethnographic materials and cultural parks go hand in hand. In nations where there is a low rate of literacy, parks make ideal settings for public (informal) education, understanding national heritage, and nation-building. In all parks the visitor not only has a sample of buildings and/or a natural setting, but a re-creation of an environment and style of life of people at a certain moment in time.

In the recent past conflict situations occurred in many wildlife parks because of differing priorities between the park authorities and the local people. Today many parks bring in local groups to assist in interpretation by acting as tour guides, craftsmen-in-residence, or support staff.

In addition, where parks are situated among a vast amount of land, people living in the area are allowed seasonal cattle grazing, fishing, hunting, and harvesting rights. Inviting the local population to assist and share in the park marks a welcome change for considering the human factor in the fully integrated cultural park. This paper will focus on that human element for cultural parks in the developing world.

Overview

For cultural parks to exist, there must be development efforts to support indigenous organizations and peoples and to respond to locally defined plans and objectives. In considering the human factor, there are four elements that should be considered: 1) the significance of the cultural dimensions in conceptualizing and achieving social change; 2) local definitions of quality of life versus standards of living; 3) diversity of cultural expression and enhancement of cultural identity; and 4) allowing people to master their own development aspirations.

Cultural parks can be planned; people cannot. Parks can cause massive geographical dislocations of people and have a profound effect on the way they lead their lives. With development there comes a tendency for homogenization. Urban values, consumer orientations, and mass media all radiate out to influence the less sophisticated. Western tastes and mores set the standards and through European colonization, cultural patterns have been overshadowed or overwhelmed. Societal economic and social mobility depends on assimilating

the dominant cultural patterns.

In many developing nations, indigenous cultures are only partially assimilated, are on the periphery, or are completely isolated from the mainstream. How can they be helped to keep their legitimate identity? Positive recognition is only accorded to changing, modernized society. If a portion of a given population is culturally disoriented, how can it become an active contributor to societal development? Can the society as a whole ignore the richness and wisdom offered by citizens of various cultural heritages? These are difficult questions to answer, but they are important questions to pose.

Identity

There is one overriding theme in all of this—the quest for a secure sense of identity. A group's self-image is influenced by the perceptions of others. The predominant cultures tend to disparage the poor and the disadvantaged. This causes insecurity among those in the subordinate cultures and often acts as an unacknowledged barrier to development. To overcome this, cultural institutions, including cultural parks, must attempt to change these perceptions.

During the 1950s and 1960s, there was a reaction against "cultural imperialism." It was felt that foreign expertise, foreign capital, foreign media, and foreign cultural missions were overtaking local customs and folkways. This is now

changing as Third World leaders perceive the need for their own people to be the controlling influence over their own destiny.

The Human Factor Redefined

It has repeatedly been asked, why put scarce resources into cultural projects? People are hungry, ill-housed, unemployed. Basic needs must be satisfied. These seemingly non-essential cultural activities are wasted time, energy, and funds.

While some societies draw a sharp distinction between work and play, art and science, culture and economy, not all peoples categorize their lives this way. For them, quality of life takes priority. This includes self-respect, community identification, a sense of place, a sense of purpose, and human relationships. Beyond the personal, it is vital that local social institutions be strong enough to cope with outside forces. They can do this by keeping in mind three important objectives:

- 1. Articulation of social issues through the assessment of their own situation and by taking action.
- 2. Recognition of their minority role and the need to win respect for their ethnic heritage.
- 3. Organization of human potential so that people can be active, knowledgeable, and critical participants in cultural development and change.



Cliff Palace is the largest cliff dwelling in all of the Southwest. The cave is 325 feet long, 90 feet deep, and a little over 60 feet at the highest point. It once contained over 200 rooms with 23 kivas, housing a population between 200 and 250 people.

The community of Cabecar de Telire in Talamanca is described as it is found located within a World Heritage Site, La Amistad Park, on the shores of the Telire River. Aspects of the community's physical anthropology and agriculture and their relationship with the environment are considered because it is one of the last Indian communities in Costa Rica that preserves its cultural values. The discussion describes a series of plants, among them medicinal, ceremonial, and edible plants of great value to the community diet. If these are not protected in a World Heritage Site, it will have devastating effects on community development.

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Se describe la comunidad Cabecar de Telire, en Talamanca, Limón, enmarcada dentro del Sitio de Patrimonio Mundial, Parque La Amistad, ubicada en la margen del río Telire. Se consideran aspectos sobre antropología física y agricultura de la comunidad y su relación con el medio ambiente, por ser de las últimas comunidades indígenas de nuestro país, que preserva en mejor forma su entorno cultural. Se describe una

serie de plantas útiles, entre ellas medicinales, ceremoniales, comestibles, de gran valor para la dieta de la comunidad, que de no considerarse su protección dentro de un sitio de Patrimonio Mundial, pueden causar efectos funestos para el desarrollo de la comunidad.

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La communauté de Cabicar de Telire à Talamanca, est décrite telle qu'elle se trouve, située à l'intérieur d'un site du Patrimoine Mondial, le Parc La Amistad, sur les rives de la rivière Telire. Des aspects de l'anthropologie physique de la communauté et de l'agriculture et leurs relations avec l'environnement sont considérés, parce qu'il s'agit de l'une des dernières communautés indiennes, au Costa Rica, qui préserve ses valeurs culturelles. L'exposé décrit une série de plantes parmi lesquelles se trouvent des plantes médicinales, cérémoniales et comestibles d'une grande valeur pour la diète de la communauté. Si ces plantes ne sont pas protégées dans un site du Patrimoine Mondial, des effets dévastateurs pour le développement de la communauté peuvent en résulter.

Indian Communities within the Context of Amistad Biosphere Park

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Background

The Americas have been, and continue to be, a land inhabited by Indians. Before the Spaniards arrived, our continent was inhabited by Indian groups who achieved a considerable degree of social and economic development. Nevertheless, the new order was both foreign and subjugating for the Indian population. In Costa Rica, despite many problems, the Indian populations have survived due to their relative geographical isolation from the national urban centers.

A number of indigenous communities with different degrees of acculturation live within the boundaries of La Amistad Biosphere Reserve in the Talamanca Range. This vast area contains natural biomes and unique communities, as well as ecosystems, in which certain forms of human intervention have produced important ecological modifications. The traditional native system of crop rotation and mixed crops, however, is in a state of equilibrium with the environment, which shows no evidence of serious ecological disturbances. An example of this is the management of forest resources, which is currently being studied. A sound resource management plan must be followed to preserve the area ecosystem.

The development of indigenous cultures has been sustained to date by utilization of forest products and the practice of swidden or migratory agriculture based on varieties of genetic strains adapted to different regional conditions. Emphasis on the local strains should be noted in that they provide for genetic variability in Mesoamerica and adaptation to local conditions. These regions, which are primarily wet tropical forests, are continually threatened by factors such as the introduction of improved strains (which fail), cultural snobbishness that

denigrates native agriculture, and the loss of cultural values.

Introduction

As a part of its worldwide network of biosphere reserves, La Amistad Biosphere Park in the Talamanca Range of Costa Rica was established by UNESCO in 1982. It contains national parks such as El Chirripó and La Amistad biological reserves, Hitoy Cererm Barbilla Forest Reserve, anthropological reserves, Las Cruces Botanical Garden, and Las Tablas protected zone. Its total area is approximately 500,000 hectares. In 1982, the Center for Research and Education in Tropical Agronomy (CATIE), in conjunction with the National Park Service of Costa Rica, initiated the first phase of development of an interdisciplinary master plan for La Amistad Park. The first stage of preliminary studies has been completed. It deals with natural, archeological, and cultural resources, flora, fauna, and native ethnobotany. After an interim period during which funding was obtained, the second management phase of the reserve was begun in coordination with other public groups and institutions.

The Anthropological Reserve of Ujarras, Salitre, and Cabagra Location

This reserve is located in the drainage basin of the Rio Grande de Terraba in southeastern Costa Rica. It is in the southern part of La Amistad Biosphere Park in the foothills of the Talamanca Range on the southern Pacific side. It contains three main population centers, each located at the lower elevations, and inhabited by Cabecar and Bribri Indians. Ujarras is situated in the valley of the Rio Ceibo, Salitre in the

mountains between the Rio Ceibo and Rio Blorikal, and Cabagra in the Cabagra Valley.

Two physiographic regions and five distinct bioclimatic regions determine both potential and current land use patterns. The bioclimes are wet tropical forest (basal), very wet forest, pluvial foothill, low mountain rain forest, and high mountain rain forest.

Population Characteristics

This area is populated by about 1,740 people who, until recently, lived in a dispersed pattern of single family dwellings. Each family occupied an extensive holding on which plots were cleared in rotation as needed. A rest period of from three to five years allowed secondary forest growth to occur on fallow lands, thus permitting partial regeneration of the soil. As a result of legal and illegal encroachment by non-Indians into the forested areas, however, shifting cultivation is rare now, causing serious problems for the indigenous population.

The opening of the Pan-American Highway and the transfer in 1961 of the administration of these lands to the Institute for Agrarian Development contributed to the gradual invasion of Indian lands. This encroachment, and the associated changes in land use patterns, led to almost total deforestation and destruction of the fragile ecosystem. Non-Indians alleged that the indigenous cultivation system with its annual harvests, shifting plots, and lack of significant animal husbandry other than chickens and pigs was an inefficient use of land. They, on the other hand, emphasized large-scale cattle raising, an activity that was totally unsuited to the area. Incompatible intensive use brought disastrous changes to the environment and, consequently, for the Indian groups whose subsistence had depended almost exclusively upon the forest resources.

The Talamanca Anthropological Reserve

Location

Talamanca, the largest of Costa Rica's counties (2,828 square kilometers), is composed of three zones—a narrow costal plain, the Sixaloa Valley, and the broken foothills of the Talamanca Range. The Talamanca Anthropological Reserve is located in the northeastern part of La Amistad Biosphere Park in the Atlantic region, with an area of 62,253 hectares (622.5 square kilometers) including 153,570 acres in the Rio Sixaloa basin.

Population Characteristics

The Indian population of 2,276 is primarily from the Bribri ethnic group, largest of the Costa Rican Indian groups. They inhabit the river valleys of the Rio Telire, the Rio Coen, the Rio Urena, and the Rio Lari, and the Talamanca foothills. A small group also resides in the coastal region. It should also be noted that a small number of Cabecar Indians live in the villages of Monjoncitos and San José Cabecar on the banks of the Rio Coen.

Housing

The effects of changing technology and materials are apparent in this region where buildings with walls and floors

of milled lumber and corrugated metal roofs are found. Nevertheless, dwellings made from natural materials collected from the surrounding area are still the most common. They are built mainly from logs with thatched roofs made of straw or palm leaves and fastened with vines, with either square or conically shaped roofs and wall structures built from *chonta* palms. Domestic utensils frequently hang on the walls.

These homes consist of a sleeping area and a cooking area; some have additional structures such as latrines. The cooking area centers around the hearth which is formed from three heavy trunks or stones placed directly on the earth floor in one corner. Most of the cookware is commercially manufactured, though clay pots are sometimes used. Family members or visitors converge in the kitchen, where women generally work and hammocks are often hung. Beds, located usually in the sleeping area, are made from boards or trunks.

Economy

The Talamanca people have had a difficult economic history. The lower Sixaloa Valley was exploited intensively by foreign companies during the first four decades of this century, then abandoned from 1935 to 1945 as a result of phytopathological problems in banana cultivation. Changing labor needs, in turn, triggered the movement of the Indian people away from the valley to the foothills.

The existence of oil and minerals in the Talamanca Valley has been known since 1874. A report from that time mentions that "there is oil in only one place on one of the branches of the Alto Telire." Since then, oil exploration has been carried out in the region, most recently in a project which began in 1978, but which to date has failed to produce results. However, exploration has negatively affected environmental preservation and conservation.

In spite of all these problems, the Indians of the Talamanca foothills have continued their system of shifting, slash-and-burn agriculture, based on crops that include maize, beans, tubers such as yucca and yams, fruit trees, bananas, coffee, and cacao. They also raise pigs and fowl (primarily chickens), and hunt and fish.

Cacao was a crop with great economic potential for the Indians of the Talamanca Valley after they inherited large cacao plantations from the banana companies. Unfortunately, in 1979 the moniliasis blight (caused by *Monilia roreli*) appeared and wrought havoc on the regional economy. To counteract their losses, some farmers began planting bananas as an alternative crop. Notwithstanding, the conditions continue to be adverse as the bananas are currently being attacked by "sigatoka," causing new problems for the inhabitants.

Local transportation and communication patterns have shaped the region's commercial activities. The area lacks roads and is isolated by its network of rivers, which has both negative and positive effects. Profiteers have taken advantage of the Indians' needs by purchasing some of their products at prices below market value. On the other hand, the isolation of the

inhabitants has contributed to the maintenance of the traditional agricultural system, thereby aiding in the protection and preservation of the environment.

The Tayni (Estrella) Anthropological Reserve

Location

The Tayni Anthropological Reserve is located in the central county of Limón Province in the northern part of La Amistad Biosphere Park. At an elevation of between 100 and 600 meters above sea level, it is comprised of 13,616 hectares within La Estrella Valley and along the banks of the Rio Coen and the Rio Estrella. The biomes within the basin of the Rio Estrella are humid and very humid tropical forest, which support the Indian settlements.

Population Characteristics

This reserve is a stronghold of Cabecar Indians, who, combined with the Telire group, totals 844 people. Their settlements are composed primarily of family groups, and are found in the high Tayni Valley along the river banks.

Housing

Housing near the banana plantations which neighbor the community of Tayni has been influenced by modern construction materials as evidenced by the use of corrugated metal roofs. Buildings elsewhere in the area are usually constructed from forest materials. The rectangular-shaped buildings, which are left open at both ends, are built at ground level and thatched with palm leaves.

Economy

Cacao was the Indians' principal cash crop before an outbreak of moniliasis considerably reduced its value. The marketing of pigs raised in the wild is another important source of income. Indians sometimes also generate cash incomes by working on the banana plantations as laborers or in other agricultural work for local non-Indians.

The indigenous subsistence cultivators harvest crops such as maize, beans, rice, squash, tubers, "pejibaye," common banana, plantain, other banana species, and the fruits of native as well as nonnative trees. The slash-and-burn system of agriculture is used for annual crops planted in clearings. Crops are planted in the foothills in order to protect them from domestic animals, especially pigs. Cattle raising is rare among the Indians, but hunting and fishing are typically seasonal activities. In the alluvial and lower regions of the valley where the main dwellings are constructed, the crops are perennial. Also noteworthy is the mixed crop system used to cultivate cacao, which is interspersed with fruit trees, "pejibaye," Musacae, and forest trees.

Education

Prior to 1978, if it were not for the footpath between the Tayni region and Vesta, neither of these towns would have had any contact with centers of education. In 1978, the government established two educational centers which were staffed by Indian teachers from other areas. This, however, unfor-

tunately did not mean that the educational system had been adapted to meet the needs of the local indigenous culture. Later, in 1981, the National Commission on Indian Affairs initiated an innovative project in the field of Indian bilingual education and developed a curriculum which addressed the specific needs of the Indian culture. The Tayni communities and the Chirripó anthropological reserve were the beneficiaries of this project.

The Chirripo Anthropological Reserve

Location

This largest of the Costa Rican Indian regions is situated in the northeastern part of the La Amistad Biosphere Park. With an area of 75,824 hectares, it extends into the provinces of Limón and Cartago. The region is mostly covered by forest and contains several bioclimes. Included are the drainage basins of the Rio Matina and the Rio Pacuare, thus making it an important area for the development of hydroelectric projects.

Population Characteristics

Chirripó's extensive area supports three Indian groups of Cabecar ethnicity. The population has been estimated at 2,500 with most of the inhabitants living on the banks of the Rio Chirripó, Rio Pacuare, and Rio Zent. Transportation by river allows contact with the towns of Turrialba by way of Moravia de Chirripó, and Limón by way of Corina. The only ''roads'' in the area are simple footpaths.

Members of the dispersed population, which inhabits geographically limited valleys of the region, are related by blood and organized into groupings based on ancestry through the mother's line. This is apparent in the center of the reserve in the Rio Chirripó area where kinship among the Cabecar, as well as the Bribri, result in matrilineal clans.

Housing

Dwellings are constructed from forest products, including palm leaves used for roofs, an oak-like wood for frames, and wild cane and trumpet tree for constructing walls. The building materials are fastened together with different vines (Asplundia spp., Anthurium scandens, and Cissus sicyoides), which are not only ideal for tying but also well suited for construction when nails are unavailable.

Communication

Land travel is accomplished on rough paths which are especially difficult during the rainy season, even for the animals themselves. The swiftness of the rivers makes transportation by boat all but impossible outside of the dry season. Horses are rare, although they are sometimes used to transport crops.

Major communication with other Indians occurs annually during the dry season, usually for social and religious purposes. At that time the Indians travel through the forests to spend time with their relatives and maintain contact with their priests.

The Indian Community of Telire, Talamanca

Location

The Cabecar region of Telire, in the province of Limón, Costa Rica, is located near the mouth of the Telire River and its network of streams and tributaries. The settlement begins at the Rangalle site near the Rio Kamiri at an elevation of 400 meters above sea level and continues upstream in a southerly direction. It extends to the west in a straight line for about 22 kilometers at an elevation of about 1,000 meters to Alto Telire near the Rio Sucuri. The topography is characterized by steep slopes ranging from 5 to 80 percent and the area receives more than 5,000 mm. of annual precipitation. Generally speaking, local conditions are so severe that the area lends itself best to watershed and wildlife protection.

During the last few decades, few non-Indians have visited the Cabecar Indians of the highlands around the Rio Telire, and only recent publications have noted that Cabecar Indians actually occupy small villages along the Rio Telire and in the Telire valley. The Cabecar Indians are long-time inhabitants of this ecological zone, and believed to be descended from a small number of earlier occupants who came from San José Cabecar, an important center in ancient times. This century has brought sporadic migrations from other places such as Chirripó and Estrella.

The Telire Indian community is considered unique in that it is geographically, socially, and culturally isolated. Not only is it isolated from governmental structures, but also from religious missions as well. There is only an occasional visit from missionaries and others from the nearby non-Indian towns. These factors and the Indians' modus vivendi allow the group to live in harmony with nature, almost completely independent of civilization.

Indian Legislation

Indian legislation in Costa Rica has gone through many stages. The most recent began in the 1970s and culminated in the creation of the Indian law, which covers different issues: land protection and the common adjudication of disputes through public deeds, the protection of vegetation, and social security for the inhabitants. The Costa Rican anthropological reserves occupy an area of approximately 256,000 hectares (2,559 square kilometers), which is equal to about 5 percent of the country's total area. The indigenous population numbers between 13,000 and 16,000 people (0.7 percent of the total population), an average density of six people per square kilometer.

Social Organization

Being isolated from the national socioeconomic context has helped Telire preserve its ancestral cultural systems. They have shamans, jaguas, and an elaborate system of kinship that includes matrilineal clans. They still use their own system of curing (use of medicinal plants), as well as ''sukias' or religious specialists, who are in charge of birth and death rituals.

Faced with the necessity of obtaining deeds to the lands that

make up the Indian reserve, a basic development association was formed. As of this date, it is the only organizational model foreign to their culture. Nevertheless, the Indians try to maintain leadership.

Population

The Telire community is dispersed throughout an area of 9,000 hectares and has a population of 208, divided among 36 families. Family groups tend to live in clustered units although some distance exists between each unit or rancho. Currently, some outmigration from Alto Telire towards the Tayni Valley is occurring, possibly temporarily, in response to the attractive conveniences available there.

Housing

Cabecar dwellings are built along the Rio Telire and its tributaries, as well as on higher ground, and in the forest areas cleared for cultivation. When the inhabitants are related through kinship, two or three huts will be grouped together. These ground-level houses open at both ends and are rectangular or occasionally oval in shape.

Construction materials are taken from the forest. Roof structures are made from wood or palm such as "chonta" (Socrates durissima) or Graminea-like wild cane (Gynerium saggittatum). The structures are covered with leaves from different plants such as "suita" (Chamaedorea spp., Calyptrogyne sarapiquiensis). The walls are made from wild cane, laurel (Cordia alliodora), trumpet trees (Cecropia spp.), or other types of wood.

Agricultural System

Telire is almost completely covered by virgin forest except for small areas which are used for slash and burn agriculture. The main annual crops are maize, beans, rice, tubers, and squash. The perennial crops include cacao, as well as various types of fruit trees. Small-scale cattle raising exists with creole animals, which were introduced in the last century, and recently introduced species of zebu.

Cacao is the main commercial crop of the non-Indians of Vesta. It should be noted that a number of wild species are planted in small areas and used for domestic consumption.

Use of Forest Resources in Daily Activities

The Indian family takes advantage of forest resources in its daily activities by making instruments for hunting, fishing, household chores, etc. Hunting provides a source of protein. Bows and arrows are used for small animals, birds, and deer. Used mostly by young people, the bow is made from the bark of the "pejiballe" (Bactris gasipaes). Arrowheads made from the same material are attached to the stalks of wild cane. "Animal calls" are fashioned from the shoots of plants in the Palmae and Cyclanthaceae families and are used to attract animals to a particular place where they can be hunted.

Baskets used for domestic chores also come from forest products. Stools are made from a single piece of wood such as cedar, laurel, and other varieties. It is also common to have hammocks which are made from the fibers of the agave (Aechmea magdalenae). Containers made from the bracts of

rockrose leaves (Socrates durissima) are used in making "chicha." Multipurpose gourds and strainers are made from the calabash (Crescentia alata). Bed sacks usually are made from "pita" (Aechmea magdalenae) and can double as sacks for transporting food or animals or for storing clothing.

Cabecar Knowledge of Medicinal Plants

Traditional indigenous medicine is more than the use of infusions, concoctions, and macerations of medicinal plants. Bozzoli (1982) states that the *jagua*, or medical specialists, must learn to recognize the different medicinal plants and develop expertise in their applications. For that reason, he had to wander far into the forests in the company of his teacher. These plants are used to counteract the effects of disease on a person and are administered by the person dedicated to this activity, the *jagua* or *pwapa*. This person performs a ritual that includes the use of stones, chants, and ceremonial plants (e.g., *Heliconia spp.*, *Diffembachia*, *Chamaedorea spp.*).

The wealth of the wet tropical forests has been an important source for products used in modern medicines. The traditional use of the many medicinal plants by Indian peoples has been a source of obtaining the active ingredients that are now used in modern medicine. One of the major foci of pharmacological research is the study of traditional uses of medicinal plants. It is also important to bear in mind that the forest is a storehouse of plants whose medicinal potential is still not known.

The traditional use of medicinal herbs is directly related to the social and cultural systems of the community. The Indian has developed ways of meeting his own needs and does not need to stray from tradition. For example, one ailment that might affect the Indians is diarrhea accompanied by headache. The traditional medicine uses a wide number of plants that can effectively treat this condition, including "hauske" (Neurolaena labata), "quininagru" (Quassia amara), "doricru" (Trattinickia aspera), "choo-kualit" (Simarouba glauca), "bercha" (Wettheringia solanacea), "dienawo" (Fevillea codifolia), and others.

It might be noted that traditional native medicine is not used to treat the ailments of modern culture, such as insomnia or hysteria. However, a plant from Telire which is called "tirro kicha" (*Aristolochia gigantea*) is used as a nervous system sedative. This indicates the need for further pharmacological research into plants that grow in this region that do not have readily apparent medical uses.

It should be noted that many plants used frequently in Telire contain active ingredients that have been studied. Among these are quassin from "quininagru" (Quassia amara), saponin from "saskicha" (Smilax officinalis), eleostearic acid from

"dunawo" (Fevillea cordifolia), lactones in "kuaske" (Neurolaena lobata), and iron in "chichikarque" (Smilax spp.).

The existence of plant species with commercial value should be included in a plan for the use of the forest resources in La Amistad Biosphere Park. This would permit the Indians to commercially exploit medicinal plants for use in their natural form.

Recommendations

- 1. The genetic strains employed in native agriculture should be viewed as having great value for improving gene pools, as they are well-adapted to tropical conditions.
- 2. As long as the native agriculture system complements the ecosystem, it should be used as a model for the development of new areas in tropical regions.
- 3. The socioeconomic development of Indian communities should be based on "sustainable economic development" with new economic activities consistent with traditional cultural patterns.
- 4. The management of cultural areas in the tropics should not be channelled into the same management style applied to temperate or subtropical zones.

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The National Cultural History and Open-Air Museum has already begun with the development of the National Open-Air Museum on seventy-five hectares some forty kilometers west of Pretoria. Research and planning began in 1977. Furnished houses and other domestic structures will be erected amid traditional surroundings (as far as possible). Of the native peoples, the Nguni, Sotho, Tswana, Venda, Shangana, Tsonga, Swazi, and Khoi will be represented. They will themselves cooperate in the planning, research, identification of styles and supply of artifacts, erection of structures, intepretation, demonstration, and management. With regard to the white cultures, the early Dutch, English, French, German, and Boers will be represented.

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El Museo Nacional al Aire Libre de Historia Cultural ya se ha iniciado en 75 hectáreas, 40 kilómetros al oeste de Pretoria. Las investigaciones y la planificación comenzaron en 1977. Casas amuebladas y otras estructuras domésticas se construirán en un ambiente tradicional (en tanto que sea posible). De los indígenas, se representarán a los Nguni, Sotho, Tswana, Venda, Shangana, Tsonga, Swazi y Khoi. Ellos

mismos colaborarán en la planificación, las investigaciones, la identificación de estilos y el proveer de artefactos, el levantar de estructuras, la interpretación, demostración, y la dirección. En cuanto a las culturas blancas, se representarán a los primeros holandeses, ingleses, franceses, alemanes, y bóers.

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Le Musée National en plein air d'Histoire Culturelle a déjà commencé son développement sur 75 hectares à 40 kilomètres à l'ouest de Prétoria. Les recherches et la planification débutèrent en 1977. Des maisons meublées et d'autres structures domestiques seront bâties dans un environnement traditionnel (pour autant que cela soit possible). Parmi les populations indigènes les Nguni, les Sotho, les Tswana, les Venda, les Shangana, les Tsonga, les Swazi et les Khoi seront représentées. Ils coopèreront à la planification, à la recherche, à l'identification de style, à la fourniture d'objets manufacturés, à la construction de structures, à l'interprétation, à la démonstration et à l'administration. En ce qui concerne les cultures des blancs, les premiers hollandais, anglais, français, allemands et boers seront représentés.

The National Open-Air Museum of South Africa

Ben Cronje

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National Cultural History and Open-Air Museum
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There are a number of cultural groups in South Africa who over the centuries have left a rich store of cultural treasures. The rich variety of ethnic cultures can be divided into the following main groups: San (Bushmen), Khoi-Khoi, Bantu, and Caucasians (or groups of European origin). Among the Bantu one finds the Nguni, the Tsonga-Shangana, Venda, Sotho, and Tswana. Each of these groups are again further subdivided. The whites in South Africa come mainly from Holland, England, Germany, and France.

The diverse nature of our cultural heritage reflects our historical development over the past roughly three and a half centuries, the fundamental cultural differences between the various groups, and the effects that particular natural environments have had on the lifestyles of these groups. Unfortunately, many important examples of traditional dwellings have disappeared over the years. On the one hand, natural processes of decay and weathering were responsible for this, but on the other hand, the deliberate destruction of these dwellings by man himself was responsible. These historically significant structures were destroyed for various reasons, including ignorance, neglect, and for the purpose of progress.

For this reason, the central government directed the National Cultural History and Open-Air Museum in 1969 to create a national open-air museum. Briefly, the purpose of this open-air museum is to represent examples of the traditional building techniques and dwellings of the aforementioned groups. Research in connection with the identification of traditional building styles has been underway for a number of years. A considerable amount of research has also been carried out on

the museological aspects of the open-air museum, including extensive study tours of open-air museums in Europe, the Scandinavian countries, and the U.S.A. Meanwhile, the National Cultural History and Open-Air Museum has brought two other open-air museums into being, namely the Pioneer Open-Air Museum and the Willem Prinsloo Agricultural Museum.

The National Open-Air Museum is being developed on a seventy-five-hectare site forty kilometers west of Pretoria, next to the Hartebeespoort Dam. From a topographical point of view, this site has a lot of potential. It is rocky, but also has sufficient natural bush and open, grassy spaces. The area has certain natural and permanent assets that will be incorporated in the development plan of the museum, for example a scenic gorge/canyon and hilly slopes where walks will be introduced, a very old natural donga, beautiful scenery, a historical observatory, and the nearby dam. The layout of the site will provide for the integration of the natural characteristics of the area in accordance with the museological requirements of the Open-Air Museum.

The natural, aesthetic, historical, and other assets of the Broederstroom area make it an ideal place for the establishment of the National Open-Air Museum. Add to this the fact that a unique open-air museum, on a scale never before seen in South Africa, is to be developed here and one has the ingredients for an ambitious and a promising museum project.

A very important archeological site that has already been declared a national monument will form an integral part of the National Open-Air Museum. The archeology department of the University of the Witwatersrand, headed by Professor

R. J. Mason, has been carrying out excavations since 1973 on this site that was inhabited by people from the early Iron Age (approximately 350 to 500 B.C.). Walks will be established so that visitors will be able to see how the people from that age lived and smelted iron. A historic village will also be reconstructed on the site.

The building structures being erected on the site which will reflect the different cultures will be three-dimensional in the sense that they will reflect the historical development of the different groups, the cultural influences, and the effects that the natural environment had on the building of dwellings in certain areas. Attempts will also be made to show how the different cultures were acculturated. For example, it will be shown how new building techniques developed under the influence of other cultures but in combination with original building methods.

It is difficult to identify traditional European or African styles or influences in many of the structures still existing today. In most cases these styles and influences have been blended to reflect an adapted vernacular style. In the case of the whites, one finds, for example, a typical elongated rectangular, pitched-roof building with a veranda or stoop in the front and built on to the back rooms with a low, sloping roof. In the case of the Bantu, one later comes across a unique rectangular building with a slightly lower roof and low ''lapa'' walls at the back.

In the South African context one must also bear in mind the fact that distances are great and that the sites on which dwellings are built are large. Climatic differences are vast and there are a large variety of cultures.

Unfortunately, the National Open-Air Museum cannot always represent the exact ecological conditions in which the different types of dwellings are found. Climatic and other factors differ too greatly from one region to the next. Where possible, the building techniques and the immediate surroundings will be represented as closely as possible, taking plant life and other ecological factors into account. Fortunately, however, the Open-Air Museum is situated in a very stable climatic area, which naturally makes variations possible.

Apart from the main buildings, appropriate outbuildings will also be added where necessary. In addition, the buildings will

be furnished as fully as possible with the proper furniture and other objects of utility. In line with the trend in most open-air museums, traditional activities will be represented where practicable.

An old-fashioned station, with one platform, will be built in cooperation with the Conservation Group of the Railways Association of Southern Africa. The station will virtually border on the town square and will be close to the entrance building so that visitors will conveniently be able to reach the museum by train. It is hoped that arrangements can be made for steamtrain service, from a nearby tourist point to the Open-Air Museum and back over weekends. There is also a possibility that a steam train may be able to travel between Pretoria and the Open-Air Museum over weekends. An Open-Air Railway Museum will be established somewhere on the site of the Open-Air Museum, connected to the railway station, and here old steam locomotives and other railway transport from the past will be displayed.

In order to carry out the planning that has been discussed as accurately as possible, an advisory committee was appointed, consisting of experts in the various fields concerned, to advise the museum on the development of the National Open-Air Museum, for example with regard to certain historical, ethnological, architectural, botanical, environmental, and building matters. Regarding the representation of the dwellings of various Black groups, special attempts have been made to obtain the advice and participation of Black people themselves so that these aspects of the Open-Air Museum can also be developed properly and to the satisfaction of experts in this field.

Other components will eventually also be added to enable the museum to function properly. These will include a main building in which visitors can be received and oriented. This building will also include a cafeteria, lecture hall, exhibit hall, ablution facilities, offices, workshops, and storage rooms. Onsite facilities will be established for recreation, parking, orientation, and for the information and convenience of the general public when visiting the museum. It is hoped that the first phase of the National Open-Air Museum of South Africa will be completed within two years.



The middle room at Balcony House.

Mootwingee Historic Site is a small area managed by the New South Wales National Parks and Wildlife Service in semi-arid Western New South Wales. It is significant because it contains important aboriginal art and occupation sites, in particular many paintings and engravings.

The area has been open to the public for many years. In the 1970s the National Parks and Wildlife Service developed a plan of management for the site, and put in many improvements. The plan of management recognised the research value of the site and its importance as a tourist area, but did not take into account its significance to the Aboriginal community, whose ancestors inhabited the area.

The Aboriginal community has gained confidence and political power over the past ten years. In 1983 the newly formed Western Aboriginal Lands Council blockaded the site, refusing access to visitors and presenting a list of demands. This event polarised the local community. The National Parks and Wildlife Service responded by temporarily closing the site, and negotiating with the Aboriginal community. Presently Aborigines and the Service are cooperating in the production of a new, joint statement of significance and plan of management for the area. This paper describes these events and draws some general conclusions from them, including the importance and benefits of indigenous involvement in the assessment of statements of significance for, and management of, cultural property.

El Sitio Histórico de Mootwingee (Mootwingee Historic Site) es una zona pequeña administrada por el Servicio de Parques Nacionales, de la fauna y de la flora de la Nueva Gales del Sur (New South Wales National Parks and Wildlife Service) en la región semi-árida del oeste de la Nueva Gales del Sur. Esta zona tiene una significado importante, porque contiene un gran número de sitios de arte y de ocupación aborígen en particular de númerosas pinturas y grabados.

La zona esta abierta al público desde hace muchos años. En los años setenta, el Servicio de Parques Nacionales, de la fauna y de la flora (*National Parks and Wildlife Service*) desarrolló un plan de gestión del sitio y ha aportado numerosos mejoramientos. El plan de gestión ha reconocido el valor del sitio para las investigaciones así como su importancia como áreas turísticas, pero no han tomado en cuenta el significado que tiene para la comunidad aborígen, cuyos antepasados vivían en la región.

La comunidad aborígen ha adquirido más seguridad y el poder político a través de los últimos diez años. En el 1983, el consejo de Tierras Aborígenes Occidentales (Western

Aboriginal Lands Council) de creación reciente, bloqueó el sitio, negó el acceso a los visitantes y presentó una lista de reivindicaciones. Este acontecimiento polarizó la comunidad local. El Servicio de Parques Nacionales, de la fauna y de la flora protestó por la clausura temporal del sitio y comenzó negociaciones con la comunidad aborígen. Hoy día, los aborígenes y el Servicio cooperan para la producción de una nueva declaración conjunta de importancia y la planificación de la gestión para la región. Esta ponencia describe esos acontecimientos y saca algunas conclusiones generales, e incluyendo la importancia y los beneficios de una participación indígena en la evaluación de una declaración de importancia y la gestión de la propiedad cultural.

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Le Site Historique de Mootwingee (Mootwingee Historic Site) est une petite zone gérée par le Service des Parcs Nationaux, de la faune et de la flore de la Nouvelle Galles du Sud (New South Wales National Parks and Wildlife Service) dans la région semi-aride de l'Ouest de la Nouvelle-Galles du Sud. Cette zone a une signification importante, car elle contient de nombreux sites d'art et d'occupation aborigènes en particulier de nombreuses peintures et gravures.

La zone est ouverte au public depuis de nombreuses années. Dans les années soixante-dix, le Service des Parcs Nationaux, de la faune et de la flore (*National Parks and Wildlife Service*) a développé un plan de gestion du site et a apporté de nombreuses améliorations. Le plan de gestion a reconnu la valeur du site pour des recherches ainsi que son importance comme aire touristique, mais n'a pas tenu compte de sa signification pour la communauté aborigène, dont les ancêtres habitaient la région.

La communauté aborigène a gagné en assurance et en pouvoir politique au cours des dix dernières années. En 1983, le Conseil des Terres Aborigènes Occidentales (Western Aboriginal Lands Council), de création récente, bloqua le site, en refusa l'accès aux visiteurs et présenta une liste de revendications. Cet événement polarisa la communauté locale. Le Service des Parcs Nationaux, de la faune et de la flore riposta par la fermeture temporaire du site et entama des négociations avec la communauté aborigène. Aujourd'hui, les Aborigènes et le Service coopèrent pour la production d'une nouvelle déclaration conjointe d'importance et la planification de la gestion pour la région. Cet exposé décrit ces événements et en tire quelques conclusions générales, y compris l'importance et les bénéfices d'une participation indigène dans l'évaluation d'une déclaration d'importance et la gestion de la propriété culturelle.

Mootwingee—Conflict and Cooperation at an Australian Historic Site

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Mootwingee is a small historic site in western New South Wales, reserved under the National Parks and Wildlife Act, 1974, under the care of the National Parks and Wildlife Service. It consists of 486 hectares and is 80 miles of unsealed road from the nearest town, Broken Hill, a mining centre with a population of 20,000 people. The site was dedicated as a historic site in 1967. It has been regularly visited by the public, locals, and tourists since at least the 1920s (Pulleine 1926). The site is located in a series of small valleys on the western fall of the Bynguano Range. It is a compact geographic unit comprising the watershed of Nootumbulla Creek, a watercourse which drains westward through an ancient series of cuestalike topography.

The sandstones form steep small-scale gorges and escarpments. The general area is semi-arid. Runoff from the sandstone escarpments has formed numerous semi-permanent water holes, and the gorges and watercourses provide habitat for a greater variety of animal and plant life than exists on the surrounding largely waterless plains. Large eucalyptus trees line the watercourses, and the Bynguano Ranges, because of these features, provide an oasis effect in a generally hostile and visually featureless environment.

The sandstone forms numerous small overhangs and rock shelters and smooth surfaces suitable for rock engraving. Because of this and the comparatively favourable environment, there is very plentiful and unusually spectacular evidence of Australian Aboriginal occupation. The site contains numerous examples of paintings, stencils, and rock engravings, as well as archeological deposits. The abundance of art combined with the natural beauty of the area is the reason for the area's

popularity as a visitor destination and its dedication as a historic site. The site also has significant natural and historic values because of the native species it contains and its connection with early European exploration and settlement (Mootwingee 1974). But its main value and the one that this paper addresses derives from the evidence of long-term Aboriginal use and occupation.

The site, when it came under the control of the Service, was already suffering the effects of heavy, unsupervised visitation and was in a state of general neglect. A plan of management was developed in which the primary cultural significance of the site and the aims of management were outlined: "It contains important examples of rock engravings, cave painting and other Aboriginal relics. It will be managed for the preservation of these features with facilities for controlled public visitation, education and research" (Mootwingee 1974, 3).

The Service fenced the site, controlled the feral goats within it, put in a water reservoir, road, camping and picnicking facilities, an airstrip (outside the boundaries), and a ranger's cottage and ancillary facilities (a generator, a radio linked to the Flying Doctor and Service network, and workshops). An air-cooled visitor centre, with interpretive display and small theatre, was built. A major natural vegetation replanting programme screened these developments. The amenities in general were of a high standard, well-designed, with minimal impact on the environment and, in the early 1970s, considered to be a model for appropriate and successful conservation and development of such sites (Sullivan 1975).

The site had an annual visitation of more than 20,000 in 1983, with most people staying more than one night. It is managed

from the Service's district office in Broken Hill by a senior ranger. On-site staff consist of two park workers. Seasonal rangers are employed at the peak visitor periods (May and September school holidays).

Despite the comparatively high standard of visitor facilities and staffing, the site has developed a number of severe problems since the ratification of the first plan of management. It is comparatively small and fragile and has suffered severely from visitor overuse, encouraged by the provision of good facilities. The environment and the Aboriginal sites have deteriorated. Overnight camping on site and the lack of sufficient staff to provide guided tours to particularly sensitive areas have exacerbated this problem. The Service's art conservation efforts at the site have been often ill-advised, poorly supervised, and ineffective or worse.

The Service recognised many of these problems early and sought to solve the problem of overuse and on-site camping by the acquisition of a much larger area surrounding the site as a national park. This was finally achieved in 1983 with the dedication of the 68,912-hectare Mootwingee National Park containing very numerous and important Aboriginal sites. The Service proposed the revision of the plan of management aimed at devising a management strategy for the whole complex—the site and the park which now surrounded it.

The Service then, by 1983, had recognised some of the problems experienced in site management and was preparing to address others in a revision of the plan of management. However, there was still an assumption among Service management, and the visitor population, that the original statement of cultural significance (not so-called, but a 1970 approximation of such) was still adequate and appropriate. This was, in brief, that the site had scientific and public value.

The scientific or research value of the site has been long established. It conserves a great range of rock art and an associated potentially important complex of archeological sites. Research work to date (McCarthy and MacIntosh 1962; Maynard 1979, 103-5) and field surveys carried out by John Gerritsen, ranger at Mootwingee during the 1970s, support this view and demonstrate the potential of the site to answer important current research questions and as a reserved representative regional sample of sites.

The site is of public significance. This is demonstrated by long-term and rising tourist use. Both locals and interstate visitors find Mootwingee to be educational, beautiful, and exciting—an enriching experience. In addition, the site is important to the city of Broken Hill as a tourist drawcard. Broken Hill is a mining town with an uncertain future and a need to build up alternative industry such as the tourist and associated-service industries. The site is also one of the few areas which provides recreational facilities for the town's residents who frequently visit it on a day basis. To the people of Broken Hill, Mootwingee is their site and they feel strongly that they have the right to have a say in its management. In particular, any

restriction of visitor usage is viewed with resentment and opposition.

The original plan of management recognised a potential conflict between these two values. Preservation of the site's scientific value could be jeopardised by unsupervised visitation and overuse, and by the mid-1970s Service personnel were aware that this was in fact a real danger (Sullivan 1975, 61-62).

The site has a third value which the original plan did not provide for: its particular significance to the descendants of the Aborigines who gave it its value—the modern Aboriginal population. Researchers at Mootwingee interviewed Aboriginal elders in the 1950s and 60s and established in generalised terms the traditional importance of the site. Today the descendants of the Wilyakali tribe in the Aboriginal community at Broken Hill and Wilcannia recognise and cherish this link. In addition, the site is of general importance and significance to the Aboriginal community, who hold strong views about its appropriate use, and object to the control and study of such sites by white managers and researchers in ways which often seem insensitive or offensive. (For a fuller discussion of Aboriginal attitudes toward Aboriginal sites in southeastern Australia, see Sullivan 1983a and in press.) The Service had recognised this growing Aboriginal heritage movement and by 1983 employed nine Aboriginal site officers and had established an Aboriginal Sites Committee with a majority of Aborigines (Sullivan 1983b).

Aborigines in western New South Wales were dispossessed of their land, moved from their traditional camping places, and subjected to long-term and often insensitive and brutal attempts to assimilate them. High unemployment and poor housing and health standards are the present legacy of 150 years of white colonisation. Recently, the New South Wales Aboriginal Lands Right Act (1983) has set up a series of statutory and officially recognised local and regional Aboriginal Lands Councils, providing them with some funding for organisation and land purchase, and with the opportunity for effective, grass-roots political organisation. At the same time, there has been a rapidly growing interest among Aborigines in their own culture, sometimes called, in New South Wales, "the cultural revival" (Kelly 1980). The combination of growing concern for their own heritage, and the political machinery necessary to organise and legitimise this interest in the wider community, has brought a new element to management of Mootwingee. The site's third value, its particular Aboriginal significance, always present but previously not articulated, has come into sharp focus and while enriching the site's cultural significance, has provided new challenges for management, especially in its potential to conflict with the other established values of the site and its consequent traditional (white) use.

In August 1983 the newly formed Western Aboriginal Lands Council blockaded the site, closing it to visitors for several days. This action coincided with the Broken Hill centenary celebrations, in which the local Aboriginal community had not been involved, and followed tentative approaches to the National Parks and Wildlife Service requesting involvement in the management of the site, to which the Service had not effectively responded, in part because at that time it had no specialist or Aboriginal staff in the region. The protest also reflected dissatisfaction with the land rights legislation, which did not allow land claims over leased Crown land in the Western Division or National Parks or Historic Sites.

The Western Aboriginal Land Council put up specially printed signs in Broken Hill and on the road to the site—"Mootwingee Closed by the Owners." A busload of protesters camped at the site for three days and turned away any visitors. The Aboriginal community took advantage of the period to visit Aboriginal sites within the site and to formulate their views on its future management. Graffiti proclaiming Aboriginal ownership of the site and demanding rights for Aborigines also appeared on public buildings in Broken Hill, which was probably the most immediately provocative action.

The National Parks and Wildlife Service, because of its Aboriginal sites officers and its liaison with the Aboriginal community, had been given unofficial warning of the blockade and arranged for liaison, supply of facilities to the blockaders, and an explanation to intending visitors. Good relations were maintained and there was no violence.

The Western Aboriginal Land Council demanded closure to visitors of some areas which have traditional significance, full involvement in the writing of the revised plan of management, and ownership of the site, with the implication that it would then be leased to the Service to run. The Council further demanded that the whole site should be closed while these matters were negotiated.

Despite the low-key nature of the protest and the Service's response, the effects of the blockade were significant at a number of levels. An immediate result was informal negotiations and discussions on site between the Western Aboriginal Land Council and Service regional and local staff, made possible by recently established channels of communication between the two groups over other local matters of mutual concern. There was at the same time an immediate polarisation in the local community generally. White people, with a longterm interest in the site and with strong feelings concerning their rights, were affronted, indignant, concerned, or bewildered by the action of the Western Aboriginal Land Council. Local and regional Service staff, especially site staff, were faced with absorbing a whole new set of assertions and demands in the face of widespread opposition and resentment from the community in which they lived. In the short term, there was a generally high level of anger, distress, and anxiety. Perhaps the Aboriginal site officers at the interface were in the most difficult position. They had sympathy with the Aboriginal position, but also knew the realities of management, Service policy, and government views, and were faced with the challenge of keeping channels of communication open

while betraying the confidences of neither side.

Several months of discussion and consideration followed. The Service's Aboriginal Sites Committee met and strongly advised accession to the demands of the Western Aboriginal Land Council. In February 1984, the Premier approved the temporary closure of the site by the Director to allow negotiations with the council, pending the preparation of a new plan of management. The Aboriginal community responded very positively to this action and moved to set up a steering committee to work on the plan of management. Some leaders in the white community were extremely critical and made strong representations to the government. The Service, in cooperation with the Aboriginal community, made alternative areas available for visiting in the park which surrounded the site, and provided Aboriginal guides and temporary alternative interpretation facilities. This programme was publicised.

The Steering Committee, consisting of Service head office, regional, and local staff, and members of the Western Aboriginal Land Council, drafted a brief for the plan of management of the site and park and other nearby Service land and engaged a consultant to carry out the work. An initial sum of \$50,000 to \$60,000 was available. The aim was to produce a statement of significance, a conservation plan, and following this, a plan of management. Separate briefs were written for research into and preparation of biological, archeological, historic, and Aboriginal significance. The consultants were to use already-available information, identify and research gaps in the information, and produce resource documents and succinct statements of significance and conservation guidelines in their respective specialist areas. These statements would then be integrated by the consultant in consultation with the Steering Committee to produce an overall statement and plan, with due regard for the various values of the area.

The Western Aboriginal Land Council's brief includes identification of sites of particular significance and requirements for future site management, including its continued involvement in planning, the employment of Aboriginal staff on site, and requirements for hunting and gathering rights. Progress to date is very encouraging. A competent team of consultants is working well together, and the Service and the Aboriginal community are cooperating on numerous projects.

There remain some problems. The local white community is in part alienated and resentful, despite Service efforts to consult with and involve them. The visitors' centre within the site remains closed. This creates very real problems for the general management and interpretation of the area. There is divided opinion in the Aboriginal community as to whether this is necessary, but at present a politically influential group maintains that opening it would compromise the outcome of the plan of management process, and that it is too near sites of significance to be opened with safety.

Resolution has not been reached concerning ownership of the site. Presently it is not possible for the site to be returned to Aboriginal ownership without an act of Parliament and the New South Wales government is not prepared to countenance this. It is hoped that a generally acceptable plan of management will assist in solving this problem.

It is also clear that there is the potential for conflict, requiring negotiation, in the statement of significance now being prepared. For instance, part of the area is the habitat of rare or endangered species, notably the yellow-footed rock wallaby, and additionally the Service has an extremely firm policy (based on legislation) which forbids any hunting or gathering activities in national parks. This may conflict with Aboriginal demands for traditional hunting and gathering rights in the area. However, there is general optimism that in the present climate, these difficulties can be overcome.

There are some general observations which derive from this case study. Seen in terms of conservation principles, the conflict, while political in structure, clearly arose because the management of the site had failed to take into account an aspect of the site's significance. It is, of course, easy in hind-sight to say this; in fact it is unrealistic to criticise the Service for lack of infallibility, or for failing to move faster than the Australian community. The fact that the Service's overall policies and procedures acknowledged the legitimacy of Aboriginal interests in site management generally meant that in this crisis it could effectively assess the problems and move quickly towards a positive solution.

The case study points up the mutability of the concept of significance (Bowdler 1984) and illustrates the need for review of statements of significance and appropriate adjustments, sometimes major, to meet the changing needs of society and of particular groups within it.

The new politically active Aboriginal movement is a potentially very powerful tool for the conservation of Aboriginal sites. Aborigines are providing a grass-roots conservation movement for such sites, previously lacking in the Australian community (Sullivan, in press). This movement will contribute greatly to Aboriginal heritage conservation and interpretation. One practical result of the conflict at Mootwingee is that an overused site is being reassessed from a new perspective. The Service's facilities and plan of management, designed in the early 1970s, were a model for their time. But whether in fact it was ever appropriate to provide heavy, virtually unsupervised, visitation to what the initial plan of management acknowledges as fragile, important, and irreplaceable sites is open to question and was indeed questioned at that time. Aborigines certainly consider that visits to sites should be guided only with trained Aboriginal staff to interpret the site fully, combining research findings with an Aboriginal perspective. Because of their undoubted concern and sincerity in this matter and their political muscle, this will probably be one of the recommendations in the forthcoming plan of management. Thus the continuing scientific value and the public attraction of the site will be more secure because of the particular significance of the area to the Aboriginal community.

Employment of indigenous people, as policy advisors and liaison officers, is crucial for the effective and appropriate management of their heritage. This should be a priority for relevant conservation agencies. An ongoing consultation process which begins prior to a particular crisis or argument is also essential and makes resolution of particular conflicts far more likely.

Indigenous people properly trained and employed in the interpretation and management of areas of significance to their culture enrich the visitors' experience, provide appropriate management, and are important in changing the stereotype view of indigenous people often held by the majority culture. At the same time, education of the majority culture about indigenous peoples' cultural contribution and rights in the conservation of this culture is crucial.

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Spruce Tree House. In a world where religion and the course of everyday events were inseparable, ceremonial kivas were as basic to life as rooms for sleeping or cooking.

This paper considers the involvement of Aborigines and professional archeologists in the management of Aboriginal sites in the states that occupy the southeastern part of the Australian continent. The dichotomy of the above title, far from stressing confrontation and conflict of interests, emphasises the necessity and value of cooperation. Both groups are concerned with protecting the Aboriginal heritage, and both have perspectives of knowledge and expertise vital for proper assessment and hence effective management.

The machinery for cultural resource management for each state is surveyed, along with the roles played by Aborigines and archeologists. In this way a measure is taken of the use made of the professional expertise of archeologists and of the involvement of Aboriginal people in policy and decision-making on heritage matters and in day-to-date site management and site presentation.

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Esta ponencia considera la participación de los Aborígenes y de los arquéologos profesionales en la dirección de los sitios aborígenes en el sudeste de Australia. La dicotomía del titulo arriba no da importancia a la confrontación y conflicto de interés, pero acentua la necesidad y valor de cooperación. Ambos grupos se preocupan para proteger el patrimonio aborigen

y ambos tienen las perspectivas de conocimiento y pericia que son essencial en el avalúo propio y la dirección efectiva.

La mecánica de la dirección de recursos culturales por cada estado está examinada, junto con los papeles de los Aborígenes y los arqueólogos. De esta manera se puede medir el uso de la pericia profesional de los arqueólogos y la participación de los Aborígenes en la política y la manera de hacer decisiones del patrimonio y la gestión de los sitios.

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Cet exposé examine la participation des Aborigènes et des archéologues professionnel dans l'administration des sites aborigène de Sud-Est australien. La dichotomie des titre en haut no accentue la confrontation et le conflit d'intérêts mais accentua la nécessité et le valeur de cooperation. Tous les deux s'intéressé à la protection des patrimoine aborigènes y ont las perspectives de connaissance et expertise qui sont vital dans une évaluation exact et gestion effectif.

El méchanisme de l'administration des ressources culturelles de chaque état est examinée avec les rôles des aborigènes et des archéologues. De cette manière on peut mesurée l'usage de la expertise professionnel des archéologues et la participation des Aborigènes dans la politique et la manière de prise de decision de la patrimoine y la gestion des sites.

Aborigines, Archeologists, and the Management of Aboriginal Sites in Southeastern Australia

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In this paper I shall be addressing one of the problems highlighted in the conference session theme: the incorporation of native peoples in the planning, management, and interpretation of sites. I shall address the problem in overview and from the perspective of an archeologist; my colleague Glen Morris will address it from the perspective of his work as Senior Aboriginal Sites Officer with the New South Wales National Parks and Wildlife Service. Both our papers, and that of Sharon Sullivan, are concerned with the situation in the southeastern part of Australia, comprising the states of New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia, and Tasmania.

In these Australian states, except for Pitandjara lands in the north of South Australia, we are not concerned with the protection or preservation of Aboriginal sites on Aboriginal land designated as such by law. Nor are we concerned with national parks on Aboriginal land, as is the case with the Kakadu National Park in Arnhem Land, administered for its traditional owners by the Australian National Parks Service (a commonwealth-federal-statutory body). The historical circumstances of settlement and development make southeastern Australia very different from the north and northwest.

In the present situation, cultural resource management relating to Aboriginal sites is primarily seen as a state responsibility rather than a federal one. This derives from the various state acts that give protection to Aboriginal sites. The impetus for this protective legislation in the late sixties and seventies came from archeologists and anthropologists concerned with the conservation of sites as heritage and also for their scientific value. Awareness of their significance for Aboriginal people as a whole and for local communities has grown through

the last decade, along with a growth in clearly articulated demands from Aboriginal people for an involvement in programmes initiated under such legislation (Sullivan, in press). The legislation in most states provides 'blanket' protection for sites or artifacts (often referred to in the acts as 'relics'). However, the machinery established to implement the legislation varies considerably. It may lie with a National Parks Service, as in New South Wales or Tasmania, or with an independent non-land-managing heritage unit attached to a government Department of Planning and Environment, as in South Australia and Victoria.

The commonwealth statutory bodies with an involvement in Aboriginal sites each have specialised roles. The Australian National Parks Service has a management role for commonwealth-controlled parks, such as Kakadu National Park in the Northern Territory, which is outside the geographical area considered in this paper. Its role in management of the South-Western Wilderness Area of Tasmania is still a matter of discussion between the federal government and that of Tasmania. Since the passage of the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islands (Interim Protection) Heritage Act in 1984, the Department of Aboriginal Affairs has the task of implementing its provisions. However, this is not envisaged primarily as a site-management or presentation role, but rather a protective one to supplement what is available under state legislation, especially in emergency situations.

Similarly, the Australian Heritage Commission is not a landmanaging instrumentality. It is a federal statutory body whose main function is to identify and maintain a register of the National Estate, that is, places of historic, scientific, social, and

aesthetic significance in the natural or cultural environment. The cultural environment for its register includes both Aboriginal sites and historic places and buildings of the period after European settlement in 1788. The commission also aims to promote general awareness of heritage issues, together with education and research in this area; it also advises government on conservation policy and matters relating to the National Estate. Its act, however, only constrains commonwealth instrumentalities, while the commission does not manage any properties as heritage estates. So its activities are not those central to the theme of this paper. However, it is still useful to consider whether this commonwealth body sees consultation, or Aboriginal involvement, as relevant to its functions. Certainly the commission is receptive to Aboriginal opinion on heritage issues; it consults with relevant bodies and has had Aboriginal members on staff. At present there is not an Aboriginal commissioner. There is consultation with traditional custodians, Aboriginal communities, and state authorities on the nomination of places for registration. Some problems arise here since the act's provisions relating to the nomination of Aboriginal places (section 23.5) differ from those for other places, and so may be considered discriminatory.

The dichotomy presented in my paper's title—of Aborigines and archeologists—may seem confrontational. Certainly there have been tensions between archeologists and Aboriginal groups in the past, particularly in southeastern Australia (Bowdler 1983a; Lewin 1984). These tensions do not belong entirely to the past but continue, as questions of the investigation of burial sites and the final disposition of human skeletal remains are the subjects of debate. At present, in both Tasmania and Victoria discussions are being held on these very matters. Yet, in a sense, the tensions merely emphasise the growing concern of Aboriginal people for their past and its heritage of sites, and their justified demands to be involved in decisions relating to this heritage (see Langford 1983). The demand for recognition of their right to custodianship is often associated with distaste for the activities of archeologists, or a misunderstanding of the aims of archeological investigation. To many Aborigines these seem to be either despoiling sites of significance (for example, by excavating burial grounds) or pursuing research with little regard for the views of Aboriginal people about this research (Langford 1983; Sullivan, in press). This point was clearly made by Ros Langford of the Tasmanian Aboriginal Centre in a paper presented to the 1982 annual meeting of the Australian Archaeological Association.

You seek to say that as scientists you have a right to obtain and study information of our culture. You seek to say that because you are Australians you have a right to study and explore our heritage because it is a heritage to be shared by all Australians, white and black. From our point of view we say you have come as invaders, you have tried to destroy our culture, you have built your fortunes

upon the lives and bodies of our people, and now, having said sorry, want to share in picking out the bones of what you regard as a dead past. We say that it is our past, our culture and heritage, and forms part of our present life. As such it is ours to control and it is ours to share on our terms. That is the Central Issue in this debate.

The dichotomy of the title was not intended to stress opposition, but rather the necessity and value of cooperation. Both Aboriginal people and archeologists are vitally concerned with protecting the Aboriginal heritage, while both have perspectives of understanding and knowledge essential to its proper assessment and appreciation and hence essential to wise management decisions. For Aboriginal sites have significance of varying kinds. The two most important are their significance to Aboriginal people and their scientific value or potential to yield archeological and anthropological evidence.

As the situation in each state differs from that elsewhere, it would be misleading to make blanket statements about southeastern Australia. So I shall briefly review the position in each. The use made of the professional expertise offered by archeologists and Aboriginal involvement may be measured to some extent by looking on the one hand at staffing situations in the management arena and on the other at representation on advisory or policy-making committees. So I shall concentrate on these areas, while also considering the additional machinery that may exist (at formal or informal levels) for consultation and involvement.

Let us look first at the island state of Tasmania. Here protection for Aboriginal sites comes through the national parks legislation of the mid-1970s. No Tasmanian national park was reserved for its archeological resources alone, but most contain sites of great interest and value. The South West Tasmanian Wilderness, a World Heritage area, was listed as such for its important cultural sites (such as Kutikina Cave) as well as its spectacular natural landscapes. Yet the staffing resources of the Tasmanian National Parks Service preclude any archeologist or Aboriginal ranger specifically available to manage and interpret this important area. The service's archeological staff is at present centrally based. It is also small. One senior officer has the assistance of four archeologists on short-term appointments, funded by grants from bodies such as the Australian Heritage Commission. There is one Aboriginal trainee. The Service would very much like to expand its field staff and to initiate wider training programmes, but at present suffers serious constraints on expansion.

To advise on policy and archeological management, there exists an advisory committee comprised of five members, one of whom is Aboriginal. At present its activities and composition are under review. Informal networks for consultation, however, have been established for liaison with the Tasmanian Aboriginal Centre and other Aboriginal groups. Researchers and contract archeologists engaged in environmental im-

pact surveys are urged to consult with Aboriginal people and to involve them in their work.

On the mainland in South Australia, Aboriginal site protection is vested in an Aboriginal Heritage Unit, a division within the Department of Environment and Planning; the South Australian National Parks Service is also a division within this department. The two divisions work in close collaboration since the Parks Service lacks archeological staff and expertise, yet, as a land-management body, controls important cultural resources. For Flinders Ranges National Parks it has three Aboriginal rangers, who have received their training from the Aboriginal Heritage Unit and the Australian National Parks training officer. Their duties in the parks include those normally falling to a ranger as well as Aboriginal site interpretation and the role of liaison officers with local Aboriginal communities.

It is South Australian government policy to involve Aboriginal people in Aboriginal heritage management, so there is official support for training programmes in the national parks and Aboriginal Heritage Unit divisions. The heritage unit also has two Aboriginal members on its small staff. At present revised protective legislation for Aboriginal sites is pending for South Australia, so formal machinery is not in place for consultation or advice. However, the Aboriginal Heritage Unit, in implementing survey work under the state's planning legislation, urges full consultation. It has itself consulted widely with local Aboriginal communities regarding the provisions envisaged for the new act. Until this is in place, the unit has to rely on its own resources without any professional archeological or Aboriginal advice from advisory committees.

In Victoria, the Victoria Archaeological Survey is responsible for implementing protective legislation relating to Aboriginal sites. It is an independent body within the Department of Environment and Planning. The National Parks Service for Victoria is a separate body with no programmes or staff specifically devoted to Aboriginal cultural resources on its estates. However, it does manage parks with important sites, and liaises with the Archaeological Survey on their management and presentation. The Victoria Archaeological Survey has a tradition of strong professional commitment in archeology and active field research programmes. However, recently it has initiated developments towards wider consultation with, and involvement of, Aboriginal people in this work. These developments have included changes to the survey's staffing to increase the number of Aboriginal members under training. They have also involved field investigations carried out in conjunction with, or at the request of, local Aboriginal communities. For example, in 1982 Sandra Bowdler investigated a burial site on the Murray at Robinvale at the request of the Robinvale community. The site was endangered by erosion of the riverbank and the salvage excavation provided a valuable lesson in collaboration (Bowdler 1983a and b). More recently survey staff have been working with another local group on a study of the nineteenth-century mission station at Lake Condah. The changes in staffing of the survey have led to its one Aboriginal liaison officer being joined by two permanent Aboriginal staff and a number of trainees. The survey hopes that its training programme will lead to the establishment of regionally based Aboriginal sites officers.

In terms of outside professional advice, the Victorian Archaeological Survey has an Advisory Committee of twelve members, chaired by the Secretary of the Department of Planning and Environment. Three members of the committee (including its deputy chairman) are Aboriginal. Only three members are required to have archeological expertise—those who represent a university, the Museum of Victoria, or the Archaeological Society of Victoria. Other members represent relevant government departments or land-managing agencies. The committee's expertise, both archeological and Aboriginal, could well be strengthened to become more fully effective as an advisory body offering professional expertise and local traditional knowledge. At present in Victoria there is considerable debate on the custodianship of Aboriginal sites, with strong demands for the establishment of an Aboriginal Heritage Authority. The situation is under review, as are decisions on the final control or disposition of Aboriginal skeletal material recovered in archeological investigations or accidentally exposed. In response, a subcommittee of the Relics Advisory Committee has been set up to advise the minister on skeletal collections. This committee is wholly Aboriginal in its composition.

In New South Wales the protection of Aboriginal sites has been vested in the state's National Parks and Wildlife Service since 1970. Since 1979 the Service has also acted as the determining authority for the state's Environmental Planning and Assessment Act as it relates to Aboriginal sites. The Service thus exercises a powerful role in cultural resources management beyond that relating to sites within its own parks. Service estates include many areas containing important Aboriginal sites, such as Lake Mungo National Park within the Willandra Lakes World Heritage area. In addition to archeological management, since 1973 the Service has been active in recording sites of significance to Aboriginal people. This began with a separately staffed programme funded by the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies. The programme's success, however, led to its incorporation and that of its Aboriginal and anthropological staff into the Service's cultural resources section.

Staff of the cultural resources section includes professional archeologists and Aboriginal officers trained in site recording and management. Aboriginal staff consists of both permanent officers and trainees, who are based both at the head office and regionally throughout the state. Each of the four regional offices has a regional archeologist and an Aboriginal sites officer. This is in addition to the network of field staff provided by rangers in the various parks, which may include Aboriginal

rangers. Many of these have been trained through the Service's ranger schools in site recording and management. So a powerful network exists for liaison and consultation at all levels, from the local and regional to the governmental. A new element in this network will be the Aboriginal Regional and Local Land Councils recently established under the state's land rights legislation. Glen Morris will be discussing their involvement in heritage issues and site management.

Archeological expertise is needed for the management and interpretation of sites on Service land. It is also needed for assessing environmental impact studies, advising government in general on conservation issues and site protection, and for decisions on granting research permits for excavation or survey work. Aboriginal opinion on these aspects is also necessary. This generates a considerable volume of work. To assist the Service staff, there is an advisory committee to advise the director and the minister on these matters (Sullivan 1983). From its establishment in 1970, committee membership was oriented toward professional expertise in archeology rather than administration. As soon as possible, it included an Aboriginal representative. Pending changes which may follow the state land rights legislation, since 1980 there has been a restructured Interim Committee to allow for greater Aboriginal participation. This Interim Committee comprises nine Aboriginal members, most of whom are regional representatives. Non-Aboriginal members include three archeologists—university researchers (I am one of these) and a contract archeologist; a representative of the Australian Museum (the legal repository for all Aboriginal artifacts), and someone from the Service staff. So the Interim Committee, by its very composition, can act as an important source of informed comment on the significance of individual sites or on conservation issues. It is also, itself, an important forum for discussion of issues relating to sites, and is seen as such throughout the state by both Aboriginal communities and the archeological profession. Thus it can perform a vital role in consultation and communication with both groups.

The Service's Aboriginal sites officers work closely with the committee, local communities, and archeological investigators. Consultation at all levels is encouraged both formally and informally. Researchers and contract archeologists are required, under permit conditions, to consult with local Aboriginal groups before beginning any programme of research or field survey.

Training of Service officers in site recognition, recording, and management has always been a part of the cultural resources

section programme. Regular ranger schools are held and this work has now been extended through more formal courses at colleges of advanced education and the Tranby Aboriginal College in Sydney. The New South Wales Parks Service Cultural Resources Section recognizes the importance of Aboriginal custodianship and makes a sincere effort to involve local communities and Aboriginal staff at all levels, in policy decisions as well as in the more-mundane aspects of management.

In all states of southeastern Australia the last decade has seen a growing awareness of, and response to, expressed Aboriginal concerns over the custodianship of their sites. It has also seen the establishment of machinery, both formal and informal, for consultation between Aboriginal groups and those who have been given the statutory task of protecting Aboriginal sites. What may seem to be opposing interests in the sites—those of archeologists and Aboriginal people—need not be so. Rather they may, with their differing perspectives on the past, work together to give a deeper understanding of that past's physical remains, and so lead to their more effective protection and management.

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Mesa Verde National Park covers 52,000 acres in southwestern Colorado near Cortez, bounded on the west and the south by the Ute Mountain Ute Indian Reservation, on the east by the Mancos River, and on the north by the escarpment of the Mesa Verde proper.

White Australians value Aboriginal sites for their research, conservation, and public values. Australian Aborigines responding to their own cultural drives find other meanings in their sites. Many hold religious resources that play crucial roles in contemporary Aborigine spiritual life. Others, from missions to massacre sites, represent historic contact settlements that stir bitter memories of loss and conquest. Still others are prehistoric archeological sites that give Aborigines their oncedenied past and the tangible symbols that help galvanize them into political action, especially with regard to the custodianship and interpretation of Aboriginal historic and prehistoric sites.

For too long Aborigines have been subjects rather than participants of European study and interpretation. Despite their sometimes sensitive and useful research and sympathetic portrayals, white Australians have created and controlled our past, using their biases more often than our culture to portray a people they little understand. Aborigines demand a role in scientific endeavors and in creating the policies that affect site management and interpretation.

Los blancos aŭstralianos hacen gran caso de los sitios aborígenes para la investigación, su conservación y los valores públicos que ellos representan. Los aborígenes australianos, respondiendo a sus propias motivaciones culturales, encuentran otros significados a sus sitios. Muchos de entre ellos encierran los recursos religiosos que desempeñan un papel fundamental en la vida espiritual de los aborígenes contemporáneos. Otros, las misiones en los sitios de masacre, representan los contactos históricos de las colonias que despiertan memorias amargas de pérdida y de conquista. Otros además, son sitios arqueológicos prehistóricos que dan a los aborígenes su pasado que se le había negado anteriormente, y los símbolos tangibles que ayudan a galvanizarlos en la acción política, especialmente en lo que toca a la protección y la interpretación de los sitios aborígenes históricos y

prehistóricos.

Durante mucho tiempo, los aborígenes han sido los sujetos más que los participantes de estudios y de interpretación europeos. A pesar de sus investigaciones, algunas veces sensibles y útiles, y de sus retratos simpáticos, los blancos australianos han creado y controlado nuestro pasado, utilizando sus distorsiones, más a menudo que nuestra cultura, para describir a un pueblo que ellos comprenden poco. Los aborígenes reinvindican un papel en los esfuerzos científicos y en la creación de políticas que afectan la gestión y la interpretación del sitio.

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Les blancs australiens font grand cas des sites aborigènes pour la recherche, leur conservation et les valeurs publiques qu'ils représentent. Les Aborigènes australiens, répondant à leurs propres motivations culturelles, trouvent d'autres significations à leurs sites. Beaucoup d'entre eux renferment des ressources religieuses qui jouent un rôle crucial dans la vie spirituelle des Aborigènes contemporains. D'autres, des missions aux sites de massacre, représentent les contacts historiques des colonies qui réveillent des mémoires amères de perte et de conquête. D'autres encore, sont des sites archéologiques préhistoriques qui donnent aux Aborigènes leur passé qui leur avait auparavant été nié, et les symboles tangibles qui aident à les galvaniser dans l'action politique, spécialement en ce qui concerne la garde et l'interprétation de sites aborigènes historiques et préhistoriques.

Pendant trop longtemps, les Aborigènes ont été les sujets plutôt que les participants d'études et d'interprétation européennes. En dépit de leurs recherches, parfois sensibles et utiles, et de leurs portraits sympathiques, les blancs australiens ont créé et contrôlé notre passé, utilisant leurs distorsions, plus souvent que notre culture, pour décrire un peuple qu'ils comprennent peu. Les Aborigènes revendiquent un rôle dans les efforts scientifiques et dans la création de politiques qui affectent la gestion et l'interprétation du site.

Aboriginal Sites and Custodianship

Glen Morris

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White Australians with an interest in heritage issues and conservation have generally accepted Aboriginal sites as part of their heritage. They have made laws to protect them and have sought to integrate them into schemes by laying claim to the Aboriginal past as part of the heritage of all Australians. Aboriginal sites, rather than European ones, are recognised as being of world importance and are considered by the World Heritage Committee to be some of the most important such places in Australia.

This view of Aboriginal culture ignores the question of Aboriginal custodianship and the issue of what is sometimes called "ethnic" significance. Because of the position of Australian Aborigines in Australian society as a conquered, oppressed, and visibly disadvantaged group, their heritage and history takes on a special significance and poses fundamental problems for the managers of cultural resources.

Aboriginal sites may be important to Aborigines in three ways. First, Aboriginal sites may be a part of the living culture and have contemporary sacredness or significance because of their relationship to Aboriginal spiritual beliefs. In many cases this spiritual belief is the reason for the creation of the site (for example, ceremonial grounds). Where such sites are part of a living culture, it is clear that their sacredness and significance to Aborigines will be their prime value and will usually overrule other values such as public or research values. In the areas of Australia settled last by the Europeans—the Northern Territory for example—this paramount value is acknowledged. The Northern Territory Sacred Sites Authority, which is controlled by Aborigines, has been set up to protect and manage traditional sites in accordance with Aboriginal wishes. In this

circumstance, it is the Aboriginal owners, or employees acting on their behalf, who have control of site management. Sacred sites as part of a living religious tradition have paramount values other than as heritage items, which may dictate actions and practices which are contrary to the ideals of the conservation movement. (For a graphic description of this conflict, see Wallace 1977).

Second, Aboriginal sites associated with post-contact Aboriginal history may have historic significance to Aborigines. Examples would be mission stations, massacre sites, and early European settlements. Often these sites are significant to Europeans for other reasons and here there can be grave crosscultural differences in determining significance. The site of the first government house in Sydney, New South Wales, is significant to white Australians as a symbol of the establishment of the first seat of government, order, law, and a promise of expansion and growth. For Aborigines, it is the first tangible symbol of conquest. The Alice Springs overland telegraph station is significant to Europeans because of what it means in terms of the conquest of distance and isolation and the establishment of a complex and successful remote settlement. To Aborigines it is remembered bitterly as the place where Aboriginal children were taken from their parents.

Finally, and most significant for our present discussion, all Aboriginal sites have contemporary significance to Aboriginal people. The vast majority of sites in southeastern Australia are prehistoric. They show evidence of Aboriginal occupation of the continent for over 30,000 years, but they have no specific traditional significance to any particular group. They usually are as unknown to Aborigines as to others until they are

located and identified by an archeological survey or other research. However, Aboriginal society is undergoing a renaissance, a cultural revival. Aborigines in southern Australia are asserting their Aboriginality as a matter of pride for the first time since the Europeans came. Aborigines show an immense interest in their own past and their own sites which have great symbolic value and are a means of achieving political power. Aborigines therefore seek custodianship of sites—all sites—not just those of particular sacredness or significance. By custodianship I mean control, at a policy level, of site management, research, and interpretation.

Ros Langford, in a paper given on behalf of the Tasmanian Aboriginal Centre at the recent Australian Archaeological Association meeting in Tasmania, put the point very clearly:

The issue is control. You seek to say that as scientists you have a right to obtain and study information of our culture. You seek to say that because you are Australian you have a right to study and explore our heritage because it is a heritage to be shared by all Australians white and black. From our point of view we say that you have come as invaders. You have tried to destroy our culture. You have built your fortunes on the lands and bodies of our people, and now, having said sorry, want a share in picking over the bones of what you regard as a dead past. We say that it is our past, our culture and heritage and it forms part of our present life. As such it is ours to control and it is ours to share on our own terms (Langford 1982).

This assertion of custodianship has been strongly contested by those who seek to preserve Aboriginal sites for their research or heritage value and who feel that their value to humanity must be greater than their value to any Aboriginal group. Incorporation of Aboriginal sites into the heritage movement helps to establish and validate the past Australian assimilation of Aboriginal sites as part of the Australian heritage and gives Australians a history of 40,000 years instead of 200. It can also be an important unifying force in an Australia which is becoming increasingly multicultural. However, there are severe problems for Aborigines in having their sites and their culture interpreted in this way by a dominant European culture.

There is then a conflict over custodianship, with important implications for cultural resource managers and other conservation practitioners. To understand this more clearly we need to look at the underlying reasons for Aboriginal assertions of custodianship of all sites.

Australia was taken from the Aborigines by force, without any agreement, treaty, or acknowledgment of prior ownership or occupation. No general agreement has been reached to this day. Therefore, the assertion of custodianship over Aboriginal sites by whites has no basis, as far as Aborigines are concerned, and could be regarded as part of this ongoing

illegal process. There is no doubt that Aborigines regard it so.

The sites themselves are important evidence of substantial Aboriginal occupation of Australia. In the past, Europeans in Australia maintained that prior to European settlement, Australia was to all intents and purposes unsettled (unowned), or at least unused or unmodified in any significant way. Yet Aboriginal sites are tangible proof of Aboriginal modification of the landscape. It has been argued in international law that proof of occupation and therefore prior ownership of a country rests on proof of a material impact on that country (Jones, quoted in Wright 1982, 58). The evidence of and from Aboriginal sites destroys the legal fiction that Australia was essentially unoccupied at the time the Europeans arrived.

However, Aborigines are very suspicious of the way Europeans have interpreted their past. They have reason to be so. When this country was invaded by Europeans, the dispossession of the Aborigines and the acts of often-violent aggression by which this was accomplished were justified in part by the assertion that Aborigines were primitive, or subhuman—a lower link in the evolutionary chain, destined, in the view of most nineteenth-century scientists, to be displaced by a higher order (Mulvaney 1958, 297). Europeans, from this self-serving early interpretation of Aborigines, have developed a more sophisticated and disinterested view of the history and nature of our Aboriginal society. But the key fact is that Europeans still control Aboriginal prehistory through expertise, funding, and control of information.

Though anthropologists now deride the concept of the Australian Aborigines as "primitive savages," the ordinary person's view of the Aborigines derives from earlier "scientific" theories and teachings such as those outlined above. This process has not ceased. A recent, generally sympathetic, film on the Tasmanian Aborigines, The Last Tasmanian, put forward a well-respected prehistorian's suggestion, derived from his study of Tasmanian Aboriginal sites, that the Tasmanian Aborigines may already have been doomed before the whites came because of the small size of their population and its isolation from any other human society. This convenient theory has been adopted widely. It assists in justifying the European settlement of Tasmania. The film also implies that the last Tasmanian Aborigines died in the last century. This view is used to deride or oppose Tasmanian Aborigines today in their struggle for recognition and land rights.

The problem here is not that such theories are aired, but that the European researchers essentially create and control Aboriginal prehistory. Aborigines, as an oppressed minority, have no effective way of influencing the majority culture's view of their past, yet this view, because it is that of the majority culture, can have a profound effect on the way in which Aborigines are regarded, and consequently on their lives.

Aborigines have been studied as subjects, not participants, for a long while. Their sites have been disturbed, the homes of their ancestors dug up. They have been measured,

numbered, and typed. This has resulted in some important information. For example, the long occupation of Australia by Aborigines is a fact, discovered as a result of research, which is now used politically by Aboriginal people. On the other hand, the study of Aboriginal prehistoric sites and their interpretation to the public often enhances the knowledge of Aboriginal society in the past at the expense of distancing it from our present Aboriginal society and its problems. Aborigines are portrayed as being in the dreamtime, before the whites came. Their past technical achievements-art, culture, and way of life-are described in glowing terms. There is, however, often no real explanation of the traumatic changes which produced today's Aboriginal society and no understanding of the continuity of essential cultural traditions or the achievements, needs, and aspirations of today's Aborigines, who are somehow not as real and certainly not as admirable as their dreamtime ancestors.

Aborigines are not, therefore, wholeheartedly enthusiastic about Aboriginal studies as pursued by Europeans nor, in particular, about European management and interpretation of our Aboriginal sites. The European community is rich in mythology. One of the persistent myths is that the European interpretation of Aboriginal culture is value-free—the true or objective interpretation. It is usually on these grounds that Europeans reject the Aboriginal claims of custodianship. It is said that no one owns the past. What is not admitted (or realised) is that the dominant culture owns the past. Often this hegemony has been used in Australia to discredit Aborigines. The prejudices or interests of white society have been and are reflected in its interpretation of the Aboriginal heritage. Ros Langford again:

Underlying that view is the notion that heritage, no matter from which particular group it originates, and no matter what the view, the culture, the religion, or conceptual significance that heritage has to the particular group, is the property of mankind. Mankind, needless to say, is mainly represented by that culture which has and continues to exploit and invade the lands and culture of other societies. The mankind that view refers to is of course the white

one. . . . The view itself sounds quite reasonable, but it has enabled and justified the domination of other groups by the powerful (Langford 1982).

This characteristic of our Aboriginal sites—their significance (and political importance) to a distinct minority group in the community—has important consequences for "the investigative and evaluative processes which determine the cultural significance of Aboriginal sites as a basis for conservation policy." Nothing in the guidelines directly prevents the practitioner from taking this potential significance into account; but neither does it guide or assist the practitioner to a realisation of the problem and its implications.

Because the guidelines were designed by the majority culture, they assume that the main value of a site will be its heritage value, i.e., its value to the majority culture, and that the practitioner will be of that culture. This very concept is offensive to many Aborigines, no matter how impeccable the end result. For all the reasons outlined above, Aborigines demand a full say in the management of our sites, and will not, on principle, accept less. Thus, in the case of the archeological sites on the Franklin River in Tasmania, Aborigines did not quarrel with the statement of significance prepared by Dr. Jones (Jones 1982), but with the fact that Tasmanian Aborigines had been excluded from the process of assessment (Langford 1982).

In most cases the white practitioners can have no way of really assessing the value of a site except on their terms unless there is a process of real consultation and a genuine attempt to accept as equally valid the views of that culture. Many Aborigines are affronted by research work at the site. The site has been afforded great significance and importance by Europeans but Aborigines have been excluded, until recently, from any meaningful role in this scientific endeavour. Some feel studied and ripped off, insulted that without consultation their ancestors are being used in international discussions about human evolution. Others regard the exercise as desecration of Aboriginal graves. Arguments about science, time depth, and the origins of the Australian Aboriginal are not, at present, relevant to this culturally distinct view.

The existence of sacred places as a part of cultural systems dates back to the earliest beginnings of human history. Down through the ages these sites have been seen as places of inspiration, healing, renewal, and ceremonialism. This paper looks at sacred sites as they exist within the context of Native American cultures, both in terms of sites of historical heritage value as well as those which have an ongoing value. The primary role of these sacred sites in Native American culture and how they are used to develop and maintain a spiritual level of consciousness is described, citing examples of eleven different types of Native American sacred sites: burial grounds and graves, purification sites, healing sites; flora and fauna sites, quarries, vision questing and dreaming places, mythic and legendary places, temples and shrines, centers of spiritual renewal, astronomical observatories, and historical sites.

Legislative policies used in the preservation of sacred places are noted, giving special attention to the federal American Indian Religious Freedom Act of 1978 and the California Native Heritage Commission. Problems associated with the management of sacred sites are discussed, noting the difficulties associated with defining just what is a sacred place.

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La existencia de sitios sagrados como parte de sistemas culturales remonta a los primeros tiempos de la historia humana. A través de los siglos, estos sitios se han considerado como lugares de inspiración, de curación, de renovación y de ceremonia. Este trabajo estudia los sitios sagrados tales como existen en el contexto de culturas indígenas americanas, tanto en términos de sitios con un valor histórico y en términos de sitios con un valor actual. El papel principal de estos sitios sagrados en la cultural de los indígenas Americanos y como se utilizan para desarrollar y mantener un nivel espiritual de consciencia, se describe, citando ejemplos de once tipos diferentes de sitios sagrados de los indígenas Americanos: cementerios y tumbas, sitios de purificación, sitios de curación, sitios de flora y de fauna, canteras, sitios para la búsqueda de visión y los sueños, lugares míticos y legendarios, templos y

reliquiarios, centros de renovación espiritual, observatorios astronómicos y sitios históricos.

Las políticas legislativas utilizadas en la preservación de los lugares sagrados se señalan, reservando una atención especial a la Acta de Libertad Religiosa de los Indios Americanos (American Indian Religious Freedom Act) de 1978 y la Comisión de Patrimonio Indígena de California (California Native Heritage Commission). Los problemas asociados con la administración de sitios sagrados se discuten, notándose las dificultades ligados a la definición de lo que es justamente un lugar sagrado.

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L'existence de sites sacrés faisant partie de systèmes culturels remonte aux tous premiers temps de l'histoire humaine. A travers les âges, ces sites ont été considérés comme lieux d'inspiration, de guérison, de renouvellement et de cérémonie. Cet exposé étudie les sites sacrés tels qu'ils existent dans le contexte des Cultures des Indigènes américains, à la fois en termes de sites du patrimoine ayant une valeur historique et en termes de sites ayant une valeur actuelle. Le rôle principal de ces sites sacrés dans la culture de l'Indigène américain et la façon dont ils sont utilisés pour développer et maintenir un niveau spirituel de conscience, est décrit, citant des exemples de onze types différents de sites sacrés pour les indigènes américains: cimetières et tombes, sites de purification, sites de guérison, sites de flore et de faune, carrières, sites de quête de vision et lieux de rêverie, lieux mythiques et légendaires, temples et reliquaires, centre de renouvellement spirituel, observatoires astronomiques et sites historiques.

Les politiques législatives utilisées dans la préservation de lieux sacrés sont signalées en réservant une attention spéciale à l'Acte de Liberté Religieuse des Indiens Américains (American Indian Religious Freedom Act) de 1978 et la Commission du Patrimoine Indigène de la Californie (California Native Heritage Commission). Les problèmes associés à l'administration de sites sacrés sont discutés en soulignant les difficultés liées à la définition de ce qu'est au juste un lieu sacré.

Sacred Sites: Cultural Values and Management Issues

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Today in Mesa Verde National Park, the ancestral home of the Anasazi Indians, we use the motto "Where the Spirits Rise" to describe our sense of the spirit of Mesa Verde. Walking through the pueblos, down narrow corridors and into kiva chambers over 1,000 years old, our thoughts seem to be drawn to questions about the ongoing procession of human life and the many different ways in which people over the ages have sought to live in harmony with each other and with nature.

Mesa Verde is a place with many values. It has a rich flora and fauna and a wealth of archaeological and anthropological treasures. But there is something else about Mesa Verde which makes it important. It is inspiring to be here. Setting foot on one of those hard-packed dirt floors in an ancient ceremonial kiva packed down by feet which once danced to ritual rhythms in that very same place stimulates creative fantasies. The striking presence of the Sun Temple reminds us too of the spiritual nature in humans and how people have sought to express it over the ages.

Many people in traditional cultures believe that the earth is a living being. They see it as sacred and often use the mythic image of the "earth mother" in her many faces and forms to symbolize their feelings.

If we look cross-culturally at beliefs about the earth, we also find a nearly universal belief that certain places on the face of the earth are special, sacred, and holy. "The idea of a sacred [place] where the walls and laws of the temporal world dissolve to reveal wonder is apparently as old as the human race," according to mythologist Joseph Campbell. The names of many of these special places are familiar to us—Delphi, Palenque, Lascaux, Lourdes, Mount Fuji, Mount Sinai, Mecca,

Jerusalem, Mount Omei, Tai-Shan, the Ganges River, and Stonehenge are just a few of the better-known sacred places of the world. Even in our modern age of lasers, microchips, satellites, and television, sacred sites remain one of the most popular tourist destination sites in the world.

Just what is a sacred place? Classically, a sacred place is a specific location which for some reason is not seen to be the same as the normal everyday world. Sacred places, according to Mircea Eliade, may be called "hierophonies," or places where the sacred manifests. And when the sacred does manifest, a "krakophony" or a thing or condition of a spiritual nature becomes present.²

A thing or place ultimately becomes "sacred" in the human mind when it is perceived as somehow able to energize within us those things, conditions, and processes which we associate with sacredness. In nature, sacred places themselves fall into three general categories. One type is the interior of a religious building such as a church, a temple, a shrine, or a mosque. Usually these interior spaces are not necessarily associated with any other sacred condition and do not need any connection with the rest of the surrounding world, although some certainly do. A second category involves a place where, to use the words of Joseph Campbell, "a microcosm of the macrocosm" exists.3 A site such as the solar-lunar observatory on Fajada Butte in nearly Chaco Canyon or the "medicine wheel" in the Big Horn Mountains of Wyoming are examples of a special place where time and space are condensed and collapsed into a specific place which somehow becomes a magnifying mirror of the larger world around it. The third type of sacred place is one which may be marked by human structures or art work, but which derives its sacred quality from nature itself. For many traditional cultures threatened by developmental pressures from modern society, places sacred to them fall within this latter category.

For this paper, I want to focus primarily upon this third type of sacred site, especially those sites which are considered sacred by Native American peoples—Eskimos, Aleuts, American Indians, and Hawaiians. If we take the position that every culture is a unique expression of human potential, with its associated knowledge and wisdom, one could say that Native American peoples are especially wise when it comes to understanding nature. Not only is the preservation of their culture and heritage important as a unique expression of what it is to be human, but from Native American cultures we may be able to gain greater insights into how we can live in greater harmony with nature, knowledge which could be of great benefit to modern western society.

Sacred Places in Native American Culture

Working among the Navajo for many years, Franc Newcomb and Gladys Reichard related:

Locality is of the greatest importance to the Navajo. Names of people, of animals, of dangers, names of arrows, of lightnings and plants, have power when known and used properly. Even so the names of places are charms. As the modern writer or dramatist gives his work setting, so also does the Navajo myth. Whenever a protagonist meets someone who is more powerful, the first question he must answer is "where are you from"?

Every culture has its organizing and energizing symbols which are translated into mythic themes that regulate and direct daily life. The landscape is a rich tapestry of myth, magic, and meaning to Native Americans, as they tend to anchor their myths through association with specific places. Mount Taylor not far from here is a special portal where mortals can more easily access spiritual realms according to the Navajo and Hopi tribes, much like Mount Fuji in Japan and Mount Olympus in Greece. The windswept rocky hills which stretch out into the Pacific Ocean just west of Santa Barbara, California, today called "Point Conception," is to the Chumash Indians the "Western Gate"—a place where human souls enter and exit from the earth's plane. In Hawaii, the "mo'o," two women who can change their shapes from human to lizard, are the guardians of the Kawainui Swamp. At the shark and turtle rock near the village of Vaitogi in American Samoa, it is said that if the children of the village come out and sing a special chant, a shark and a turtle will swim to the ocean's surface and circle for several minutes, acknowledging an ancient legend about self-sacrifice in times of food shortage. Living in a world with such mythic anchoring to specific places creates a daily reality where the influence

of mythic themes in daily life is more apparent and powerful.

Of all the mythic themes of the Native American people, one of the most beautiful is the creation myth of the Hopi Indians, which also offers an explanation for the nature and value of sacred places. In the beginning, it is told, the Creator, Tiowa, saw a need to have a guardian for the earth and assigned the task to Spider Grandmother. Descending to the earth's surface, Spider Grandmother saw she would need help so she reached down and picked up two handfuls of earth. She spit into one hand and a young man sprang forth whom she called ''Pöqánghoya,''Spitting into her other hand another young man was created. His name became ''Palöngwhoya.'' These two young men then became her helpers.

Spider Grandmother saw that Pöqánghoya had the power of organizing things and giving them shape and sent him off to the North Pole to work his magical powers. Palöngwhoya's talent was that of a musician and she sent him to the South Pole. Arriving there, Palöngwhoya went into deep meditation, seeking to align his mind with Tiowa's. Having achieved perfect harmony, he took up his drum and began beating out a rhythm, sending energy into the earth and bringing the planet to life. The energy from Palöngwhoya's drum, it is said, emerges from the surface of the earth at special vibratory centers, each of which has a unique nature. These centers are of course the sacred places, and the Hopis believe that by honoring these places and learning to use them correctly, nature provides us a way to stay in constant harmony with the Creator, which is the way to achieve health and happiness.5

The value of sacred places then, according to the Hopi, which is in general agreement with other Native American beliefs, is to enable a person or a culture to stay in closer touch with the spiritual realm. This mindset is seen as the source of personal power, for power to the Native American results from spiritual attunement.

Just how does one know that a particular place is one of these special vibratory centers? Locating a sacred site arises from several sources, according to Native Americans I have interviewed. Sometimes they are found by watching animal behavior, as animals are thought to live in much closer accord with the spiritual realm, by nature, than we do. According to Native Americans, animals are the messengers of the Great Spirit. Other sacred places are identified in dreams and visions. Still others have unique soil, water, stones, minerals, or herbs which can be found in many different ways. A common belief is that at a sacred place there is somehow more energy, and that this can be felt and sensed by people who know how to recognize it. Sacred places in general have the ability to help people become more closely linked with spiritual realms and be more energized and inspired. They enable people to more fully realize and express themselves, especially their creativity. The actual form and nature of the spaces themselves varies considerably. The following is a list of

categories of Native American sacred places developed by this writer over the last ten years of work with all major groups of Native Americans.

Categories of Sacred Sites

- 1. Burial Grounds and Graves. According to Native Americans, the deceased have a continuing relationship with the living. Grave sites represent a tangible linkage between the two worlds and hence are sacred. In many cases their location is also determined through some of the divining methods previously mentioned. The sites themselves range from simple pit graves and stone cairns to elaborate mounds, such as those found by the thousands throughout the eastern half of the United States.
- 2. Purification Sites. Purity of mind, body, and spirit is seen as essential to taking on powers arising from an alignment with spiritual realms. Methods of purification include practices such as bathing in special springs, fasting, prayer, undergoing sweating rituals, and other ceremonial forms. Certain springs, rivers, and other places are seen as having especially favorable conditions for purification rites.
- 3. Healing Sites. Health in the Native American view results from living a life of continual alignment with the many realms of the cosmos. "To walk in harmony and balance on the Earth Mother" is the phrase Native Americans use to describe this process. When we fall out of harmony, illness results. Restoration of health comes from restoring harmony and balance which Native American healers accomplish through ceremony and ritual. Some types of healings, they believe, are best done at certain places, which fall into three general categories: a) Springs or other bodies of water-here the water, muds, mosses, and even rocks may be seen to possess healing virtues; b) Ceremonial sites—some places are seen to be especially favorable for conducting certain healing ceremonies and rituals; c) Meditational Sites-places with especially strong local energy fields are seen to be healing places when people go there and quietly meditate, thus absorbing the local energies and restoring vitality to the person.
- 4. Special Flora and Fauna Sites. Certain herbs or animals for various reasons are said to have more power. Groves of virgin cedars are sacred to Northwest Coast Indians. The peyote cactus which grows in the special high desert plateau called "Wirikuta" is seen as being especially sacred according to the Huichol Indians of Mexico. Deer, buffalo, elk, moose, antelope, eagles, herons, owls, and other animals are also seen as being sacred, and said to have the most sacred power when taken from special places in special ritualized methods.
- 5. Quarries. Certain stones and minerals have special qualities, such as nuggets of pure copper, mountain crystals, turquoise, and the stone used for carving the bowl of medicine pipes.
- 6. Vision Questing and Dreaming Places. Seeking connections with spiritual realms through dreams and visions, many Native Americans journey to special places like caves or

- mountaintops to perform rituals aimed at increasing the chances of having a profound dream or vision. Bear Butte in the northeastern corner of the Black Hills of South Dakota is such a site which is used today for vision questing. Sometimes petroglyphs and other rock paintings may be found at vision quest sites. These drawings may be done as part of the ritual process to invoke a certain spirit or they may record an experience which occurred there.
- 7. Mythic and Legendary Sites. The association of certain places with various myths and legends is a way to help remind continuing generations of these myths, as well as to ensure that the myths play an important role in the daily lives of people.
- 8. Temples and Shrines. Humanmade structures such as the stone platforms or *heiaus* of Hawaii, the temple mounds of Georgia and Florida, or the large serpentine effigy, the Serpent Mound, near Locust Grove, Ohio, represent examples of art inspired by special places. Presumably here the forms and their siting are influenced by the places themselves.
- 9. Places of Spiritual Renewal. Harney Peak in the Black Hills of South Dakota, like Mount Taylor in New Mexico and Mount McKinley (Denali) in Alaska, are said to be places where spiritual power is concentrated. To various tribal cultures they hold values similar to Mecca for Muslims, Jerusalem for Christians and Jews, and the Sistine Chapel for Roman Catholics. Often entire cultural systems revolve around these spiritual centers, like a wheel around its hub.
- 10. Astronomical Observatories. The Bighorn Medicine Wheel stone circle high in the Bighorn Mountains of Wyoming and the solar-lunar observatory on top of Fajada Butte in Chaco Canyon are examples of where humans have sought to chart the movements of the heavens to order their daily movements. Such sites traditionally had a ritual purpose and constitute microcosms of the larger macrocosm.
- 11. Historical Sites. Places which are associated with historical events enable us to recall memories of our past as well as to see our place in the overall procession of human life on earth. Mesa Verde clearly is an example of such a site where the exploits of our ancestors inspires our daily lives.

Sacred sites collectively create for Native Americans a state of mind characterized by a reverence for nature, feelings of unity in life, and awe and respect for spiritual realms. Their many forms exemplify various aspects of elements of the world which contribute to these feelings and perceptions. They exist with such power due to beliefs which people hold about their significance. With the changing nature of the prevalent culture in North America, attitudes toward sacred places and their value and importance have also changed. The resulting conflicts between Native Americans whose sacred places exist in nature and the new white culture whose sacred places primarily are churches have caused many problems, ranging from bloody battles to courtroom debates. To encapsulate the issues raised by the two differing views on what places are

sacred and why, it is helpful to briefly review some of the federal legislation which has been directed toward resolving these disputes.

Sacred Places and Congressional Action

Many of the early treaties between whites and Native Americans included provisions calling for the protection of Native American rights to access and/or live upon certain sacred places. As time passed and conditions changed, such as the discovery of gold and other precious metals in the mid nineteenth century, many of these treaties were broken, a point which continues to be argued in courtrooms today. From a policy of peaceful coexistence, the government moved to one seeking to "civilize" the Indians, place them on reservations, and ultimately assimilate them into the mainstream culture. This trend was officially stopped on July 8, 1970, by President Richard Nixon, who delivered a message to Congress declaring that the policy of "termination" had miserably failed, and that the new policy should be one of encouraging "tribal selfdetermination."6 Since this historic message, government programs have sought to follow this course, reversing a century of efforts to suppress the Native American culture.

If we look specifically at federal acts concerning the preservation of sacred sites, we need to review the legislation in two different ways. One is to ask what has been done to preserve sacred sites for people in general for cultural heritage reasons. The second is to ask what has been done specifically to preserve sacred places for Native Americans, both in terms of preserving their cultural heritage as well as their ongoing cultural system. It should be noted here that it is really not appropriate to distinguish between Native American culture and Native American religion as the two are inseparably connected.

1. Preserving Sacred Sites as Part of Overall Cultural Heritage Preservation. The Antiquities Act of 1906 is an early legislative cornerstone in establishing a policy of seeking to preserve cultural heritage sites as part of the nation's system of national parks and monuments. Prior to this, certain specific sites, such as the Serpent Mound effigy in Ohio, had been given specific protection, but the Antiquities Act moved further by providing additional protection for existing sites on federal properties as well as empowering the President to set aside national monuments from the public domain.

The Historic Sites Act of 1935 calls for the National Park Service to initiate a National Register of Historic Sites, including the establishment of National Historic Landmarks. Section six of the Historic Sites Act protects "archeological sites that have produced information of major scientific importance by revealing new cultures or by shedding light upon periods of occupation over large areas of the United States." The National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 extends this policy direction to include recognition for cultural heritage sites on private as well as public lands.

The Archeological Resources Protection Act of 1979 takes this direction one step further, stating that "existing Federal laws do not provide adequate protection to prevent the loss and destruction of . . . archeological resources and sites resulting from uncontrolled excavations and pillage." The act calls for securing protection for archeological resources for present and future generations, as they are an "irreplaceable part of the Nation's heritage." It also encourages cooperation and exchange of information between governmental authorities, the professional archeological community, and private individuals.

These acts demonstrate progressive commitment to protecting cultural heritage resources. Their focus, however, deals with only a portion of the sacred sites, especially those with artifacts dating more than 100 years old. While clearly some sacred sites fall within this definition, many do not as their "power" comes from living things or preserving nature as it is. Finding artifacts at such a site would be unlikely since that would represent a lack of respect for the site. Also, these acts tend to focus on sites which are important for their historical significance as opposed to the ongoing preservation of the Native American religion.

2. Preserving Sacred Sites in Present Use. The First Amendment to the Constitution of the United States provides for protection of religious beliefs. The implementation of the First Amendment is, however, open to interpretation. The recent decision in Thomas vs. Review Board sets an important precedent regarding American Indian religion in that the court found that 'religious beliefs need not be acceptable, logical, consistent, or comprehensible to others in order to merit First Amendment protection.' While any single decision cannot be transferred across all similar cases, this one seems to imply that if a religious system can be demonstrated to exist, whether or not it is consistent with the religious beliefs of the majority of people, it should be given consideration for protection under the First Amendment.

One of the most important steps forward in establishing the legitimacy and nature of American Indian religion was the passage of the 1978 American Indian Religious Freedom Act. The main thrust of the act is that

henceforth it shall be the policy of the United States to protect and preserve for American Indians their inherent right of freedom to believe, express and exercise the traditional religions of the American Indian, Eskimo, Aleut, and Native Hawaiians, including but not limited to access to sites, use and possession of sacred objects, and the freedom to worship through ceremonials and traditional rites.⁸

The key phrase in terms of sacred sites is "access to sacred sites." Implementation of the American Indian Religious Freedom Act immediately called for the federal government to undertake a study of just how this act would affect policies and programs. Completed within a year following the passage

of the act, this study found two general kinds of problems associated with sacred places. One problem is guaranteed access. The second concerns defining just what is a legitimate sacred place.9 The American Indian Religious Freedom Act seeks to resolve these problems by having land managers consult with "native traditional religious leaders" to determine which sites on federal lands are sacred and how they are used. One difficulty with this approach is in determining just who is a legitimate traditional religious leader. In many cases, several different groups assert that they are the spokespeople for a given tribe, claiming others to be invalid. The problem is further complicated by the sensitive nature of the information requested. Some religious leaders do not wish to discuss their religion in public. When they do, their statements must be kept confidential and so it is difficult for other tribal members or others to determine just which places they have declared to be sacred and why. Another complication is the question of how to consider people of mixed heritage. Just what percentage of "Indian blood" is necessary to make a person a legitimate spokesperson? In Texas, for example, people may possess peyote for religious purposes if they claim 5 percent or more Indian ancestry.10

Even given these problems, progress is being made to protect sacred sites associated with Native American religions. The United States Navy has granted native Hawaiians access to certain sites on government lands to perform traditional ceremonies. Indian healers have been granted access to the Coso Hot Springs in central California, which is located on the grounds of the China Lake Naval Weapons Center. Bear Butte, a state park in the northeast corner of the Black Hills of South Dakota, is a vision quest site used today by many Indians. Here park authorities have tried to make a number of policies to ensure privacy for Indians on vision quests as well as ensure access to other tourists. On Oahu in Hawaii, a regional park is being planned for the Kawainui Swamp. One option being discussed involves restoration of certain traditional practices in the swamp, such as creating fish ponds and growing wetland taro according to ancient methods.

The California Native Heritage Commission

So often it seems that sacred places are not recognized until someone proposes to develop them. In an effort to establish a more comprehensive approach to the preservation of Native American religion and its sacred places, the state of California enacted AB-4239 in 1976, creating a new governmental agency solely responsible for safeguarding the religious and heritage rights of California Native Americans: the Native American Heritage Commission. The commission is composed of nine members appointed by the governor, five or more of whom are to be elders, traditional people, or spiritual leaders of tribes or organizations located in the state, to be nominated by Native American organizations, tribes, or groups within the state.

One of the primary duties of this commission to date has been to "identify and catalog places of special religious or social significance to Native Americans, and known graves and cemeteries of Native Americans on private lands." Private landowners on whose property graves and cemeteries are located will be notified and the identity of the Native American descendants of the deceased will be sought. Secondly, when Native American sacred places are found on private lands that are inaccessible to Native Americans but have cultural significance to them, recommendations are to be made to the state legislature relative to acquiring these lands or easements through them by the state or other public agencies for the purpose of facilitating access. This is in addition to a provision for safeguarding those sites located on existing state or federal lands.¹¹

The Need for Research

The concept of sacred places dates back to the earliest days of human life on earth. For most cultures, these sites, whether inside or outside structures, are critical organizing nodes of beliefs, values, and customs. The recent measures taken to protect Native American culture and its religious practices as well as the rich cultural heritage of the Native American people indicate our growing recognition of the importance of preserving and protecting this cultural system. There is, however, an extremely important question which we seem to be avoiding. Can sacred places in nature have any special value to all people regardless of their cultural background? Each culture has its special aspects of human potentiality which it develops at the expense of neglecting others. Is it possible that the extreme sensitivity to the subtle forces of nature which Native Americans cultivate as part of their normal cultural developmental process enables them to perceive certain subtle qualities about the environment which we have closed off due to our concern with rational, analytical thinking?

If we look closely at research in many different fields, we find that human awareness of environmental conditions is a good deal more sensitive than we might think. Research on migratory behavior in birds, fish, and insects suggests they orient a good deal in response to the subtle fields of the earth. 12 A growing body of data suggests that people may also orient in response to these subtle field conditions. 13 Other research suggests that at least at some sacred places unique soil and water chemistry exist, as well as unusually strong electromagnetic fields, large amounts of negative air ions, and unusual geological formations. If we look at the history of humankind, we find many examples of religious leaders and heads of state inspired in various ways by visits to certain special places. One does not have to be a leader to be inspired by special places, of course. Over the last several years I have been able to collect case histories on well over 100 people from a variety of cultural backgrounds, some without prior knowledge that a particular place was sacred, who say they

have had profound inspirational experiences at some sacred places.¹⁴

We are now learning that there is some validity in the ageold belief that the sun and the moon influence our lives. Studies of human behavior, solar and lunar cycles, and the electromagnetic fields of the earth seem to confirm ancient wisdom which asserted that the heavenly bodies influence earthly life. Is it possible that in some way which we do not yet understand, the sacred places of the earth also influence us? The heritage of sacred places in human history suggests that either we have a need to believe in sacred places as environmental reminders of those inner parts of ourselves which we consider to be "sacred," or that somehow the places are different and inspiring by their nature—or perhaps both. The inspirational feelings which come to so many upon visiting Stonehenge, the Black Hills, Chaco Canyon, Lourdes, Mount Fuji, and Delphi, as well as Mesa Verde and the many other sacred places of the world, seems to justify asking such a bold question. If indeed sacred places do transcend culture, then their value and nature deserves much more serious study and protection.

Notes

- 1. Joseph Campbell, *The Mythic Image* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974), 184.
- 2. Mircea Eliade, *The Sacred and the Profane* (New York: Harper and Row, Inc., Torchbook Edition, 1961), 11.
 - 3. Campbell, The Mythic Image.
- 4. Franc J. Newcomb and Gladys Reichard, Sandpaintings of the Navajo Shooting Chant (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1975), 69.
- 5. Frank Waters, *The Book of the Hopi* (New York: Viking Press, 1965).
 - 6. 116 Congressional Record 23258, 1970.
- 7. See *Thomas vs. Review Board*, 450 U.S. 707, 714 (1981). For a more detailed discussion of American Indian religious practices and the law, see Ellen M. W. Sewell, "The American Indian Religious Freedom Act," *Arizona Law Review* 25, No. 1 (1983): 429-53.
 - 8. Public Law 95-341, August 11, 1978.
- 9. American Indian Religious Freedom Act Report, U.S. Department of the Interior, 1979.
 - 10. Ibid.
- 11. More information about the California Native American Heritage Commission can be obtained from 1400 Tenth Street, Sacramento, CA 95814.
- 12. See G. L. Playfair and Scott Hill, *The Cycles of Heaven* (London: Avon, 1979).
 - 13. R. Baker, The New Scientist 87 (1980): 844-46.
- 14. See references to articles by this author for more details on studies of unusual personal experiences at sacred places.

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The Colorado Historical Society's collection of Mesa Verde artifacts is one of the largest and most complete in the world. Assembled from two gathering expeditions, the entire collection was among the first to be removed from Mesa Verde and is among the few that neither fell into private hands nor found a home outside Colorado.

Precis

After watching Masayesva's videotaped interviews of Hopi, Havasupai, and other Native Americans and non-natives of the American Southwest, who considered the problems and benefits of tourism, panelists from the Zuni and Santa Clara Pueblos, Navajo, and Ute Mountain Ute tribes, Australian Aborigines, and the Panamanian Kuna discuss the impacts of tourism on their respective cultures and communities. Panelists generally concur that tourism's economic benefits fall largely to non-natives while its social costs tend to be borne exclusively by native communities. The costs include the invasion of privacy, theft of small goods, desecration of sacred sites and ceremonies, media aggression with tape recorders and cameras, and the undermining of traditional household economies by investing labor in producing tourist objects rather than in customary products or activities.

Despite the visiting public's cultural insensitivity and tourism's myriad other problems, the industry holds potential benefits for native peoples. Developing them requires a better educated public, mechanisms to ensure the authenticity of native-labeled products, better management of the visiting public, and professionalization of native-controlled tourist boards, marketing organizations, and other enterprises.

Después de ver el video cassette por Masayesva, donde se entrevistan los Hopi, Havasupai y otros indígenas americanos no-originarias del Suroeste americano que examinaron los problemas y las ventajas del turismo, los representantes de los Pueblos Zuñi y de Santa Clara, los tribus Navajo y de los Ute Mountain, los Aborígenes australianos y los Kuna panameños debatieron los efectos del turismo sobre sus culturas y sus comunidades respectivas. Estuvieron de acuerdo generalmente sobre el hecho de que los beneficios económicos del turismo caen en gran parte a los no-indígenas mientras el costo social del turismo tiende a caer exclusivamente a las comunidades indígenas. Los costos del turismo incluyen la invasión de la vida privada, el robo de pequeños objetos, la profanación de sitios y ceremonias sagradas, la invasión por los medios de comunicación con sus grabadoras, y máquinas fotográficas y el desquiciamiento de las economías domésticas tradicionales al invertir la labor en la fabricación de objetos turísticos en vez de productos o actividades habituales.

A pesar de la falta de la sensibilidad cultural de los visitantes y de la multitud de otros problemas planteados por el turismo, esta industria ofrece las ventajas potenciales a los indígenas. El desarrollo de estos beneficios requiere un público mejor instruido, los mecanismos garantizan la autenticidad de los productos identificados como productos indígenas, una mejor gestión de los visitantes y el profesionalismo de comités de turismo controlados por los indígenas, las organizaciones de venta, y otras empresas.

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Après avoir observé des entretiens, enregistrés sur des cassettes vidéo par Masayesva, de Hopi, de Havasupai et d'autres indigènes américains et non indigènes du Sud-Ouest des Etats-Unis réfléchissant sur les problèmes et les avantages du tourisme, des membres du groupe de débats, provenant des villages Zuni et Santa Clara, des Navajos et des tribus Mountain Ute, des Aborigènes australiens et des Kunas du Panamá, ont débattu des effets du tourisme sur leur culture et leur communauté respectives. En général, les membres du groupe de débats partagent l'opinion que les bénéfices économiques du tourisme profitent en grande partie à des non indigènes américains alors que les coûts sociaux du tourisme tendent à être supportés exclusivement par les communautés indigènes. Ces coûts incluent l'invasion de la vie privée, le vol de petits articles, la profanation de sites et de cérémonies sacrés, l'aggression des médias par l'intermédiaire d'appareil d'enregistrement et d'appareils de photographie, et la sape des économies ménagères traditionnelles: le travail est investi dans la production d'objets touristiques aux dépens d'activités et de produits coutumiers.

En dépit de l'insensibilité culturelle des visiteurs et des innombrables autres problèmes posés par le tourisme, cette industrie présente des bénéfices potentiels pour les populations indigènes. Le développement de ces bénéfices requiert un public mieux éduqué, des mécanismes assurant l'authenticité des produits étiquetés "articles indigènes," une meilleure gestion des visiteurs, et un plus grand professionnalisme des comités de tourisme contrôlés par les indigènes, des organisations de marketing et des autres entreprises.

Tourism Impacts on Native Cultures and Communities: Native Panel Discussion

Douglas H. Scovill, Moderator

Douglas H. Scovill, Chief Anthropologist, Park Service

I would like to welcome our panel and thank the members of the various tribal groups who have taken their own time to participate with us.1 The approach we are going to use on this panel is as follows: First I will introduce the panel members and make some introductory remarks. Then we will see "Sopkyawat Sinom," a thirty-minute videotape produced by Victor Masayesva, with interviews of Hopi and other southwestern Indians on their reaction to tourism problems they are having at their reservations.2 Following that video presentation, each panel member will make a brief five-toseven-minute presentation of his views on tourism problems and opportunities and the ways his associates perceive them. During that period I also would encourage the panel to discuss the issues among themselves. I will act as a moderator and plan for about twenty minutes of discussion following the panel presentation.

Now I will start with introductions. Here is Mr. José Lucero of the Soil and Water Conservation Service and a member of the Santa Clara Pueblo in Espanola, New Mexico. Within his tribe he is an elder and a liaison to the Elders Circle of the Four Directions.

Fred White, who is Navajo, works with the Department of Cultural Resources at Window Rock, Arizona, and is the manager of the Navajo Tribal Parks.

Elmer Yazzi is the public relations officer for the First National Bank of Shiprock (Arizona), a member of the Navajo Nation, and an entrepreneur in craft fairs.

Cal Seciwa is a member of the Zuni Tribe, has worked many years for the Tribe, and currently is working for the Southwest

Indian Development Enterprise, which represents a consortium of Hopi, Zuni and Navajo interests.

Ernest House is the Chairman of the Ute Mountain Ute tribe at Towaoc, Colorado, which neighbors Mesa Verde.

Glen Morris is the Senior Aboriginal Site Officer, National Parks and Wildlife Service, New South Wales, Australia.

Aurelio Chiari is a member of the Kuna Nation and officer of the Kuna Yala Wildlife Management Project in San Blas, Panama. Translating for him is Brian Houseal of CATIE, technical advisor to the project.

That is our panel today.

I should note that tourists seem to be quite curious about the lifestyles of native people and want to see them in their natural habitats doing "native activities." As you probably are all aware, the development of tourist industries is dependent upon keeping tourists on the road and in the area, at the lodge, for as many days as possible in order to separate them from their currency. In economic terms, the goal of tourism is to keep visitors one more day in the area, leaving their money for one more day. The principal mechanism for this is to have as wide a variety of activities as is practicable for the visitor to choose from. In addition to the normal recreational pursuits, options include visiting museums or touring historic or archeological sites. There has been considerable interest in visiting native peoples and experiencing what is perceived by tourists as either their interesting, their rustic or simple, their primitive, their cultural or romantic, their quaint, or their exotic lifestyles, depending on the viewpoint of the visitor. The tourist industry as a fact does promote these kinds of perceptions.

But how do native people feel about it? How do they feel about being objects of the tourist trade? What constraints might be in order with regard to native peoples' habitats as tourist destination points? What costs are the native cultures asked to pay? What benefits do they get? Is it worth it? What changes should perhaps the tourist planners and promoters make if their goals are to deal with native peoples and use them as objects of tourist destination points?

The conference program committee felt that it was important to provide the perspectives of native peoples to those of you involved with tourism and the use of cultural resources in the hope that you will gain some understanding of the native view of tourism. It may not be the same as yours, and there may well be some trouble in tourist paradise. Most importantly, if you focus on the reality of the situation, it gets down to some gut-wrenching issues of human dignity, human worth, and human respect associated with using native people and their environments as tourist attractions. This forum, an open one without prepared remarks other than mine, which were jotted down just this morning, and Mr. Lucero's, aims to get at the issues associated with tourism as viewed from the native perspective.

Ernest House

I'm honored to be here today, called by the people who put on this presentation. There probably are five people here that represent their various tribes within the United States, and we all speak different languages. That's part of the culture we have. I don't know if you would understand Ute if I spoke it, but just take that as a small indicator of how many different Indian tribes or how many Native Americans there are in the United States. Most of the people present here with me are from the southwestern part of the United States where originally the four states met-Utah, Arizona, Colorado, and New Mexico. The culture in this region is different from the Plains Indians, but still we touch a little on the Plains Indians because in our arts and crafts we get into the beadwork which I have. A lot of the film on tourism that you just saw is about the southwestern people who work mostly with turquoise and silver. My tribe doesn't work with that. They work with beadwork which I have on and a lot of the other things that the Plains Indians have. So, we're talking about a lot of cultures and a lot of arts and crafts that we're trying to mix together.

My tribe recently moved into tourism because that was where the dollar was coming from. Before, we didn't have any tourism; we mostly depended upon our own natural resources. To the Native American what you see outside—the ground, the rivers, the mountains—have a very significant meaning because that's part of their lives. When they live in this region, they give thanks to the Creator that has created these surroundings.

And a lot of these caves in the rocks have a very special meaning. When you get into that area you're talking about

Indian life, and there is misunderstanding always when you go into the Indian reservation—no respect for the Native American, no respect for why he lives there and why he has to do certain things the way he does, why he talks a certain way. A lot of things are a mystery to the non-Indian because all the traditions were brought down from generation to generation by mouth; they are not written. It's those types of things the Indian people don't want to give out to non-Indians. It doesn't really do non-Indians any good because how would they understand those things? It's mostly aimed for the Native Americans and the way they live, the way they carry out their lives day in and day out.

Here is another thing with my particular tribe, the Utes of this area. One of the things that was so scary was the first machine that came out-the camera. The traditional old Indians used to say that cameras were taking part of their spirits away. Back in those days when non-Indians came to the reservation, Indians would more or less take cameras away from them because visitors wouldn't give them up. The individual Indian tribes would give different meanings to the camera because it was something that was scary to them, and it was scary because that's the belief they have. When you deal with these types of things—it's not a subject that you go to school for, it's a subject you live with because your forefathers have. Your forefathers have lived with it and passed it down to the people they represent, to the clan, to the clusters of people they belong to. One of the most important things is to understand the Native American, how he feels and respects the culture he comes from. That's why a lot of people, a lot of tourists, are turned away from the areas because sometimes when they just sit there they have a hard time understanding what's going on.

Here is another example of Indian ways. I was down there in Cortez when my grandfather was the Chief and we would walk into the stores. When we walked in back in the forties and fifties the people there would laugh at him because he had braids. Why were they laughing at him? That embarrassed me, and hurt me, because why would anybody look at my grandfather with his braids and laugh, when that's the only kind of life that he knows? He's not educated, therefore he has to be presented the way he is—the Chief—to his people. That's one of the things we think about. An important part of tourism is to respect the Native American for his culture, for his arts and crafts. When we can all do that, then likewise the Native Americans will give back what they get.

Fred H. White

I'm honored to be here and appreciate the Park Service inviting me to such a conference. I have heard many papers throughout the week and can relate to a lot of things that were said. It makes me feel good because I think we're all in the same boat with the same problems, and we all have similar problems dealing with our own people, with our tourists, and

in administering the area. I think the elders who are on Navajo land are special to us on our reservation. Many things that they know, many things that go on daily, are very important for the Navajo people.

That's the attitude that seems to be expressed in working with our local people in each of our park areas and recreation areas. They have expressed many problems, but I would like to focus on just one area, and that's Monument Valley. We do have many more areas—a large land base forms our park system—but not enough money to manage them. I've heard from a lot of people who came into my office when I was in Monument Valley, which is our first tribal park. It's about 100,000 acres in size and has approximately nine families living there. The families range in size, depending on how many people are part of them at a given time.

Many people have come to my office and asked, "Why do you let all these people just come in and go anywhere they want? They're invading my privacy, they're taking pictures of me without asking. They take a picture of me and only give me one dollar, and I want ten. They took my old bridle that I had hanging on the wagon back there. I was only gone for a day or two. I saw one of the jeep tours—they were off-road in an area they weren't supposed to be, drinking, consuming liquor—and that's not right. I saw this group of people over by the lake; they were all naked, swimming in there. A lot of these people are just driving where they want; they're destroying my grazing land; they're chasing my livestock around. They have no business to be out there taking pictures while we have a ceremony. We asked them to leave. I saw my picture on a postcard. I never consented to that picture being taken and they never gave me anything for it. They shouldn't be around an area of a sacred site because you ought to go to that area only for a certain period of time. I don't like them just coming around while I'm herding sheep, or while I'm making bread and watching me, unless I want them to. I feel like I'm in a zoo." Many people, those living in our parks, have expressed these things more than once. They keep coming to us daily and they want some solutions to some of these problems.

Personally I think that a lot of these things are good because they can inform people who come to Navajo land, people who are ignorant of who we are. To me, we might have a cultural park—maybe a living type—where we might have arts and crafts displayed, or a little home set up, just to give visitors an idea of who the Navajo were maybe thirty years ago, and even today in some communities. I think a cultural park is a link to a lot of the people who are misinformed, and I say to all the people I work with in the tribe that we should be proud of who we are and where we came from, so that we'll have better times. We'll help other people understand so we'll have fewer problems. I think this conference has been good, and I think we need to be really sensitive to our elders, plus the local younger people and the tourists that come to our parks.

So, with those few remarks, again I want to thank those who invited me to come and I appreciate everything that I've learned here.

Cal Seciwa

I appreciate the opportunity to visit with you folks up here and share some ideas on the topic that we're discussing this afternoon. And I really appreciate the videotape that was played before us. As Doug Scovill mentioned in his introduction, I work with the Navajo, Zuni, and Hopi tribes of the southwestern United States. You've heard a tribal representative from the Navajo Nation, and you saw the video replay of the concerns of the Hopi people. Now I'd like to kind of share some thoughts with you from the Zuni perspective or viewpoint. Our concerns on tourism and tourism development pretty well parallel those expressed on the videocassette. Very briefly, they are: crowding the ceremonies; the photography and the tape recording of such, of our day and night dances and ceremonies; the respect one must show as well as receive in regards to native peoples, their cultures, and their ways of life. I guess the Zuni Nation was probably the first group of Native American people within the southwestern United States to confront the problem of tourism. I would say it started out in 1539 with the exploration of the Southwest by the conquistadors coming up from Mexico, and it really intensified in 1540 when Coronado came to the ancient village of Hawikuh in his quest for the Seven Cities of Cíbola. At that time we developed an answer to the tourism problem after a mild skirmish with Coronado and his troops. We said, "Oh, gold, is that what you guys want—all we got is corn; however, we do know where there is some gold, and it's farther east." So, beginning in 1540 we kind of began an unofficial, and sometimes official, policy on tourism and travel within our nation. And at that time we weren't really sure as to what impacts tourism would have. As my colleague from the Navajo Nation mentioned, we're having a difficult time trying to inform the tourists of our native cultures and we're also influenced quite a bit from the outside cultures, like breakdancing. But, beginning with Coronado, we've had to somewhat address our concerns in the area of tourism, and right now we're very much concerned about the control of tourism. I can imagine the influx of people that visit this part of the country because of the Mesa Verde National Park here, and I would imagine the Ute Nation down below the mountain here also has an influx of people from outside this part of the country.

We also have that same situation down in Zuni where we have the El Morro National Monument approximately thirty miles to the east of us. And I believe annually they have anywhere from 60,000 to 80,000 visitors per year. Most of these people find their way onto our land in the reservation and into our main villages in the Pueblo. All too often, through my experiences with the tourists coming into Zuni, they're

somewhat awed and wondering, and trying to find the traditional type of Pueblo that can be seen in picture postcards of Taos and our Rio Grande Pueblo brothers and sisters. However, when tourists arrive in Zuni, they are somewhat surprised to find that the Zuni people no longer live in multistory pueblo structures; that we are somewhat urbanizing. We're moving into subdivisions; we have two-, three-, fourbedroom homes, single dwelling units-no more of the multifamily units—but yet the cultural and ceremonial life of the Zuni remains highly intact and is kept very much sacredly entrusted within our religious leaders and circles. Although as I mentioned earlier we have problems in terms of photography and crowding at the ceremonies as do the Hopi people, we have been able to learn to adjust. And, all too often, sometimes our adjustments keep us from really taking part as well as viewing some of the ceremonies there. But our feeling is that the ceremonies that we perform are not only for the betterment and benefit of our tribal membership and ourselves, but also for the peoples of the world. Therefore, we have taken the view that we really do not close ceremonies per se to outsiders, but we open those up and just ask that people there respect our ceremonies. We hope that the people who view them will also go away with that same feeling expressed in the video by Governor Babbitt who stated that the ceremony was a spiritual experience for him as well.

The impact of tourism, economically, is quite a bit. Individually, the craftsmen of our people, who are renowned for their silver and jewelry industry, have gained quite a bit. However, again, because we do not really like the sophistication of marketing, and knowledge and practicing of the economic systems of the country, we soon find out that the middlemen who deal in this industry are making a better deal by far than everybody else. The border towns probably gain greater benefit than the tribe or actual craftsmen and people who reside on the reservation. In the video, the person from Flagstaff was saying that it's a two-way street in that regard but unfortunately most of the reservations do not have the shopping facilities nor the services that our people would like: restaurants, movie theaters, shopping centers, and what have you. Therefore, pretty well 90 percent of whatever money people derive from tourism on the reservation goes back into the border towns. I'll give you a good example that affects our reservation. Gallup, New Mexico, is about thirty to forty miles to the north of us and is renowned as the Indian capital of the world. But from my personal perspective, it is the Indian capital that keeps Gallup renowned.

In closing, I would kind of like to say that although tourism has its negative and good points, I feel the key to tourism as it affects Native American peoples and cultures is control and proper planning of the tourism resources and native cultures.

Glen Morris

It appears that the situation in New South Wales is different

from that of the American Indians. Simply put, we don't have any tourism because we don't own any land. But we do have problems with the tourist impact on traditional sites or sites that are significant to our people. If I could explain what happened in New South Wales during the white invasion of our people, it'll give you a better understanding of the situation. Now, when the Europeans first arrived, that is, in 1798, they landed in Sydney. It was the first state to be settled by the Europeans. It was a highly timbered area, good land for cultivation, for sheep and cattle, and soon quickly invaded. My people were quickly pushed onto small reserves and, because the whites wanted the land, there were massacres. They were poisoned. They were forced to live on the fringes of white settlements. And the government thought they would set up an Aboriginal Protection Board to protect my people. But what has exactly happened is that the protection board has taken my people from their tribal lands, put them into cattle trucks, moved them away from their traditional areas, and put them onto other reserves.

In some cases in New South Wales we have people living in the northern part, set up in reserves near their traditional grounds. In some of these few places, my people have maintained just a part of their culture, even though they were removed from their tribal grounds and could no longer practice the traditions. They were taken from the land. Their children were taken from them and put into white institutions and taught European education. The old people or elders could not teach the children their own language or education. So we don't have any problems with tourism, not like the American Indians. I think that there is a fight for land rights, but the land use in New South Wales is land that is owned by the white population. The rest of the land is mainly Crown land, owned by the government. It is either set aside for parks or for forestry, mainly for the timber industry. I doubt that the New South Wales Aboriginal people will ever achieve a proper land right in New South Wales. Because the National Parks and Wildlife Service is the authority for the protection and management of cultural sites, we do have great input into the management planning and policy for the conservation of Aboriginal sites.

I'll just go back to say that beginning with the Parks Service in 1975, we had white academic people saying that there were no Aboriginal sites that were significant to my people. They said that because of the white invasion of Australia, there were no traditional sites still significant to my people. So we began a survey, visiting all of the Aboriginal communities in New South Wales to find out what sites were still significant to them. My people were suspicious of any sort of researchers coming into the community to extract the information and not return anything. So, myself as an Aboriginal person had problems extracting such information because they had to trust me first before they would give me information. And we found that the old people, the elders, have still maintained quite a

lot of their culture. In some areas they maintained the language. They still maintain the laws and the rules. And these men were initiated men and could not reveal any of that information to any other researchers. So we were very lucky because they did trust us after we protected a few sites like a modern cemetery which they wanted fenced. And once we had shown them that we were sincere about the protection of their sites, they came out with sites that were of anthropological significance to them—the story sites, sites that were sacred to them. But those sites they could not show us because we were uninitiated. We were to protect a zone around that sacred area. That is all I can say.

Iose H. Lucero

My family is White Corn and Badger. Welcome home! It's been 400 years since we've been here. I would like to say something to you. I cannot go and speak unless I have permission of the elders, and the message that I bring you today, my brothers and sisters, is that we are not in the same boat but we are of the same mother, as we call Mother Earth. The elders met in full circle last year in June and they asked me to bring this message to you.

These areas that are called "cultural parks" are shrines that have been set up as the people emerged from these areas. Some, yes, have migrated, but the indigenous people—the "ancient ones"—have emerged. These are our homelands. They say now, with the Elder Circle in session at Santa Clara Pueblo, a Rio Grande lifeline, they are alarmed and dismayed at the traditional peoples' reports from the four corners of the Great Turtle Island, that is, the continental United States. The prophecies and visions of our grandfathers are upon us. The Chief of Trees-the maple-is dying from the top down, as we were told would happen. This is from industrial poisons that rain down in the Northeast. Rivers are running backwards, as was foretold. This is from the dams of our rivers, the lifeline of living things. The children are leading the parents, as we were told would someday come about, and the children grow up on their own, without proper instructions or guidance or love from their families, and the families are scattered like ashes in the wind. These are just a few of the devastations reported to the Elder Circle.

People have reported that our grandfathers, the winds, have continued to increase in force and destruction, and tornadoes have multiplied and visited the four directions that are now occupied by our white brothers . . . the earth that we call Mother has tears running down her face and great floods and rains are everywhere. People are suffering. They report that our grandfathers, the thundering voices, are speaking in the parts of the land with force, and sacred lightning strikes everywhere and people are running about in fear and confusion. The earth has shook herself and rumbled in the four corners of the Great Turtle Island and the mountains are stirring, smoking, sailing their powers over the land and its inhabitants.

These are warnings, clear and direct. These are powers that the Great Spirit has put here to work in harmony with people through prayer, ceremony, and respect on how we live.

We have failed, we are warned. How did this happen? Who was responsible? The force of the American military-industrial complex is once again raising its face to the powers of creation, the natural world. Its judicial system is being used to suppress the spiritual, indigenous people of the four directions. The leader of this country has deputized runners of destruction and exploitation with instructions to find all natural resources and to remove them from their ancient habitats and deliver them to the industrial complexes that prepare for war. This action is not in this country alone.

Leaders of industrial nations throughout the world confront one another on ideological dogmas that speak of peace, but mean war. This is done without respect for the consequences that will be visited upon our children. Our white brother whose gift from the Creator was invention has used this gift to unleash the ultimate power of fire, the force of the atom. This was done here in these very sacred mountains that held these forces within their protection, since we were planted here by the Creator. Our sacred sites are being desecrated and destroyed in spite of the protests of our spiritual leaders and people by exposing these very powers. He has unleashed poisons upon our land and the water and the springs that we need for survival. By destroying sacred mountains and sites, he has destroyed the prayer sticks and the sacred places that hold the dust of our ancient ones, who were there to work with the Creator for our welfare.

These sacred objects are being held in universities, museums, historical associations, and societies. The holders of these objects now become "experts" and tell our people what they mean, without respect, and exercising a cultural arrogance that they say was manifested by God and their destiny. Our nations have suffered death and destruction, forced removals and desecration of our dead, and sad to say it continues under the guise of education, going so far as to train and use our own people against us. This is blindness that is so dangerous. We have failed and are being warned. We look upon a society of "contraries" like our Lakota brothers, who have a society that is called "contraries" who do the opposite of what they mean. Everything that they do is contrary to what they mean, and now, we see a whole government of contraries, who are not in a spiritual way, who do not seem to understand even themselves, but who hold these powers and banish them to all who oppose their directives and ways. We must heed the warnings being visited upon Earth. We must take the connection between warnings and desecration of the Earth, the drumbeat of our heart will cease and we shall have destroyed what we are sworn to protect. There will be no life or future for our children.

In closing, the elders who carry the ancient instructions and teachings stand in a circle praying for land and life. The ceremonies are sacred. The instructions are sacred and must be treated with respect, and conducted by proper authorities in the four directions. As long as we hold fast to this, our life will continue and there will be a future for all people. We look to other peoples in other lands to recognize and stand with the circle for life. (Words spoken here are in Tewa, Lucero's native language). Finish with respect for life.

I will not read this letter, but I have another one that I went to UNESCO with. This was under the direction of the Elder Circle and this is not the elders just within the Pueblo space, but within the continental United States. As I mentioned, 400 years and they're beginning to speak out. It's time to listen; there are things that are facing all of us. In closing, I would like to say to the National Park Service, they have held on, they have tried to preserve. I would ask that in their resolutions that they include some of the things that these people are saying from here in our homeland, and that they be asked forever, whether it's in Congress, whether it's with UNESCO, whether it's with other United Nations agencies, that these are some of the things that we are all under. What we have seen here was a portion of some of the things that are going on within our own indigenous nation, but we are all in it together. Thank you.

Aurelio Chiari

I'd like to thank the organizers of this panel for allowing me to speak this afternoon with my friends from Abia Yala ("Mother Earth"). And when I speak of them, I mean all those who live in the Americas as aborigines who are indigenous to this land as we all are. Our problems may be a little different, but they are common so far as we are all human beings and we all belong to the same earth. In a very few words and in a short time I'm going to try getting to the problem that I want to plead before you. I'm going to give you three different approaches to the tourist problem. First of all is the kind of tourism we get in the Kuna Nation-the benefits it brings to the Kuna people—and second is the negative effects that result from this juncture of our people with tourists. And finally, in the third place, what influenced the entry of tourism, or what impact it has on the Kuna people or the area. The tourism that we get so far in the Kuna Yala or San Blas is the kind of tourism which was referred to by one of the speakers this morning as "visitors." They're the kind of visitors who come to see how the Indians dress, how they live. Visitors who come already fed up with their own worries are looking to breathe fresh air on San Blas Island. In this respect, they do not turn out to be particularly negative in terms of Kuna culture.

How do the Kuna go about absorbing the arrival of these people? The Kuna do this by considering them a means of economic support. And what they do is to sell them their products such as molas and their crafts, and when their pictures are taken they ask for some contribution in the order of magnitude of fifty cents or a dollar. These are tourists that come from Holland, Switzerland, France, the other large countries, other countries in Europe, and as it happens, they arrive in large transatlantic ships that anchor in the Gulf of San Blas. They come by the thousands and when they come ashore, since there are a lot of islands and relatively few people in them, you get the impression that there are indeed more tourists than natives! They spend the day with us and get on their boats and go back to where they came from. The domestic tourists that we get from Panama are relatively few in number.

So what is then the negative impact of this social phenomenon that arrives from outside? It is part of our culture for women to engage in domestic tasks and it is up to men to work in agriculture and other economic activities to support the household. With tourism on the rise, we have run into a rather serious problem that has brought changes to Kuna society. What happens is that women won't necessarily continue to carry out their domestic chores, men don't work so much in agriculture, and the results are a kind of deterioration in agriculture. What happens is that the women are dedicated to sewing increasing numbers of molas, the native garments which the Europeans are going to buy. The men have to stay out of their fields to stay home to do the housework. This doesn't happen throughout Kuna Yala (Kuna "land") but it happens in particular areas. According to the studies we have made, and the reason that ships can come so easily to this area, is that nautical maps have demonstrated that there are some ship channels that are quite deep in these areas which make it possible to bring in two or three thousand passengers at a time. So, what we have is what you might call an obligatory tourist area. The shallows and reefs about these other islands prohibit their developing a tourist nature. This is the same with some of the islands that are near the Republic of Colombia. As a result, we have negative tourist areas on the one hand and then we have this one small area which is definitely a tourist area.

The final problem that we're facing at the moment is the road which is being built which goes from this point through our capital city. This is going to bring on the uncontrolled entrance of tourists to our district. In order to do something to stop this problem of uncontrolled tourism that we see coming, Kuna Yala, through PEMASKY,³ has developed a plan and a project which we have been working on along with my friend and colleague, Brian, and which I am representing before you today. Without saying any more, thank you very much for your attention.

Elmer Yazzi, public relations officer for the First National Bank, Shiprock, New Mexico, member of the Navajo Nation

Besides working at a bank as a loan officer and assistant manager to the bank, I also promote shows in Native American arts and crafts. Our organization started three years ago when my wife, who is here, and I started out small. We began with 26 members; today it has over 115 members representing 18 different tribes. So, it's been a big jump in the last three years, and my wife and I have also had a problem with other shows. In other words, I was supposed to give various shows around the country and they would pay a fee between \$100 and \$250 per show. We couldn't afford it any more. These people who were promoting the arts and crafts were not Indian. You have 50 to 100 Indians who are in the show; my question was where did that money go? So, anyway, my wife and I started the art show and we charged a small fee of \$50 as a membership. Thereafter, we charged \$25 for shows which is a lot more reasonable than \$250 per show.

I did the show each year at Mesa Verde, coordinating with Cindy Orlando of the Mesa Verde park staff, and next year will be our fourth show. The Navajo Reservation where I live does not have any type of facilities to sell our arts and crafts. Most, I would say 80 to 90 percent of the Navajo artists, sell their products on the road, which means when a tourist comes to look at nice, beautiful products-artwork-they look at the price which, say, is \$15. The tourist says, "I'll give you ten." The artist then says yes. Why do they do that? It is survival; they need money, no matter what. If the product costs \$8 in materials, they make a \$2 profit. They'll do anything to do it. Mesa Verde has provided our organization and our membership a place and a little dignity for our artwork, and self-respect. And, since it is a tourist attraction, our main idea is to keep them here for as long as we can to get their money! Now, how many people who are here today bought an arts and crafts item here at Mesa Verde? Are they made in Korea or Japan? Do you know authentic artwork? Now, for a park and services like this one, I would say they are probably authentic works, but you have to be careful when you go outside a park like this. Most reservations have authentic arts. Now, to understand the Indian arts and crafts and the beauty of it, I do have some pictures here of the park and the arts and crafts. It will show the individual who styled the artwork, the dances and events that we had last year.

Okay, our reservation, it consists of Native American artists only, and the work must be authentic. The economy of the reservation is very bad. That is one reason we have organized as a group, to help curtail our expenses for an art show. We will have another big art show in Albuquerque during Christmas and, of course, we do our own promotion for tourism. I think New Mexico is one of the highest in tourism during Christmas time . . . because it is a lot cooler here, it is a lot warmer there. Now we have eighteen different tribes we don't treat them as different towards one another; we're all one, we're one people, we are from Mother Earth. Now the main thing right now is communication between the state and the federal government to regulate what the Native American has passed on from generation to generation-to have legislation to promote the authenticity of the arts and crafts. I think they're going to do that right now. We need

to push it a lot more. And who are the buyers? You are. We are the makers. The law will protect you, to ensure what is real and show what is not. And, I think the Park Service is a stepping stone to that because we have a fair up here every year and we enjoy it.

The film we saw today is very traditional, very traditional. Pueblo culture is different from mine because Navajo people are scattered twenty to thirty miles apart, while the Hopi live in a group. What do I mean by traditional? In the film they talk about respect for religion, which is fine, but I feel that they should have more control over how they welcome tourists. They've got to have control. If they don't, it's going to go all over the place, people will talk about it. But it's a religious matter, but also, again, a matter of survival of their arts and crafts. . . . The trading posts they have on the reservations are just as bad too. They might sell a product-like my mother-in-law who makes Navajo rugs; it's just a small one and sold it for \$35. Three months later, I found a silver pin for \$100, very outlined. So I'll give you the talk today before I close. See the arts and crafts as beauty, how we express ourselves . . . with our hands. Thank you.4

Notes

- 1. These narratives represent edited versions of the taped and transcribed discussions which were primarily informal and unwritten. Due to the minor changes necessitated by preparing the written narratives from verbal materials, small discrepancies might be noted between the narratives and the discourse in the recorded or videotaped session.
- 2. Victor Masayesva, Director, IS Productions, P.O. Box 747, Hotevilla, Arizona 86030, generously lent us his video film, "Sopkyawat Sinom," which addressed tourism issues among Hopi and other southwestern Indian communities. In addition to interviews with young and old Native Americans and non-Indian entrepreneurs, Governor Bruce Babbitt of Arizona
- 3. Proyecto de Estudio para el Manejo de Areas Silvestres de Kuna Yala.
- 4. At a subsequent meeting of the moderator and panelists, the group formulated a resolution for consideration during the final plenary session. While the sense of the resolution was adopted then, the language of the final resolution was modified. The original proposal on Tourism and Native Peoples is as follows:

WHEREAS, governments and the tourist industry are increasingly promoting visitation to the lands, habitats and villages of native people; and

WHEREAS, this is resulting in disruption of and/or unplanned change in native culture which is unacceptable to the native culture; and

WHEREAS, governments and the tourist industry are interpreting the culture of native peoples to the visiting public without consulting with them and without presenting the native peoples' perspective of their culture and their cultural history; and

WHEREAS, native peoples acknowledge the need for the economic benefits of tourism but are deeply concerned about its effects on their lifeways, to-wit: interference with privacy; profaning of religious ceremony, including theft of sacred objects and inappropriate use of sacred symbols and artifacts for secular purposes; the taking of pictures without permission; and

WHEREAS, there are ethical issues of human dignity and human rights associated with using native peoples and their environments as tourist attractions,

BE IT THEREFORE RESOLVED THAT:

GOVERNMENTS AND THE TOURIST INDUSTRY at all levels should demonstrate through their programs and decision processes a respect for the unique qualities of native

cultures and be responsive to the kinds of changes these cultures find acceptable to them;

GOVERNMENTS AND THE TOURIST INDUSTRY should form permanent working partnerships with native communities to effectively incorporate them as partners in planning tourist use affecting native peoples or their environments; and such partnerships should assure native community control of access and touristic use of native lands and villages with special consideration of protection of sacred ceremonies and sacred places and sacred objects;

GOVERNMENTS AND THE TOURIST INDUSTRY should consult with native peoples concerning the interpretation of their culture to the touring public and should adopt policies and programs that provide the visitor with the native peoples' perspective of their own culture as well as the academician's perspective.

Cultural Conservation and the Pinelands National Reserve (Precis Only)

Alan Jabbour

Director American Folklife Center Library of Congress Washington, D.C.

"Cultural conservation," the term used in a recent study by the National Park Service and the American Folklife Center, refers to an integrated, dynamic process of cultural preservation and encouragement applied in working with living traditional cultures. The conference presentation will discuss the cultural conservation study as a framework for the Center's recent field project in New Jersey's Pinelands National Reserve—an experimental project seeking to arrive at guidelines for integrating living traditional cultures in the region with the "reserve" concept of land management.

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"La conservación cultural," la expresión usada en una recién investigación del Servicio Nacional de Parques y El Centro Americano de la Vida Tradicional, se refiere a un proceso integrado y dinámico de conservación y fomento cultural que se aplica al trabajar con culturas tradicionales que perduran. La presentación de la conferencia tratará de esta investigación de conservación cultural como estructura para el proyecto recién del Centro en la Reserva Nacional de Pinelands en New

Jersey—un proyecto experimental que busca encontrar principios para integrar culturas tradicionales que perduran en la región con el concepto de ''la reserva'' en la administración de terrenos.

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"La conservation culturelle," ce terme utilisé dans une récente étude du Service des Parcs Nationaux et du Centre de Vie Populaire Américaine, se réfère à un processus intégré et dynamique de préservation culturelle et d'encouragement, mis en pratique en travaillant avec des cultures traditionnelles vivantes. L'exposé qui sera présenté au cours de la conférence, examinera l'étude de conservation culturelle en tant que cadre de travail pour le récent projet sur le terrain dirigé par le Centre, dans la Réserve Nationale de Pinelands à New Jersey—un projet expérimental qui a pour but de définir des principes directeurs pour intégrer des cultures traditionnelles vivantes, de la région, avec le concept de "réserve" dans l'administration des terres.

Conserving Bushmen to Extinction in Southern Africa (Precis Only)

Robert J. Gordon

Department of Anthropology University of Vermont

The notion of "conservation" is ideologically loaded, and more often than not it is imposed by the stronger upon the weaker. This paper discusses this thesis by critically examining the relationship between the Bushmen and the relevant Departments of Nature Conservation in South Africa and Namibia respectively. It does this by placing Namibia's Department of Nature Conservation within its emergent sociopolitical milieu.

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La idea de "conservación" tiene un sentido ideológico difícil y se impone, las más de las veces, de la más fuerte a la más debíl. Esta ponencia aborda esta tesis por un análisis crítico de las relaciones entre los bochimans y el Departamento interesado en la Conservación de la Naturaleza, respectivamente en Africa del Sur y en Namibia. Este análisis se efectua poniendo al Departamento de la Conservación de la Naturaleza en su medio socio-político surgente.

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La notion de "conservation" a un lourd sens idéologique et est imposée, le plus souvent, par le plus fort au plus faible. Cet exposé aborde cette thèse par une analyse critique des relations entre les Bochimans et le Département intéressé de la Conservation de la Nature, respectivement en Afrique du Sud et en Namibie. Cette analyse est effectuée en plaçant le Département de la Conservation de la Nature dans son milieu socio-politique émergeant.

Resolutions and Recommendations First World Conference on Cultural Parks Mesa Verde, Colorado

RESOLUTION 1:

The value of diverse, past and present lifeways must be recognized and those historically associated with parks, reserves, and cultural programs must be protected. In the case of present lifeways, such protection must be with the full cooperation of the cultural groups concerned.

RESOLUTION 2:

Local peoples historically associated with cultural parks, reserves, or programs should be involved regularly and intimately in the establishment, planning, implementation, and managerial decisions of those units or programs. In particular, the needs and views of local or native peoples must be taken fully into account in the development and use of the resources. Future conferences dealing with cultural parks, reserves or programs will include participants from indigenous and other local peoples traditionally associated with those units or programs.

RESOLUTION 3:

In accordance with the basic philosophy of natural and cultural conservation, people whose lifeways depend on the resources of cultural and natural parks and reserves should be guaranteed continued access to the resources needed for survival and well-being through a balanced relationship between those people and their environment, both serving their human needs and promoting sustained, ecologically sound development.

RESOLUTION 4:

Providing the means for people to meet their basic needs and

improve their economic and social position must be considered an integral part of the conservation and use of the world's resources.

RESOLUTION 5:

Cultural parks must meet the highest possible professional standards if they are to fulfill a significant role in cultural and natural documentation, conservation, interpretation, and tourism. Yet, there is a worldwide shortage of expertise in the proper treatment, documentation, and interpretation of cultural and natural objects and materials in situ and in museums, and of other properties, and a lack of convenient exchange of technical information and museological principles. Individual nations and international organizations should make every effort to improve the standards, provide the economic resources, develop procedures for documentation and conservation, promote effective exchange of technical information, and establish basic and continuing training programs, especially for indigenous and local peoples.

RESOLUTION 6:

Thorough and internationally compatible inventory systems, analysis, documentation, and monitoring used within carefully considered planning contexts are essential to the planning of cultural and natural park systems, and to the accountable management and protection of cultural and natural properties and values. The international community and all nations should promote standard systems of planning and protection that can deal with park resources, with threats from outside the parks, and to protect the large numbers of cultural and

natural values that will never be within park boundaries.

RESOLUTION 7:

Because the mutually rewarding relationship between cultural and natural heritage on the one hand, and tourist needs and uses on the other, is inadequately measured and understood, nations should develop cooperative systems to monitor, evaluate, and interpret this interaction, as well as promote international cooperation, concerned planning, and to develop management skills which will serve to optimize this beneficial relationship.

RESOLUTION 8:

An enlightened local populace working cooperatively through volunteer groups and public and private agencies will assure the conservation of cultural and natural heritage for long-term benefits to the community. The international community should encourage an involved and educated public in order to strengthen cultural bonds within and between nations, contribute to the development of preservation technology, and generate fiscal, political, and voluntary support.

RESOLUTION 9:

As cultural and natural parks constitute an invaluable part of this world's heritage, it is urgent that appropiate technologies be developed and disseminated to meet with increasing internal and external threats to this heritage. Cultural and natural properties must be inventoried, analyzed, evaluated, monitored, and afforded international protection with due consideration being given to maintaining the original context, and preventing and rectifying the diminution of this heritage.

RESOLUTION 10:

In order to protect and enhance the world's cultural and natural resources, diverse agencies within individual governments should coordinate their policies and powers in order to ensure that relevant programs prosper within compatible social and economic planning processes.

RESOLUTION 11:

Public and private administrators at all levels should be committed to the conservation of the urban and rural heritage, and to develop community benefits with full private-sector involvement. Whenever possible, cultural and natural properties should be preserved in a use similar to that which endowed the property with significance and in a way that preserves the integrity of that property.

RESOLUTION 12:

Protection and conservation of cultural property should be one of the major concerns of parks, natural and cultural reserves, and museums in all nations. Archeological sites, including "rock art" sites, should be recognized as a truly international

cultural resource, protected, interpreted, and made accessible to the public in consultation with native peoples who may be the guardians of such sites.

RESOLUTION 13:

While recognizing the importance of the complexities of the total environment associated with cultural parks, the protection of the world's cultural heritage should not be compromised. Consequently, this assemblage, while recognizing and being cognizant of other complex world problems, will concentrate its efforts on protection of our cultural heritage.

RESOLUTION 14:

It is recommended specifically that there be cooperation in the field of information among countries who have a common cultural past, in order to come to a more correct interpretation of the resources.

RESOLUTION 15:

The concepts and applied systems of ecomuseology must be adopted in existing and new museological structures and parks, giving for these structures the real possibility of work as a mechanism of preservation and use, developing the integration of people and their work and the natural environment, developing the identities of the community and their links with the past and the present, and preparing for the future.

RECOMMENDATION 1:

All nations are encouraged to ratify: a) the World Heritage Convention concerning the protection of the world's outstanding cultural and natural patrimony; b) the convention on illicit traffic, exportation, and importation of cultural properties; and c) the convention on international trade in endangered species, on the illicit commerce, importation, and exportation of endangered plant and animal products. All nations should strengthen the work of these conventions through expert participation, and through dues and contributions for financial and technical assistance, and should give priority to the tangible and intangible culture of the people, which is as much a part of the heritage of the world as the unique historic and natural properties. All nations should be aggressive in carrying out these international conventions, and in using their authority to prevent and correct actions by their citizens that are harmful to the cultural and natural heritage of other nations.

RECOMMENDATION 2:

These nations should take immediate action to identify sites, cultures, and their respective ecosystems which are threatened with degradation or loss, and submit relevant nominations for World Heritage status and World Heritage Endangered List classification, and also take such actions as may be necessary

to protect and preserve such properties and ecosystems, as well as to permit the indigenous peoples to maintain their lifeways.

RECOMMENDATION 3:

The papers presented at this conference and the resolutions and recommendations developed from its deliberations should be forwarded to the appropriate existing international organizations for their consideration and appropriate action. The related international organizations include: the World Heritage Committee, the Man and the Biosphere program, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), the Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations, the International Council on Museums (ICOM), the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS), the International Union for the Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources (IUCN), and all relevant binational and multinational organizations related to conservation and development, in particular, the World Bank, US AID, the Interamerican Development Bank, and aggregate other names.

RECOMMENDATION 4:

It is recommended to the next host country for the World Conference on Cultural Parks that it establish a planning committee composed of significant representation of indigenous communities throughout the world to prepare a report which summarizes and analyzes the global situation with regard to the interaction of indigens and cultural parks for presentation at the next World Conference on Cultural Parks. It is further recommended that this planning committee of indigenous people historically associated with cultural parks identify issues and participants for relevant sessions and organize such sessions. The commission should continue to monitor the global situation in future years.

RECOMMENDATION 5:

It is recommended that all nations be encouraged to work for the reduction of pollutants which are degrading the cultural and natural heritage of the world.

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RESOLUCION 1:

El valor de diversos estilos de vida del pasado y del presente debe reconocerse y los que tienen vínculos históricos con las parques, reservas y programas culturales deben ser protegidos. Cuando se trata de los estilos de vida actuales, tal protección debe ser con la plena cooperación de los grupos culturales interesados.

RESOLUCION 2:

Los pueblos autóctonos que tienen vínculos históricos con los parques, reservas y programas culturales deben participar de

forma permanente y estrecha tanto en la creación y planificación como en la realización y administración de esas unidades y programas. Sobre todo, las necesidades y opiniones de las gentes nativas o del lugar deben tomarse plenamente en cuenta al considerar el desarrollo y uso de los recursos. Los congresos futuros que traten de parques, reservas y programas culturales contarán con la participación de representantes de los indígenas u otros grupos locales que tengan una relación tradicional con aquellas unidades o programas.

RESOLUCION 3:

De acuerdo con la filosofía básica de la conservación natural y cultural, las gentes cuyas formas de vivir dependen de los parques y reservas culturales y naturales se les debe garantizar el acceso permanente a los recursos imprescindibles para su sobrevivencia y bienestar mediante una relación equilibrada entre esos grupos y su medio ambiente, asegurándose tanto la satisfacción de sus necesidades humanas como el fomento de un desarrollo duradero y ecologicamente sano.

RESOLUCION 4:

El proveer de medios, tanto para las necesidades básicas como para el progreso socioeconómico de todas las gentes debe considerarse un aspecto integral de la conservación y uso de los recursos mundiales.

RESOLUCION 5:

Es indispensable que los parques culturales respondan a las normas profesionales más elevadas si van a disempeñar un papel importante en la documentación cultural y natural así como en materias de conservación, interpretación y turismo. Existe, sin embargo, una escasez mundial de peritos en el manejo, documentación e interpretación de objetos, culturales y naturales, bien esten *in situ* o en museos además de la falta de intercambio oportuno de información técnica y de principios museológicos. Las naciones y organizaciones internacionales deben velar por la mejora de normas, suministrar recursos económicos, y perfeccionar procedimientos de documentación y conservación. Deben fomentar el intercambio efectivo de información técnica y establecer programas básicos y permanentes de adiestramiento dirigidos, especialmente, a los indígenas y gentes del lugar.

RESOLUCION 6:

Inventarios exhaustivos e internacionalmente compatibles, junto con análises, documentación y controles utilizados dentro de un marco cuidadosamente delineado, son indispensables para la planeación de sistemas de parques culturales y naturales y para el manejo y protección responsables de bienes culturales y naturales. La comunidad internacional y todas las naciones deben fomentar la elaboración de sistemas normativos de planificación y de protección adecuados el mane-

jo del patrimonio de los parques y en contra de los riesgos exteriores, y que puedan servir para proteger el gran número de bienes culturales y naturales que jamás podrían estar dentro de los límites de un parque.

RESOLUCION 7:

Para remediar deficiencias actuales en el estudio y entendimiento de las relaciones mutuamente provechosas entre el patrimonio cultural y natural por una parte, y los requisitos del turismo por la otra, las naciones deben crear sistemas cooperativos de control, evaluación e interpretación de la interacción señalada además de fomentar la cooperación internacional, la planificación seria y comprometida, y la formación de cuerpos administrativos capaces de optimizar estas relaciones positivas.

RESOLUCION 8:

Una población local bien informada que, mediante grupos de voluntarios, colabora con las entidades públicas y privadas asegurará la conservación a largo plazo del patrimonio cultural y natural en beneficio de todos. La comunidad internacional debe obrar activamente en favor de la creación de un público educado y comprometido con el fin de fortalecer los vínculos culturales que existen tanto dentro, como entre los países, de fomentar la tecnología de la conservación, y con el fin de lograr presupuestos y apoyos políticos y voluntarios.

RESOLUCION 9:

El patrimonio mundial que preservan los parques culturales y naturales tiene un valor incalculable y, por lo tanto, urge perfeccionar y divulgar tecnologías adecuadas para hacer frente a los peligros tanto externos como internos que lo amenazan. Se necesitan inventarios de esos bienes culturales y naturales con el fin de poderlos analizar, evaluar, registrar y proteger a escala internacional, teniéndose además en cuenta la importancia de mantener el contexto original, de prevenir y corregir el deterioro de este patrimonio.

RESOLUCION 10:

Con el fin de proteger y ampliar los recursos naturales y culturales del mundo, varias dependencias de los gobiernos deben coordinar sus políticas y facultades para asegurar la prosperidad de programas que tienen que ver con los procesos competentes de la planificación económica y social.

RESOLUCION 11:

Los administradores públicos y privados, a todos los niveles, deben velar por la conservación del patrimonio urbano y rural, involucrando plenamente al sector privado en el aumento de los beneficios a la comunidad. Siempre que sea posible, los bienes culturales y naturales siempre deben tratarse conforme las cualidades de que estan dotados, y en forma tal que se proteja su integridad física.

RESOLUCION 12:

La tarea de proteger y conservar los bienes culturales ha de figurar entre las de mayor trascendencia para los parques, reservas naturales y culturales, y museos de todas las naciones. Los sitios arqueológicos, incluyendo los de arte rupestre, merecen reconocimiento, protección, y aprecio como recursos culturales realmente internacionales y en consulta con los pueblos autóctonos que puedan ser sus guardianes; deben mantenerse accesibles al público.

RESOLUCION 13:

Es de suma importancia reconocer que la relación entre un parque cultural y el medio que lo rodea siempre es compleja pero esto de ninguna manera debe comprometer la protección del patrimonio cultural del planeta. Por lo tanto, esta reunión, a la vez que reconoce y es consciente de la existencia de otros problemas mundiales muy complicados, concentrará sus esfuerzos en la protección de nuestro patrimonio cultural.

RESOLUCION 14:

Los países que comparten un mismo pasado cultural deberán intercambiar información y cooperar entre sí para que se llegue a una explicación más exacta de sus bienes culturales.

RESOLUCION 15:

Los conceptos y los sistemas aplicados de la ecomuseología deben ser adoptados, tanto en las estructuras y parques ya existentes, como en los nuevos, dándoseles la posibilidad real de servir como mecanismos de conservación y uso, de tal forma, que se facilite la integración de los pueblos y sus obras con el medio ambiente, a la vez que se van desarrollando las identidades de las comunidades en términos de sus vínculos con el pasado y el presente, y su capacitación para el futuro.

RECOMENDACION 1:

A todas las naciones se les incita a ratificar: a) el Convención del Patrimonio Mundial para la protección de los sobresalientes recursos culturales y naturales del planeta; b) el convenio sobre el tráfico ilícito y la exportación e importación de bienes culturales; c) el convenio sobre el comercio internacional de especies en peligro de desaparecer, y sobre el comercio ilícito e importación y exportación de productos derivados de tales especies de plantas y animales. Todas las naciones deberán fortalecer el trabajo de estos convenios mediante la participación de sus expertos en estas materias y mediante el pago de cuotas y contribuciones para la ayuda técnica y económica, y deberán darle prioridad a la cultura intangible de los pueblos, la cual forma parte del patrimonio mundial tanto como los bienes históricos y naturales de valor singular. Todas las naciones deberán comprometerse de forma decidida a implementar estos convenios y a hacer uso de sus facultades para la prevención y corrección de las actividades de sus ciudadanos que causan daño al patrimonio cultural y natural

de otras naciones.

RECOMENDACION 2:

Todas las naciones deberán iniciar medidas inmediatas para identificar aquellos lugares y culturas que, junto con sus ecosistemas correspondientes, se encuentran en peligro de deterioro o desaparición y para tramitar su designación como bienes del Patrimonio Mundial y su integración a la lista de bienes amenazados del Patrimonio Mundial, además de valerse de los remedios necesarios para la protección y conservación de tales bienes y ecosistemas, y del estilo de vida de los pueblos indígenas involucrados.

RECOMENDACION 3:

Las ponencias presentadas en este congreso, así como las resoluciones y recomendaciones que surgieron de sus deliberaciones, deberán ser comunicadas a las organizaciones internacionales más indicadas para su consideración e implementación. Entre las entidades internacionales señaladas figuran: el Comité del Patrimonio Mundial; El Programa del Hombre y el Biosfera; la Organización Educacional, Científica y Cultural de la ONU (UNESCO); la Organización de Alimentos y Agricultura de la ONU (FAO); el Consejo Internacional de Museos (ICOM); el Consejo Internacional de Monumentos y Sitios (ICOMOS); la Unión Internacional para la Preservación de la Naturaleza y los Recursos Naturales (IUCN); el Consejo Mundial de Pueblos Indígenas; y toda entidad internacional que tenga que ver con la conservación y desarrollo incluyendo especificamente el Banco Mundial, la Agencia Internacional del Desarrollo de los Estados Unidos (USAID), y el Banco Interamericano del Desarrollo.

RECOMENDACION 4:

Se recomienda que el próximo país anfitrión del Congreso Mundial sobre Parques Culturales se encargue de organizar un comité planificador con representación amplia de los pueblos autóctonos historicamente vinculados a los parques o reservas mundiales. Este comité tendrá como fin preparar y presentar ante el próximo Congreso Mundial sobre Parques Culturales un informe que resuma y analice a escala global las interacciones entre los indígenas y los parques culturales. Se recomienda, además, que el comité mencionado escoja los temas y a los participantes para las sesiones principales, y que organice tales sesiones. El comité deberá seguir reportando en el futuro la situación mundial.

RECOMENDACION 5:

Se recomienda a todas las naciones trabajar en favor de la reducción de aquellos contaminantes que causan el deterioro del patrimonio cultural y natural del mundo entero.

RESOLUTION PREMIERE:

La valeur des divers modes de vie, passés et présents, doit être reconnue et les modes de vie qui sont historiquement liés aux parcs, aux réserves et aux programmes culturels doivent être protégés. En ce qui concerne les modes de vie présents, cette protection doit s'accomplir avec l'entière collaboration des groupes culturels intéressés.

RESOLUTION 2:

Les populations autochtones qui sont historiquement liées aux parcs, aux réserves et programmes culturels devront être régulièrement et étroitement associées au programme de création, à la mise en oeuvre et à la prise de décisions concernant la gestion administrative de ces parcs, de ces réserves ou de ces programmes. En particulier, les besoins et les opinions des populations autochtones ou locales devront être totalement pris en compte dans le cadre du développement et de l'utilisation des ressources. Les conférences futures relatives aux parcs, aux réserves et aux programmes culturels comprendront des participants des populations autochtones et d'autres populations locales ayant un lien traditionnel avec ces parcs, ces réserves ou ces programmes.

RESOLUTION 3:

En accord avec la philosophie fondamentale de conservation naturelle et culturelle, les populations dont les modes de vie reposent sur les ressources des réserves et des parcs culturels et naturels devront bénéficier d'une garantie d'accès permanent aux ressources nécessaires à leur survie et à leur bien-être grâce à des relations équilibrées entre ces populations et leur environnement, pour, à la fois, satisfaire leurs besoins humains et promouvoir un développement continu et écologiquement sain.

RESOLUTION 4:

La fourniture des moyens permettant aux populations de satisfaire leurs besoins fondamentaux et d'améliorer leur situation économique et leur position sociale doit être considérée comme faisant partie intégrante du processus de conservation et d'utilisation des ressources mondiales.

RESOLUTION 5:

Il est indispensable que les parcs culturels répondent aux normes professionnelles les plus élevées s'ils veulent jouer un rôle significatif dans le domaine de la documentation culturelle et naturelle, de la conservation, de l'interprétation et du tourisme. Il existe néanmoins, une pénurie mondiale de spécialiste dans le domaine de traitement approprié, de documentation et d'interprétation d'objets et de matériels culturels et naturels *in situ* et dans les musées, ainsi que d'autres biens, et un manque d'échange adapté d'informations techniques et de principes muséologiques. Les nations, individuellement, et les organisations internationales devront

consacrer tous leurs efforts pour améliorer les normes, fournir les ressources économiques, créer des procédures pour la documentation et la conservation, promouvoir un échange efficace d'informations techniques et établir des programmes continus de formation de base, en particulier pour les populations indigènes et locales.

RESOLUTION 6:

Des systèmes d'inventaire, d'analyse, de documentation et de contrôle, complets et internationalement compatibles, utilisés dans des contextes de planification soigneusement réfléchie sont indispensables à la planification de systèmes de parcs culturels et naturels, à la gestion responsable et à la protection de valeurs et de biens culturels et naturels. La communauté internationale ainsi que toutes les nations devront promouvoir des systèmes normalisés de planification et de protection à même de s'occuper des ressources des parcs, de répondre aux menaces extérieures aux parcs et de protéger le grand nombre de valeurs naturelles et culturelles qui ne seront jamais comprises dans les limites des parcs.

RESOLUTION 7:

Pour remédier au fait que les relations mutuellement bénéfiques entre les patrimoines culturels et naturels d'une part, et les besoins et les applications du tourisme de l'autre, soient mal mesurées et mal comprises, les nations devront créer des systèmes coopératifs pour contrôler, évaluer et interpréter cette interaction ainsi que pour promouvoir une coopération internationale, une planification concernée et pour développer des compétences de gestionnaire qui serviront à optimaliser ces relations bénéfiques.

RESOLUTION 8:

Une population locale éclairée travaillant de façon coopérative, par l'intermédiaire de groupes de volontaires et d'organismes publics et privés, assurera la conservation du patrimoine culturel et naturel pour le bénéfice à long terme de la communauté. La communauté internationale devra favoriser l'essor d'un public engagé et instruit afin de resserrer les liens culturels, tant au sein des nations qu'entre elles, de participer au développement de la technologie de la préservation et de faire naître un appui financier, politique et volontaire.

RESOLUTION 9:

Les parcs culturels et naturels représentent une partie inestimable du patrimoine mondial, il est par conséquent impératif que des technologies appropriées soient développées et propagées afin de faire face aux menaces grandissantes, intérieures et extérieures, pour ce patrimoine. Les biens culturels et naturels doivent être inventoriés, analysés, évalués, controlés et placés sous la protection internationale qui aura à coeur de maintenir le contexte original, de prévenir et de corriger la réduction de ce patrimoine.

RESOLUTION 10:

Divers organismes au sein des gouvernements, dans le but de protéger et de mettre en valeur les ressources culturelles et naturelles mondiales, devront coordonner leurs politiques et leurs pouvoirs pour garantir la réussite de programmes utiles dans le cadre de processus compatibles de planification sociale et économique.

RESOLUTION 11:

Les administrateurs publics et privés, à tous les niveaux, devront s'engager à conserver le patrimoine urbain et rural et à accroître les bénéfices de la communauté avec la participation entière du secteur privé. Toutes les fois que cela sera possible, les biens culturels et naturels devront être conservés dans l'utilisation similaire à celle qui est à l'origine de leur importance et d'une manière qui préserve l'intégrité de ces biens.

RESOLUTION 12:

La protection et la conservation d'un bien culturel devra constituer l'une des préoccupations essentielles des parcs, des réserves culturelles et naturelles, et des musées de toutes les nations. Les sites archéologiques, y compris les sites ''d'art rupestre,'' devront être reconnus comme une ressource culturelle internationale réelle, et devront être protégés, interprétés et rendus accessibles au public, de concert avec les populations autochtones qui pourraient être gardiennes de ces sites.

RESOLUTION 13:

Tout en reconnaissant l'importance des complexités de l'environnement global lié aux parcs culturels, la protection du patrimoine culturel mondial ne devra pas être compromise. En conséquence, cette assemblée, tout en étant informée d'autres problèmes mondiaux complexes, concentrera ses efforts sur la protection de notre patrimoine culturel.

RESOLUTION 14:

Il est tout spécialement recommandé qu'une coopération dans le domaine de l'information s'établisse entre les pays qui partagent un passé culturel commun afin de parvenir à une interprétation plus juste des ressources.

RESOLUTION 15:

Les concepts et les systèmes appliqués de l'écomuséologie doivent être adoptés dans les nouvelles structures muséologiques et dans celles qui existent déjà, ainsi que dans les parcs, donnant à ces structures une possibilité réelle de fonctionner en tant que mécanisme de préservation et d'utilisation. L'adoption de ces concepts et de ces systèmes appliqués permettra également d'intensifier l'intégration des personnes et de leur travail à l'environnement naturel, de développer les identités de la communauté et leurs liens avec le passé et avec le présent, et de préparer l'avenir.

RECOMMANDATION PREMIERE:

Toutes les nations sont encouragées à ratifier: a) la Convention du Patrimoine Mondial sur la protection des patrimoines culturels et naturels mondiaux hors du commun; b) la Convention sur le trafic illicite, l'exportation et l'importation de bien culturels; c) la Convention sur le négoce international d'espèces en voie de disparition, sur le commerce illicite, l'importation et l'exportation de plantes en danger et de produits animaux. Toutes les nations devront consolider le travail de ces conventions par une participation experte en la matière et au moyen de cotisations et de contributions destinées à une aide financière et technique, et devront donner la priorité à la culture tangible et à la culture intangible des peuples, qui font autant partie du patrimoine mondial que les biens historiques et naturels uniques. Toutes les nations devront s'efforcer d'appliquer activement ces conventions internationales et d'utiliser leur autorité pour prévenir et corriger tous les actes commis par leurs citoyens qui sont nuisibles aux patrimoines culturels et naturels des autres nations.

RECOMMANDATION 2:

Ces nations devront prendre des mesures immédiates pour identifer les sites, les cultures, et leurs habitats respectifs menacés de dégradation ou de perte et pour soumettre les données appropriées à être inscrites dans le statut du Patrimoine Mondial et à être classées sur la Liste du Patrimoine Mondial en Danger. Ces nations devront également entreprendre les actions nécessaires pour protéger et conserver ces biens et ces habitats, tout en permettant aux populations autochtones de conserver leur mode de vie.

RECOMMANDATION 3:

Les exposés présentés à cette conférence, les résolutions et les recommandations qui résultent de leurs délibérations, devront

être communiqués aux organisations internationales intéressées qui existent, pour leur considération et toute action appropriée. Les organisations internationales intéressées comprennent: le Comité du Patrimoine Mondial (the World Heritage Committee), le Programme de l'Homme et de la Biosphère (the Man and the Biosphere Program), l'UNESCO, la FAO des Nations Unies, le Conseil International des Musées (ICOM), le Conseil International des Monuments et des Sites (ICOMOS), l'Union Internationale pour la Conservation de la Nature et des Ressources Naturelles (IUCN), et toutes les organisations binationales et multinationales intéressées, liées à la conservation et au développement, en particulier, la Banque Mondiale, l'US AID, l'Interamerican Development Bank, et l'ensemble des autres noms.

RECOMMANDATION 4:

Il est recommandé au prochain pays hôte de la Conférence Mondiale sur les Parcs Culturels de nommer un comité de planification composé d'une représentation significative des communautés autochtones dans le monde. Ce comité devra élaborer un rapport résumant et analysant la situation mondiale quant à l'interaction des autochtones et des parcs culturels. Ce rapport sera présenté à la prochaine Conférence Mondiale sur les Parcs Culturels. Il est de plus recommandé que ce comité de planification, composé d'autochtones historiquement liés aux parcs culturels, définisse les questions, identifie les participants pour chacune des sessions appropriées et organise ces sessions. La Commission devra continuer à suivre la situation mondiale dans les années à venir.

RECOMMANDATION 5:

Il est recommandé que toutes les nations soient encouragées à travailler à la réduction des polluants qui dégradent le patrimoine culturel et naturel mondial.

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